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ERRATA.

P. 3, note 10, line 7, for *Hariharâvali*, read *Harihârâvali*.

P. 15, line 7, *for* vdirections, *read* various directions, *and strike out* there *before* which *at the end of the line.*

P. 17, line 35, *for* guaged, *read* gauged.

P. 206, line 37, *for* Ananatpur, *read* Anantapur.

P. 377, line 8, *for* **Reṭreṁ**, *read* **Reṭrêṁ**.

P. 379, line 26, *for* Kaṇaṁwaḍe, *read* Kanamvaḍe.

P. 513, line 15, for *pêtha*, read *pêṭha*.

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THE PRESENT POSITION OF INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

IT is well known now, in certain circles, that **our knowledge of the ancient political history of India is derived, not from historical works bequeathed to us by the Hindûs, but almost entirely from the patient examination of a large number of records, not written as a rule with any deliberate intention of relating history, that have survived to our time in the shape of inscriptions on stone and copper.** And we are chiefly dependent on those records, not only for the political history, but also for nearly all the chronological details that we require in connection with the linguistic, palæographic, literary, religious, social, and administrative developments, and, in short, in connection with every department of research into the past of India.

It is, however, not so well known what these records are, upon which we are thus dependent, and why they have come down to us in such large numbers, and how it is that they help us so much. Nor has there been exhibited, by those to whom service and residence in India give opportunities which many other scholars do not enjoy, so general a willingness, as might have been expected, to co-operate in collecting and exploring the records. Nor do the specialists in literature, philosophy, and some other lines, seem to realise how useful to them, if they would only peruse the published versions of the records, would be the results that can be brought forward from that source. And **some of the objects of the present paper** are to explain the nature of these records and the extent to which they help us, and to shew the paramount importance of them in the various lines of research that have been indicated, with the hope of creating a more general interest in them and of persuading more workers to join in the exploration of them.

We want to arouse a more general and practical interest in the epigraphic records among the specialists in literature, philosophy, the history of the religions, and other lines. It can only be imagined that the reason for which the records have not yet appealed more to the specialists, is, that the nature and possibilities of them have never been brought forward with sufficient prominence. And we hope to do something now towards supplying this deficiency. It is not always, of course, that a single inscription, taken by itself, establishes anything of special importance; and we must not expect to make a great discovery in every separate one that we examine. The value of the inscriptions results more from the way in which they all work in, one with the other. But we may mention here **two cases which illustrate the results that can occasionally be obtained from even isolated records.**

One is **the case of Lakuḷîśa.** Among the Śaivas, there was an important school, known as that of the Lakuḷîśa-Pâśupatas, whose views were thought worthy of being explained by the well

known Sâyaṇa. A historical record connected with this school, known as the Cintra Praśasti, composed during the period A. D. 1274 to 1296, was edited some eight or nine years ago by Dr. Bühler,[1] who, however, found that he could not tell us anything about the early history and initial date of the school. The required clue is supplied by one of the southern records, an inscription of A. D. 1035 at Baḷagâmi in Mysore,[2] which shows that Lakuḷîśa was then alive, and was at Baḷagâmi, by the simple fact, which it registers, that a grant, which was then made for the rites of a temple there, was made to him. And, with this to guide us, it was easy to trace another mention of him in a record of A. D. 1019 or 1020, and to determine that he began his career at Mêlpâḍi in the North Arcot district, Madras, where, doubtless, he laid the foundations of the reputation and influence that he subsequently acquired,— that from there he went to Baḷagâmi, and attached himself to one of the great Śaiva establishments at that place, namely the college of the Kâḷâmukhas of the temple of Pañchaliṅga, — and that later on he proceeded to Gujarât, and then, settling at Kârvâṇ in the Baroda State, founded there the school of Pâśupatas which carried on the memory of him for so long a time.

The other is **the case of the revival of Śaivism in the twelfth century A. D.** In the Kanarese country, there is the important sect of the Liṅgâyats or Vîra-Śaivas. Their tenets are explained in the *Basavapurâṇa* and the *Channabasavapurâṇa*, which also give the traditional account of the establishment of the sect and of the revival of Śaivism which it accompanied, attributing both to a certain Basava and his nephew Channabasava, who are represented as having held, in succession, the office of prime minister under the Kaḷachurya king Bijjala of Kalyâṇi (A. D. 1156 to 1167). Scepticism as to the correctness of these accounts had been created by the fact, that no mention of Basava and Channabasava is to be found in any of the numerous epigraphic records of that period that have been brought to light. The fact that the *Channabasavapurâṇa* would place the death of Basava in A. D. 785, four centuries before the true time of Bijjala, was not calculated to allay suspicion. And any amount of uncertainty and speculation might have been the result. The matter, however, has been settled by an inscription at Ablûr in the Dhârwâr district.[3] The events narrated in this record are referred, by the connection of them with the well known names and period of Bijjala and the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV., to the latter half of the twelfth century A. D. The record shews that it was then, indeed, that the revival of Śaivism took place. But it shews also that the person who actually effected it, was the Brâhmaṇ Êkântada-Râmayya, born at Alande in the Nizam's Dominions. And it gives a very racy and interesting account of the circumstances in which he lived and worked, and illustrates pointedly how quickly, in India, real historical events may come to be overlaid with what is purely imaginary and mythical. And, in connection with this record, we take the Managôḷi inscription of A. D. 1161;[4] and there, in the person of a certain Basavarasayya who founded a *liṅga*-temple, evidently of some considerable size and repute, in the neighbourhood of the alleged birth-place of the founder of the sect, we may find the original of the Basava of the Liṅgâyat *Purâṇas.*

As an instance of the more general uses to which the details of epigraphic work may be applied, we may take the case of **the Bower Manuscript,** — an ancient document written on leaves made from dried birch-bark. It had been obtained through excavations at "the foot of one of the curious old erections of which several are to be found in the Kuchar "district." It was secured and brought to notice by Lieutenant Bower,[5] from whom it derives its name. And Dr. Hoernle has shewn that, in this manuscript, we have a veritable original document, which is a relic that has come down to us from the period A. D. 400 to 450.[6] The contents of this work, which include a medical treatise, a Buddhist tale, and a collection of proverbial sayings, may or may not be of practical value. But it is neither uninteresting nor

[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 271.
[2] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 227.
[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 237.
[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 9.
[5] See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIX Part I., Proceedings, p. 221.
[6] Vol. XXI above, pp. 37, 38.

unimportant, to have it proved to our satisfaction that, under favourable conditions, a document written on so frail a material as birch-bark can survive for fourteen centuries. It would, however, have been difficult, if not impossible, to establish this conclusively, without the help, for the palæographic examination of the document, of the photo-lithographic reproductions of ancient records which were given as an accompaniment to the texts and translations of them in my volume on the Gupta inscriptions.

And there is one other matter, illustrating still more pointedly **the general value of the inscriptions and the hopelessness of attempting to deal finally with any Indian questions without their help and guidance,** which is worth noting here, because of the bearing that it has been supposed to have on the history of Sanskrit literature. We mean **the Vikrama legend.** One of the principal reckonings of the Hindûs is an era which runs from B. C. 57. A Hindû legend tells us that a celebrated king Vikrama or Vikramâditya of Ujjaîn, in Mâlwa, began to reign in that year, and founded the era, which, on that view, runs from the commencement of his reign. Another version of it asserts that he died in that year, and that the reckoning runs from his death. In either version, the legend appears to be of Jain origin. It is common to both the Digambaras and the Śvêtâmbaras. And the *Gâthâs* or Prâkrit verses, upon which the earlier portions of some of the Jain *Paṭṭâvalis* or successions of the pontiffs are based, pretend to put forward such details about Vikramâditya as that "for eight years he played as a child; for "sixteen he roamed over the country; for fifty-six" — (? fifteen) — "he exercised rule, being given "over to false doctrine; for forty years he was devoted to the religion of the Jina and then "obtained heaven."[7] An addition to the legend connects Vikramâditya with some foreign invaders of India who were called Śakas; and this, again, appears in two versions: one version represents him as regaining the kingdom of Ujjain after the Śaka kings had dispossessed his father and had reigned there for four years prior to B. C. 57;[8] and the other, — as reported by Albêrûnî in the eleventh century A. D., — brings the Śakas on the scene a hundred and thirty-five years later, and asserts that Vikramâditya marched against the Śaka king, and put him to flight and killed him "in the region of Karûr, between Multân and the castle of Lônî," and that, in celebration of this, there was established the Śaka era commencing A. D. 78.[9] And another addition asserts that at the court of Vikramâditya there flourished "the Nine Gems," namely, the poet Kâlidâsa, the astronomer Varâhamihira (died A. D. 587), the lexicographer Amarasiṁha, and the various authors Dhanvantari, Ghaṭakarpara, Kshapaṇaka, Śaṅku, Vararuchi, and Vêtâlabhaṭṭa.[10] Such is the legend. And Mr. Fergusson, led away by the belief, — justifiable enough at the time, forty years ago, — that no inscriptions of any early

[7] Vol. XXI. above, p. 71; and see Vol. XX. p. 350.

[8] See Bhau Daji's analysis of Mêrutuṅga's *Thêrâvali* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 148).

[9] Sachau's *Translation of Albêrûnî's India*, Vol. II. p. 6.

[10] The authority for this is a well known verse, for which no period can be fixed at present. It is to be found in the *Jyôtirvidâbharana*, which claims to have been composed by Kâlidâsa himself (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc*, Vol. VI. p. 26), but is really to be attributed to about the sixteenth century A. D. (Weber, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 201, note). But it appears to be "a mere waif and stray, that has come from nobody knows where" (Weber, *ibid.*), like various other verses that are floating about the country, for instance, the verse about the *anâmikâ* or ring-finger (Vol. IV. above, p. 85, and Peterson's Second Report on Sanskrit MSS. p. 62, which quotes it from the anthology of Harikavi called *Hariharâvali*). — If we could place any reliance on an inscription which is said to have been on a stone at Bôdh-Gayâ and to have been copied by Mr. Wilmot in 1785, and of which a translation was published by Wilkins from the copy attributed to Mr. Wilmot (*As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 284, reprint of 1798), we should have a general reference to "the Nine Gems," with the mention of one of them, Amaradêva-(Amarasiṁha), carried back to A. D. 948. But the translation represents an extraordinary record, which purports to give an epitome of the *Vâyupurâṇa* in respect of the account of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and to register the building of a temple of Buddha by Amaradêva It does not indicate in any way the style of a genuine record of the tenth century. And Sir Alexander Cunningham could not find the alleged original inscription at Bôdh-Gayâ (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 6, 12). He seems to have subsequently arrived at the conclusion that a copy had been made of a forged inscription, which afterwards disappeared But it appears more probable that some fraud was practised on Mr. Wilmot, and that he has been mistakenly described as copying the text from an original stone, and that there was palmed off on him an imaginative copy of an alleged original which did not really exist at all.

period, dated in the Vikrama era, could be produced, propounded the theory that the era was not actually in use from B. C. 57, but was invented in the tenth or eleventh century A. D. His ultimate conclusions were, that there was a king of Ujjain named Harsha-Vikramâditya, reigning, according to him, in the period A. D. 495 to 530, — that the battle of Karûr was fought in his time, — that the real date of that battle may have been A. D. 524, — that the Hindûs of later times, however, made a mistake of twenty years, and placed it in a year answering to A. D. 544, — that they wished to have a new reckoning which should supersede the Śaka era, and, for certain conveniences of chronology, should run from an earlier epoch than that era, — that they created an apparent reckoning from B. C. 57 by counting back ten cycles of the sixty-year system from A. D. 544, — and that they found a name for the era in one of the appellations of Harsha-Vikramâditya of Ujjain.[11] Now, we have no epigraphic evidence of the existence of a king Vikramâditya of Ujjain who was reigning B. C. 57, and no reason whatever to believe in the existence of such a person. And, on the other hand, all the epigraphic evidence strongly negatives the possibility of there having been any king Harsha-Vikramâditya of Ujjain in, or at any time near to, the period A. D. 495 to 530 which was worked out by Mr. Fergusson, or even between A. D. 76 and 111 which is the period in which the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* would place him.[12] Also, an examination of some erroneous postulates assumed by Mr. Fergusson at starting, and of some of the untrustworthy data used by him, quickly exposes the fallacious nature of his theory. But, apart from any considerations of that kind, both the legend, and the theory propounded in the place of it, have been disproved by the results of Professor Kielhorn's examination, from the data supplied by the inscriptions, of various question connected with the era.[13] He has shewn that the earliest instances of the use of the era all come from eastern Râjputânâ, and chiefly from that part of eastern Râjputânâ which borders on, or is included in, Mâlwa. He has shewn that the era was known in A. D. 472 and 532 as "the reckoning of the Mâlavas," and in A. D. 879 as "the Mâlava time or era," and that records of A. D. 738 and 1169 speak of it as "the years of the Mâlava lord or lords." He has shewn that the word *vikrama* is first found coupled with it in a record of A. D. 842 which speaks of "the time called *vikrama*," and that we hear for the first time of a prince or king named Vikrama, in connection with the era, in a poem composed in A. D. 993, the author of which gives its date by saying that he was writing one thousand and fifty years "after king "Vikrama had ascended to the pure dwelling of the immortals." And he has shewn that the first specific mention of the era as having been established by Vikramâditya, is in a record of A. D. 1198. He has pointed out that these facts "would seem to indicate that the connection "of Vikrama with the era grew up gradually, or was an innovation which took centuries to "become generally adopted." And he has put forward the very reasonable opinion that the word *vikrama*, — from which the idea of the king Vikrama or Vikramâditya was evolved, — most probably came to be connected with the era by the poets, because the years of the reckoning originally began in the autumn, and the autumn was the season for commencing campaigns, and was, in short, the *vikrama-kâla* or "war-time." To upset Mr. Fergusson's theory, there was only needed a date earlier than A. D. 544, actually recorded before that year, and distinctly recognisable as a date of the so-called Vikrama era. And we have two such dates, of A. D. 472 and 532; and we have also two other dates, of A. D. 371 and 423, which cannot be referred to any other era, though they happen not to mention the name of the reckoning in which they are recorded. As regards the legend, all the results of epigraphic research emphatically support Professor Kielhorn's opinion that "the era was neither established by, nor designedly invented "in memory of, a king Vikramâditya." And the dates that he has been able to use, from the inscriptions, point to the period between A. D. 842 and 993, as the time during which the first crude rudiments of the full legend were evolved, or at least were brought into something like a substantial story.

[11] See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. IV. pp. 88, 99, 132, and Vol. XII. pp. 274, 277, 279.

[12] See page 15 below.

[13] See Vol. XX. above, p. 401 ff.

We epigraphists, however, not only seek to interest the specialists in the results of our work; **we want also to enlist more scholars who will participate in our work, and more supporters of it.** When Sir Walter Elliot died in 1887, and General Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1893, there passed away two scholars who, though they did not themselves aim at the critical editing of epigraphic records, recognised, as fully as anyone could, the leading importance of them, and were always ready to use to the utmost their influence to help on that special line of research. In Mr. Fergusson, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Gibbs, and Colonel Yule, again, we have, within the last fifteen years, lost very cordial and influential supporters. And our own ranks have become lamentably small; and some of us are under obligations to deal more with results than with details, which will greatly curtail the time that we can give to the editing of records. In 1888 we lost a most valuable coadjutor in Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, a Native gentleman who was working with great application and much critical skill and from a pure desire for the advancement of knowledge. And only in 1898 there passed away, in the person of Dr. Bühler, one who was a leading worker in the field. We want urgently, now, to recruit our ranks, so that the opportunities that are available may be utilised more fully than is being done at present. And we want to be in a position, when the time comes for any reconsideration of the existing archæological and epigraphic arrangements, to satisfy the Government of India that official encouragement has been fully responded to, and that, so far from any curtailment of it being possible, — an issue which would entail a greater misfortune than can at present be realised, — we require and deserve, and can utilise, still greater facilities for exploration and publication. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments maintain an Epigraphic Staff and Archæological Surveys, through which materials for work, in the shape of ink-impressions and photographs, can always be obtained by those who have no access to the original records. And they maintain also a special Journal for the publication of the results that may be produced, either from materials obtained through the agencies indicated above, or from materials collected in any other way by private energy. That Journal is the *Epigraphia Indica.* It was started as a separate official publication in 1888 or 1889 by Dr. Burgess, who then held the post of Director-General of the Archæological Survey. From 1894 it has been carried on in connection with the *Indian Antiquary,* — and in consequence, largely, of the liberal support given by Colonel Temple, the proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary,* — under the direction of the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Hultzsch. And, by the size of its pages and the freedom with which facsimiles are issued, and in other features, it is better suited than any other Journal for the publication of the epigraphic records. Nevertheless, in the five volumes of this Journal that have now been completed, we find the names of only six writers — (and one of them, Dr. Bühler unhappily now dead), — who can in any way be referred to as habitual contributors. The six writers alluded to, have supplied no less than a hundred and eighty-seven out of the total number of two hundred and thirteen articles included in the five volumes. And we cannot point to any contributions to other Journals, during the same period, which indicate any appreciable activity on the part of other scholars in the same line elsewhere. The pages of the five volumes in question have been filled to very good purpose. But it is extraordinary that so few habitual workers can be found in so interesting and important a line of research. And it is extraordinary that such results as we have been able to put forward in those five volumes and in other publications, should have received, as far as we can judge from any published use of them, so little recognition at the hands of specialists in other lines than that of the political history, who would find much to interest them, and to repay them for the trouble, if they would only examine the five volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* of which we speak, and the other publications to which we allude. We want to induce more workers to join us. And we look for recruits specially to the class of scholars who have a certain knowledge of Sanskṛit to start with; because, though most of the records are not in Sanskṛit, that tongue is more or less the key to the languages in which they were written, and a general knowledge of Sanskṛit literature and mythology is essential to a proper understanding of many of the allusions in the records.

At the same time, anyone who has made himself conversant with one of the vernaculars in its archaic form and ancient literature, has necessarily acquired, by that process, a considerable acquaintance with the Sanskṛit vocabulary, and can easily master, by general reading, what else is wanted. A preliminary knowledge of Sanskṛit itself, therefore, is by no means absolutely indispensable. As regards other leading languages, in Kanarese, at any rate, we have, in the Rev. F. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, a scholarly and admirable compilation which has now placed it in the power of all Western students to understand fully, and do justice to, the beauties of that highly polished and powerful tongue; and in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vols. I. and II. and Part I. of Vol. III., we have a number of carefully edited versions, a study of which would go far towards removing any difficulties in the way of grappling with the epigraphic peculiarities of Tamil. It is no specially difficult matter to now approach the epigraphic records. And a very brief study of some of the versions that have been most recently edited, and of the results brought forward from them, would quickly teach the lines on which it is desirable to deal with the records so as to produce the uniformity of treatment that is requisite, and would inevitably awake an interest that would induce a steady desire to co-operate in the work that we have in hand.

As has been intimated above, **we are indebted but very little, and not at all for the more ancient periods, to any historical works compiled by the Hindûs themselves.** And it is very questionable whether the ancient Hindûs ever possessed the true historical sense, that is to say the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines. As we shall see, they could write short historical compositions, concise and to the point, but limited in scope. But no evidence of their possession of the faculty of dealing with history on general lines has survived to us, in the shape of any genuine historical work, deliberately written by them as such, and also accurate and reliable. The experience of the Arabian writer Albêrûnî, in the eleventh century A.D., was, that "the Hindûs do not pay much attention to "the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession "of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what "to say, they invariably take to tale-telling."[14] And, certainly, such attempts as have been made by the Hindûs of more recent times, do not display any capabilities from which we might infer that their early ancestors possessed the faculty, even if they did not exercise it. Early in the present century, there was put together, — apparently, quite spontaneously, and not in consequence of any lead givenb y Western inquirers, — a Kanarese compilation entitled *Rájávali-kathe* or "the story of the succession of kings," which purports to trace the history of Jainism, especially in connection with the province of Mysore on the political history of which, also, it pretends to throw light, from the earliest possible times; the published extracts from this work,[15] however, shew that it is simply an imaginative production, of the most fanciful kind, based on the wildest legends, to which no value of any sort can be attached for early historical purposes.[16] At apparently some earlier time, as yet not fixed, there was drawn up, in the same part of the country, a Tamil chronicle entitled *Koṅgudêśarâjâkkaḷ*[17] or "the kings of the Koṅgu country," which purports to give a connected historical account of Mysore from the first century A. D.; but in this case, again, the fanciful nature of the work, and its utter want of reliability for any purposes of early history, are disclosed at once by the very slightest thoughtful examination: for instance, at the outset, not only does it give, as real facts, the fictitious

[14] Sachau's *Translation of Albêrûnî's India*, Vol. II. p. 6.

[15] See Mr. Rice's *Inscrs. at Srav.-Beḷ.* Introd. pp. 3 ff., 8 ff., 25 f., 61.

[16] For one illustration of this, see Vol. XXI. above, p. 157; and regarding the apocryphal character of one of the earlier works on which it may be based, the *Bhadrabâhucharita*, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 23, note 1.

[17] For Prof. Dowson's abstract of the contents of this work, see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. VIII. p. 1 ff. He has spoken (p. 2) of a translation of it, "in the volume of MSS. at the India House;" this, if it could be found, might perhaps throw some light on the period of its compilation and on its connection with the spurious records of Mysore. It also appears (*ibid.*) that another translation of the work was made by the Rev. W. Taylor.

pedigree and history with which we are familiar from the spurious copper-plate grants of the Western Gaṅga series, but also,[18] before the first of the fictitious Gaṅga kings, it places, in the period A. D. 82 to 178 and before that time, some of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings whose dates really lay between A. D. 675 and 956. Notices of other chronicles, relating for instance to the Chôḷa, Pallava, and Pâṇḍya territories and to the Têliṅgâna country, are to be found in Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection.* These have, perhaps, not yet been criticised in detail. But a perusal of the notices discloses features very similar to those of the *Râjâvalikathe* and the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkkaḷ.* And, though they may be of some use in the geographical line of inquiry, we have no primâ-facie reason to expect to find in these works, also, anything of the slightest historical value for early times.

And yet **there were, undoubtedly, genuine materials in abundance,** from which histories of the most valuable kind might have been compiled in early times.

In the first place, we know how, in India, **pedigrees** are always **forthcoming,** even in the present day, to an extent that is unknown in Western countries. Among families connected in any way hereditarily with the administration, even the Gauḍas or Pâṭîls and the Kuḷkarṇîs, the village headmen and accountants, can always bring forward, — whenever there is any inquiry into their *watans* or rights and privileges, or any dispute among themselves, — genealogical tables, unquestionably not altogether unauthentic, which exhibit the most complicated ramifications of their houses, and often go back for two or three centuries ; and even the death of an ordinary cultivator usually results in the production of a similar table, though of more limited scope, in the inquiry that is held to determine his heirs. Every *maṭha* or religious college of any importance preserves the succession of its heads. Among the Jains, we have the *Paṭṭâvalis* or successions of pontiffs, for a full and lucid notice of some of which we are indebted to Dr. Hoernle :[19] they purport to run back to even the death of the last *Tîrthaṁkara* Vardhamâna-Mahâvîra in, let us say, B. C. 527 ; and, though the earlier portions of them were put together in their present form not before the ninth century A. D. (because they exhibit the Vikrama-legend)[20] and with results that are capable of considerable adjustment, they are, no doubt, based upon more ancient and correct lists that were then extant. The preservation of pedigrees and successions has evidently been a national characteristic for very many centuries. And we can, not doubt that considerable attention was paid to the matter in connection with the royal families and that **Vaṁśâvalis or Râjâvalis, lists of the lineal successions of kings,** were compiled and kept from very early times. In fact, the matter is not one of speculation, but is capable of proof. We distinctly recognise the use of such *Vaṁśâvalis,* — giving the relationships and successions of kings, but no chronological details beyond the record of the total duration of each reign with occasionally a coronation-date recorded in an era, — in the copper-plate records. We trace them, for instance, in the introductory passages of the grants of the Eastern Chalukya series,[21] which, from the period A. D. 918 to 925 onwards, name the successive kings beginning with the founder of the line who reigned three centuries before that time, but do not put forward more than the length of the reign of each of them ; and, from certain differences in the figures for some of the reigns, we recognise that there were varying recensions of those *Vaṁśâvalis.* We trace the use of *Vaṁśâvalis* again in the similar records of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, which, from A. D. 1058 onwards,[22] give the same details about the kings of that line with effect from about A. D. 890, and one of which, issued in A. D. 1296,[23] includes a coronation-date of A. D.

[18] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 170 f.

[19] Vol. XX. above, p. 341, and Vol. XXI. p. 57. For others, see Vol. XI. above, pp. 245, 251, Peterson's Second Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 89, 163, and Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1883-84, pp. 14, 319.

[20] See page 3 f. above.

[21] See, for instance, Vol. XIV. above, p. 55, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 36, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 131.

[22] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV p. 183.

[23] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXV. Part I. p. 229.

1141 or 1142. And there is other proof also.[24] There has been brought to light from Nêpâl a long *Vaṁśâvali*,[25] which purports to give an unbroken list of the rulers of that country, with the lengths of their reigns and an occasional landmark in the shape of the date of an accession stated in an era, back from A. D. 1768 to even so fabulous an antiquity as six or seven centuries before the commencement of the Kali age in B. C. 3102. It contains gross mistakes in chronology; for instance, it places B. C. 101 to 34 Aṁśuvarman, of the Ṭhâkurî dynasty, who, we know, was ruling in A. D. 635 and 649 or 650,[26] and, partly through committing one of the usual leading faults of Hindû compilations, namely of treating contemporaneous dynasties as successive dynasties, it places about the end of the seventh century B. C. a certain Vṛishadêva, of the Sûryavaṁśi or Lichchhavi dynasty, who, we know, was a contemporary of Aṁśuvarman. And, as was pointed out by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji who brought the full *Vaṁśâvali* to notice critically, "it possesses no value what-"ever as a whole," and "no single one of its several portions is free from the most serious errros," and it is useless for reconstructing the earlier history of Nêpâl, even by adjustment with respect to any names and dates that are known from other sources. But, in connection with the above-mentioned Vṛishadêva, and in spite of the error in respect of his date, it teaches one thing which is of use. From him, whom it places No. 18 in the Sûryavaṁśi dynasty, to Vasantadêva, No. 23, it gives correctly a list of six successive names, which we have verified from epigraphic records. It allots to each of these rulers, it is true, a length of reign which not only is impossible in itself, but also is disproved in one case at least by the epigraphic records. But the fact remains, that the names are given correctly and in the right order. This short list was certainly not based on some ancient charter read by the original compiler of this portion of the *Vaṁśâvali*. What would have happened, if that had been the case, is suggested plainly enough by the Konnûr inscription from the Dhârwar district,[27] which purports to be the reproduction of a charter, dated A. D. 860, of the time of the Râshtrakûta king Amôghavarsha I. Here, we have a record on stone, which says that it was embodied in that shape in accordance with a copper-plate charter that was read and explained by a certain Jain teacher named Vîranandin, the son of Mêghachandra. Partly from the characters of the record, and partly from the known fact that Mêghachandra died A. D. 1115, we know that this record was not put on the stone before the twelfth century A. D. We do not dispute the alleged fact that Vîranandin drafted the stone record from some ancient charter on copper. But we find either that he could not read that charter correctly, or that he did not take the trouble to interpret it aright; for, not only has he misstated the relationship of some of the Râshtrakûta kings whom the stone version does mention and omitted others whom it ought to have included, but also, — probably from a wrong interpretation of some verse which we have not as yet found in a genuine record, — he has placed at the head of the Râshtrakûta genealogy a purely fictitious person, whom he has called Prichchhakarâja. If the list from Vṛishadêva to Vasantadêva in the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali* had been put together in the same way from some ancient deed, the compiler of that part of the document would undoubtedly have committed some similar mistakes. And we have no hesitation in saying that he took these six names from some genuine early *Vaṁśâvali*, accessible to him, which had survived from the time of the rulers to whom it referred; and probably the duration of the reigns was given correctly by him, and was falsified subsequently by some later compiler, to suit his own scheme of the whole chronology. The Bower Manuscript has shewn us how long even perishable documents may survive. And we may not unreasonably hope that an exploration of some buried city, or even of one or other of the numerous private collections of ancient manuscripts that still remain to be examined, may some day result in the discovery of some of the early and authentic *Vaṁśâvalis*. Meanwhile, we have to be very cautious in accepting what we do obtain in this line. We have before us the example, not only of this Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali*, but also of some *Vaṁśâvalis* from Orissa, which do not indeed pretend to quite such fabulous antiquity, but which nevertheless purport to present an unbroken list of the kings of

[24] Kalhaṇa, writing in A. D. 1148-49, mentions lists of kings of Kashmîr which had been put together by Kshêmêndra and Hêlârâja (see page 11 below). But we do not quote these as proof of our present point; because they were compilations, not original lists prepared under the dynasties to which they belonged.

[25] Vol. XIII. above, p. 411.

[26] *Gupta Inscrs.* Introd. p. 189

[27] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 25.

that province, going back from A. D. 1871 to the commencement of the Kali age, with the length of the reign of each, and with certain specified dates as epochs. And the results put forward by them, and by the palm-leaf archives of the temple of Jagannâtha at Purî, have been supposed to give at any rate certain definite and reliable land-marks in the early history. But an examination of them and of the archives[28] has shewn that, for at least the period anterior to about A. D. 1100, they are utterly fanciful and misleading, and that they were devised, chiefly from imagination, simply to magnify the antiquity and importance of the temple of Jagannâtha and of all its surroundings and connections. These local annals are not correct even in respect of so radical a point as the building of that temple. They attribute it to a king Anangabhîma, whom they would place A. D. 1175 to 1202; whereas we know, from the epigraphic records, that it was built by a predecessor of his, Anantavarma-Chôḍaganga-Gangêśvara, in the period A. D. 1075 to 1141 or 1142. Further, they actually divide this latter king into two persons, — Chôḍaganga and Gangêśvara, — to whom they would allot the periods A.D. 1132 to 1152 and 1152 to 1166. For the period anterior to him, they do not incorporate any ancient and authentic lists of rulers, but simply bring forward, amongst a host of fabulous names, a few historic kings, some of them not even connected with Orissa at all, whose dates they grossly misplace. And thus these records, again, are absolutely worthless for any purposes of ancient history.

In the genuine early *Vaṁśâvalis*, materials must long have been extant, which could have been turned to most valuable account, if only for the bare outlines of political history. But there were plainly more ample materials than these. Of course, the elaborate routine of modern times had not been devised. Still, with the great advance towards civilisation which the Hindûs had made even in the fourth century B. C., and with the careful and detailed system of administration which is disclosed by the epigraphic records, there must have been, from early times, a fairly extensive system of **official records.** In any such state of advancement, there are certain precautions and arrangements, indicated by common sense, which would inevitably be adopted. Copies of important orders issued must be kept on record in the issuing office, as a reminder to make sure that instructions given are duly and fully carried out. And orders received must be filed in the receiving office, to be produced in justification of any particular measures taken in giving effect to them. The specific terms of treaties and alliances must be reduced to writing, and copies must be kept for reference by each of the contracting parties. Diaries of some kind must be kept by local governors, from which to prepare from time to time the periodical reports on their administration. A record must be kept, on both sides, of tribute paid by the great feudatory nobles and received by the paramount sovereign. And, even under a system of farming the revenues, accounts of some kind must be framed, of the proceeds of provincial customs and taxes and of village revenues, and of the expenditure incurred on the collection of them. Notes of all these matters must have been preserved in some form or another, in all the various offices. But it is probable that they were kept in the shape of **general day-books,** — something like the Diaries of the Pêshwâs of the eighteenth century,[29] — dealing with all matters mixed, rather than according to any system of separate ledgers and files for each branch of business. Except on the hypothesis of such a system of day-books, it is difficult to account for the manner in which, for instance, the date of a record of A. D. 1008 at Tanjore cites the one hundred and twenty-fourth and one hundred and forty-third days of the twenty-fourth year of the Chôḷa king Râjarâja I.,[30] and the date of a record of A. D. 1113 at Tiruvârûr in the Tanjore district cites the three hundred and fortieth day of the fifth year of the reign of his descendant Vikrama-Chôḷa-dêva;[31] for such a detail to be cited conveniently, there must have been available some such books, in which the days were entered and numbered, and the events of them were posted up, as they ran.[32]

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28 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 334 ff.

29 For a sample of these Diaries, see the Extracts relating to Political Matters from the *Rājniśi* or journal of the Pêshwâ Sâhu from A. D. 1713-14 to 1734-35, which have been recently published. I understand that we are indebted to Mr. Ganesh Chimnaji Vad for the compilation of the extracts, and that they are being printed by the Dekkan Vernacular Translation Society, Poona.

30 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 14.

31 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 73.

32 A rather curious instance of citing the days is furnished by the Tiruppûvanam grant of the Pâṇḍya king Jaṭâvarma-Kulaśêkhara, which mentions the four thousand three hundred and sixtieth day of his thirteenth year

In such day-books and other records, valuable items of historical information would abound. The compilation, however, of any general history from them would, no doubt, be a somewhat complicated and laborious matter. But there were, plainly, other materials of a more concise kind, that might have been used with great facility, in the shape of **dynastic archives and chronicles,** which, in some cases at least, survived for a considerable time after the disappearance of the dynasties to which they belonged, and from which comprehensive and very valuable accounts might easily have been put together. It can only have been from ancient archives, of considerable fulness of detail, which had fallen into their own hands, that the Western Châlukya kings of Kalyâṇi derived the knowledge that they possessed, and exhibited in some of their records, of the earlier Chalukya dynasty of Bâdâmi, — separated from themselves by an interval of three centuries, during which an extraneous dynasty possessed the sovereignty, — from which they claimed to be descended; this is pointedly illustrated by the mention, in the Kauthêṁ grant of A. D. 1009,[33] of Maṅgalêśa, who was not in the direct line of descent, and therefore might easily have been lost sight of in a mere *Vaṁśâvali*, and by the preservation, in the same record, among certain other details which tradition alone, or a mere list of kings, would not account for, of the memory of the conquest by him of the territory of Rêvatîdvîpa, and by the way in which the record glosses over his attempt to break the direct and rightful senior line of succession in favour of transmitting the crown to his own son, by representing him as simply a regent during the minority of his nephew Pulakêśin II., to whom, it says, he eventually restored the throne in pious accordance with the custom and laws of the Chalukya kings. And the Śilâhâra princes of the Southern Koṅkaṇ must have kept a careful record of their paramount sovereigns, the Rāshtrakûṭas, as well as of themselves, to account for the statement about the rise of their own family under Kṛishṇa I., and for the full account of the Rāshṭrakûṭa genealogy, as well as of their own pedigree, that is given in the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of A. D. 1008,[34] issued by the Śilâhâra Raṭṭarâja in the time of the Western Châlukya king Irivabeḍaṅga-Satyâśraya. These cases indicate distinctly the compilation and survival of dynastic chronicles, which were doubtless carried on chapter by chapter after the death of each successive king or prince. And we can actually recognise the copy of a chapter, or of the draft of the beginning of a chapter, of such a chronicle, compiled most probably from day-books or other miscellaneous sources, in the Udayagiri inscription of B. C. 151,[35] which gives a succinct account of the career of Khâravêla of Kaliṅga from his birth to the thirteenth year of his reign : it tells us that he spent fifteen years in princely sports, — that for nine years he enjoyed power as *Yuvarâja* or heir-apparent and appointed successor, — and that he was crowned to the succession at the end of his twenty-fourth year; and then it briefly enumerates, year by year, the principal events of his reign, and certain large items of expenditure on public works and charity, as far as the thirteenth year. In this department, again, we may hope that future explorations will result in discoveries that will give us reading of a particularly interesting kind.

These materials did not remain altogether unutilised. We can trace a use of at least the *Vaṁśâvalis* **in the historical chapters of the Purāṇas**, which, composed apparently before the ninth century A. D. (because they do not include the Vikrama legend),[36] do certainly indicate a desire on the part of the ancient Hindûs not to ignore general history altogether, and are clearly based upon ancient archives which had survived in a more or less complete shape and were somehow or other accessible to the composers of those works. At the same time, it is not much, in the way of reliable history, that we gather from these chapters. In the first place, some of the necessary materials were apparently not available to the authors ; and some of the dynasties are omitted altogether: for instance, the *Purâṇas* do not include (at any rate, in anything like its proper place) any reference to the line that

(Vol. XX. above, p. 288). We can hardly imagine that the numbering of the days had run on from the first day of the reign up to that high number. And we understand that, as suggested (*loc. cit.* p. 289) the writer took the fortieth day of the thirteenth year, and, for some reason or other, added it to 360 × 12 = 4320 as the total number of the days of the preceding twelve years.

[33] Vol. XVI. above, p. 15.

[34] *Ep. Ind.* Vol III. p. 293.

[35] Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists, Vol. III. p. 135.

[36] See page 3f. above.

was founded by Kanishka;[37] nor do they mention the great dynasty of the Early Guptas, unless they speak of those kings as the Guptas of Magadha, whom they would place more than three centuries ahead of the present day; nor do they make any reference to the great Harshavardhana of Thâṇêsar and Kanauj, "the warlike lord," as the southern records call him, "of all the region of the north." In the second place, while the authors have usually given us the supposed duration of each dynasty, and in some cases even the lengths of individual reigns, they did not think it worth their while to give us any fixed points in the shape of dates recorded in any of the Hindû eras. Thirdly, some of the materials that were used by the authors had apparently become imperfect: for instance, the *Purâṇas* assign only a hundred and thirty-seven years as the period of the Maurya kings; whereas we know, from the Udayagiri inscription of Khâravêla,[38] that the Maurya dynasty lasted for at least twenty-eight years longer; for, it is only in consequence of the continuance of the Maurya sway, not only in the original territory of the dynasty but also over the conquered province of Kaliṅga, that that record could be dated, as it is, in the hundred and sixty-fifth year of the time of the Maurya kings. In the fourth place, even allowing for corruption by successive copyists, it seems plain that, — be the cause what it may; for instance, sometimes inability to decipher ancient characters, — the authors have not always given us even the names of their kings with accuracy; compare, for instance, the Purâṇic lists of the Andhrabhṛityas, with each other, and still more with such information about those kings as we have obtained from the epigraphic records. And, finally, the extravagant chronological results that these chapters present, shew that the authors here, again, committed the usual Hindû fault of treating contemporaneous dynasties as successive: thus, to take only a part of the whole list, from the beginning of the Mauryas to the end of the Kailakila-Yavanas the *Vishṇupurâṇa* gives us a total period of two thousand five hundred and fifty-five years, apply this to B. C. 315, as the most probable exact year of the accession of the first Maurya king Chandragupta,[39] and we have the end of the Kailakila-Yavanas in A. D. 2240, three centuries and a half in the future from even the present time; and we have to place after that a variety of other rulers, including the Guptas of Magadha, who, the same work says, followed the Kailakila-Yavanas. While, therefore, the historical chapters of the *Purâṇas* undoubtedly have some basis of truth, the treatment of the subject in them is sketchy and meagre, the details are incomplete, inaccurate, and extravagant, and we cannot bind ourselves to follow them even in the general outline of the alleged sucesssion of the various dynasties.

The only other indication, that has survived from any antiquity, of an attempt on the part of the Hindûs to put together anything in the shape of a general history, is the **Râjataraṁgiṇî**, on the first eight cantos of which Kalhaṇa was engaged in A. D. 1148-49.[40] Kalhaṇa mentions certain previous writers, — Suvrata, whose work, he says, was made difficult by misplaced learning; Kshêmêndra, who drew up a list of kings, of which, however, he says, no part is free from mistakes; Nîlamuni, who wrote the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*; Hêlârâja, who composed a list of kings in twelve thousand verses; and Śrîmihira or Padmamihira, and the author of the *Śrîchchhavillâ*. His own work, he tells us, was based on eleven collections of *Râjakathâs* or stories about kings,[41] and on the work of Nîlamuni. He says he sought to remove all errors by consulting charters issued by ancient kings, and laudatory inscriptions on stones, and manuscripts. And he has presented us with a detailed account of Kashmîr, including

[37] Here, and in connection with what follows, see Wilson's Translation of the *Vishnupurâna*, Vol. IV. p. 178 ff.— Dr. Bhandarkar seems to be of the opinion (see his *Early History of the Dekkan*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Part II., p. 161 ff), that the *Vâyupurâna* and the *Matsyapurâna* are older works than the one that I quote, and that the figures given in them are, on the whole, more worthy of being quoted, though the texts have, in some cases at least, undergone corruption. There is no objection to that view. But I can conveniently quote only the figures of the *Vishnupurâṇa*. And there is no recognisable discrepancy in respect of the broad features to which I draw attention.

[38] See page 10 above, note 35.

[39] See Miss Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 10.

[40] In connection with the following remarks, see the extracts given by Dr. Buhler (Vol. VI. above, p. 268), and by Dr. Hultzsch (Vol. XVIII. above, pp. 65, 97, and Vol. XIX. p. 231.

[41] Compare, — especially as helping to illustrate how fictitious matter might come to be introduced into such stories, — the discourse about religion, and the recital of the praises of ancient and recent devotees of Śiva, in which Sômêśvara IV. and his commander-in-chief indulged on a certain occasion (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 258; see also *ibid.* p. 233, for another instance of a *dharmaprasaṅga* or talk about religion between village officials).

occasional items of external history, which purports to go back to B. C. 2448, and has given us the alleged exact details of the length of the reign of each successive king from B. C. 1182 onwards. We may expect to find him fairly correct for his own time, and for the preceding century or so. But an examination of the details of his work quickly exposes its imaginative character, and its unreliability, for any early period. It places the great Maurya king Aśôka a thousand years before his real time. It places B. C. 704 to 634 Mihirakula, the great foreign invader of India, whose real period was closely about A. D. 530.[42] It places about eight centuries after Mihirakula a Tôramâṇa, the original of whom can be none other than Tôramâṇa the father of Mihirakula. And, though Kalhaṇa could put forward such exact details as four years nine months and one day for the duration of the reign of Mâtṛigupta (A. D. 106 to 111, as worked out by Dr. Hultzsch), he was obliged to allot to Raṇâditya I. a reign of three centuries (A. D. 205 to 505), simply, as Dr. Hultzsch has put it, in order to save his own chronology.

With these exceptions, — namely the historical chapters of the *Purâṇas* and the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, — the ancient Hindûs seem to have never made any real attempt to deal with history on general lines; they have left us to gather what we can from their **ordinary literary works,** into which they have occasionally introduced historical matter, but, as can clearly be seen, only as an incidental detail of quite secondary and subordinate importance.

In **the body of their literature,** the Hindûs do not help us much. The plots of some of the plays, the classical poems, and the collections of imaginative stories, were woven round historic names, both of persons and of places. But it is seldom, except in the geographical line, that such allusions can be put to any practical use. They help us to locate places, and to fix the limits of countries; for instance, we know, from other sources, that the ancient Tâmaliptî is the modern Tamlûk in the Midnapur district, and thus the incidental statement in the *Daśakumâracharita* that Tâmaliptî was in the Suhma country,[43] gives us a more precise indication, than is obtainable elsewhere, as to the exact part of Bengal that was known by the name of Suhma. And they help us to establish the antiquity of places; thus, we know, from the Aihole inscription of the time of Pulakêśin II., that the celebrated poet Kâlidâsa flourished before A. D. 634; and, so, the mention by him of Gôkarṇa,[44] in the North Kanara district, Bombay, carries back the existence of that place, as a famous Śaiva site, to at least the beginning of the seventh century A. D. In the historical line, however, the allusions teach us little, if anything. The works do not give dates for what is told in them: and naturally enough; the similar productions of other countries, also, do not aim at being historical records, and at including chronological details. The works in question are of use historically, only when the date of an author happens to be known, and we are enabled thereby to fix a latest possible limit for a historic name, mentioned by him, for which we have otherwse no specific date at all.

There are, indeed, a few compositions, which put forward certain distinct historical pretensions, but which cannot, in truth, be taken as anything more serious than **historical romances.** In Sanskṛit, we have the *Harshacharita* of Bâṇa, and the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* of Bilhaṇa. The first deals with the achievements or career of the great northern king Harsha, Harshadêva, or Harshavardhana of Thâṇêsar and Kanauj (A. D. 605-606 to about 648); and the second deals, in the same way, with an equally great southern king of later times, the Western Châlukya Vikramâditya VI. of Kalyâṇi (A. D. 1076 to 1126). And thus they both aim at being historical chronicles of those two periods. But they do not present the plain straightforward language of sober common sense. They imitate the classical poems, with all their elaboration of diction, metaphor, and imagery. They weave into their stories mythical and supernatural matter of the most fanciful kind. And they give us some charming reading in the poetical line. But they offer us not much beyond that. The historical information contained in the *Harshacharita* might be summed up very briefly. That in the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* is more extensive; mixed up, on the other hand, with more imaginative matter than is found in Bâṇa's work. But neither author has given us a date for anything that is mentioned by him,

[42] *Gupta Inscrs.* Introd. p. 11. [43] Wilson's Works, Vol. IV. p. 242. [44] *Raghuvaṁśa*, viii. verse 33.

We do not blame them for this: the authors of the modern European historical novels rarely give dates; and, when they do, we should hardly accept their statements for quotation without verification. We only remark that no dates are given. Bâṇa, for instance, tells us[45] that Harshavardhana was born "in the month Jyaishtha, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight, the Pleiads being in the ascendant, "just after the twilight time, when the young night had begun to climb;" but he has not given us any statement as to the year. And Bilhaṇa tells us[46] that, when Vikramâditya was born, "flowers fell "from the sky, Indra's drum resounded, and the gods rejoiced in heaven;" but he does not even name the month and day. Neither author has given us even his own date. And, if Harshavardhana and Vikramâditya were not known from more exact sources of a different kind, we should not even know to what period to refer the poets and their patrons. In the same category we must place the Tamil historical poems, — the *Kalavaḷi*, the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi*, and the *Vikrama-Chôḻan-Uḻá*,[47] — for our introduction to which we are indebted to Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai. In these, again, there is much of interest, and a good deal of importance. But here, also, there are no dates, and, so, no means in the works themselves for determining the periods to which they belong.

These works, — the dramas, the classical poems, the imaginative stories, and the historical romances, — are invaluable for the study of manners and customs, trade and commerce, methods and routes of communication, and the details of domestic, social, public, and religious life. They would furnish excellent materials for articles such as those which the Rev. T. Foulkes has given us on the Dekkan in the time of Gautama-Buddha.[48] And they supplement the epigraphic records admirably. But that is all they do. It is only in **the introductions and colophons of their literary works,** — for a knowledge of which we are indebted largely to the detailed reports of the late Professor Peterson, and of Dr. Bhandarkar, on Sanskrit manuscripts, — that the Hindûs have thought it worth their while to give us any dates to accompany such historical details as they put forward. Here, the dates are useful enough. But we find that the historical matter is introduced only incidentally, to magnify the importance of the authors themselves rather than of their patrons, and is not handled with any particular care and fulness. As typical illustrations, we take the following cases. Sômadêva tells us, in the colophon of his *Yaśastilaka*,[49] that he finished that work in the month Chaitra, Śaka-Samvat 881 expired, falling in A. D. 959, during the rule of a Châlukya prince who was the eldest son of Arikêsarin and was a feudatory of a king Kṛishṇarâjadêva. But he does not take the trouble to tell us the name of the prince, presumably his immediate patron, or to state the family or even the parentage of the king, or to indicate the territory of either the sovereign or his vassal. In this case, as it happens, we learn more about the family to which the prince belonged, from the *Vikramârjunavijaya* or *Pampa-Bhârata* of Pampa, who, writing A. D. 941-42, mentions, as his patron, the aforesaid Arikêsarin, and gives his pedigree for seven preceding generations, with apparently a tolerably definite hint as to the part of the country to which he belonged.[50] As regards the king Kṛishṇarâjadêva, — we knew, from the epigraphic records, the Râshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III., for whom we had dates in A. D. 940 and 956. And, there being no extraneous objections, we did not hesitate to identify Sômadêva's Kṛishṇarâjadêva with this Kṛishṇa III., and to extend the reign of the latter to A. D. 959, even before obtaining for him a later epigraphic date in A. D. 961.[51] In this way, Sômadêva's literary reference usefully supplemented the inscriptions. But it teaches us, in itself, little enough. And, by the way, he might plainly have told us even a good deal more than he has. The preamble of the letter issued by his hero king Yaśôdhara,[52] — particularly in its introduction of the titles "supreme lord of the town of Padmâvatîpura, lord of the mountain Kanakagiri, and owner of the Kailâsa-crest," as well as in other details, — is no mere ordinary epistle, but is an imitation of the formal preamble of a grant; from which we gather that Sômadêva had access to official papers, and used one of the drafts kept on hand for preparing charters of grants. Take, again, the case of Jahlaṇa. In the introduction to his *Subhâshitamuktâvali*, written in the period

[45] *Harshacharita*, Cowell and Thomas' Translation, p. 109.
[46] Vol. V. above, p. 318.
[47] Vol. XVIII. above, p. 259, Vol. XIX. p. 329, Vol. XXII. p. 141.
[48] Vol. XVI. above, pp. 1 ff., 49 ff.
[49] Peterson's Second Report, p. 47.
[50] Rice's *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 26.
[51] An inscription at Dêvî-Hosûr.
[52] *Loc. cit.* (note 49 above), p. 39.

A.D. 1247 to 1260,[53] he states carefully the relationships in his own pedigree, but omits to state them in the case of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava kings Bhillama, Siṅghaṇa, and Kṛishṇa, and their ancestor Mallugî, whom he mentions. And take, finally, the case of Hêmâdri. Writing in the period A. D. 1260 to 1271, in the time of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Mahâdêva, under whom, as also under his successor Râmachandra, he held the post of *Śrîkaraṇâdhipa* or superintendent of the business connected with the drawing up of documents, he aimed, in the introduction to his *Vratakhaṇḍa*,[54] at giving the full pedigree, with incidental historical items, of that branch of the Yâdavas from even Purâṇic times. In spite, however, of the free access that he must have had to the chronicles and official records of the family, — within the historical period, he has omitted, several times, to state the exact relationships of the successive members of the family ; he has apparently passed over altogether one of them, Sêuṇadêva, whose existence is established by an epigraphic record; and, as tested by an inscription of A. D. 1191 at Gadag,[55] he has suggested an altogether wrong inference regarding the parentage of Bhillama, the first paramount king in the family, within only a century before the time at which he was writing.

The dates which are given in the introductions and colophons of the literary works, in connection with the composition of those works, may of course be accepted as reliable. And any genealogical and historical items put forward in the same places, ought to be correct for a few preceding generations. But it would be **a very extraordinary and imperfect history of India** that we should put together from such references, and from the *Purâṇas*, the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, the historical romances, the general body of the literature, such *Vaṁśâvalis* as have been obtained from Orissa and Nêpâl, and the few items of alleged history that are incidentally given in the *Paṭṭâvalis*. We should doubtless recognise that the successions of kings given for India itself by the *Purâṇas*, for Kashmîr by the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, and for Nêpâl by the *Vaṁśâvali*, should be taken as separate successions, in territories the histories of which must be treated separately. We should not know exactly what conclusion to arrive at in respect of the annals of Orissa, which is a province of India itself. But, having regard to the preposterous duration allotted to each of the reigns from B. C. 3102 to 57, we should doubtless decide that all memory of the true history of that period had been lost in Orissa, and that from the next fixed point, A. D. 78, Orissa was an independent province with a history and a line of kings of its own. We could scarcely fail to detect the occurrence, in the *Purâṇas*, the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, and the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali*, of one particular name, that of Aśôka, which ought to establish a definite synchronous point in the histories of the three countries. We should not be able to deduce the date of Aśôka from the *Purâṇas*. But we should find that the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* would place him somewhere about B. C. 1260. We should find, indeed, that the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali* would place him, roughly, about B. C. 2600. As, however, that list does not mention him as a ruler of Nêpâl but only as a visitor to the country, we should probably infer a mistake in that account, and prefer to select the date of B. C. 1260. And then we should set about arranging the succession of the kings of India itself, from the *Purâṇas*, with B. C. 1260 for the approximate date of the accession of Aśôka as our starting-point.[56]

[53] Bhandarkar's Report for the years 1887-88 to 1890-91, Notices, p. 7.

[54] Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), Appendix C., p. 268.

[55] See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 516. Hêmâdri seems to have adopted here some mistaken tradition which appears also in some of the later epigraphic records.

[56] A beginning was actually made, almost in the manner suggested above, by Sir William Jones : see his dissertation on the Chronology of the Hindus, written in 1788 (*As. Res.* Vol. II. p. 111, reprint of 1799). But he took a different starting-point, and fixed it in a different way. His paper was based on a work entitled *Purâṇârthaprakâśa*, which was composed, shortly before the time at which he was writing, by Pandit Radhakant Sarman, and which seems to have been based, in its turn, chiefly on the *Bhâgavatapurâṇa*. In the first place he brought forward a verse given to him from a book entitled *Bhâgavatâmṛita*, composed by "a learned *Goswami*," which purported to fix the Kaliyuga year 1002 expired as the date of the manifestation of Buddha. With this he coupled an assertion in the same book that, two years before that date, there occurred the revolution which placed on the throne Pradyôta, the first king in the third dynasty before that of the Mauryas. And he thus exhibited a chronology which, taking the accession of Pradyôta in B. C. 2100 as its starting-point, placed the accession of Śiśunâga in B. C. 1962, the accession of Nanda in B. C 1602, and the accession of Chandragupta (the grandfather of Aśôka) in B. C. 1502, and made the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas run from B. C. 908 to 452. But he considered that the figures put forward by the

We should then examine the other available sources of information. And probably we should first note, from the Jain *Paṭṭâvalis*, the king Vanarâja, who is said to have founded Aṇhilwâḍ in Gujarât, in A. D. 746 ;[57] and we should obtain the alleged succession at Aṇhilwâḍ after him, with an initial date for each king, to A. D. 1304, from the *Pravachanaparîkshâ* of Dharmasâgara.[58] From the literary works, we should obtain a few names, with fixed dates, such as the following. Jinasêna tells us in the Jain *Harivaṁśa*, in connection with the date of that work, that in A. D. 783-84 there were reigning, — in directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamânapura, there which is to be identified with the modern Waḍhwâṇ in the Jhâlâvâḍ division of Kâṭhiâwâr, —in the north, Indrâyudha ; in the south, Śrîvallabha ; in the east, Vatsarâja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and, in the west, Varâha or Jayavarâha, in the territory of the Sauryas.[59] And from the *Channabasavapurâṇa* we should have (but, in this case, falsely)[60] a king Bijjala reigning at Kalyâṇi, in the Nizam's Dominions, contemporaneously with them. Guṇabhadra gives us, in recording the date of the completion of his *Uttarapurâṇa*, a king Akâlavarsha, with the date of A. D. 897.[61] Pampa gives us a Châlukya prince Arikêsarin, with the date of A. D. 941,[62] with his pedigree for seven generations, and with, apparently, a hint that he was ruling the territory round the modern Lakshmêshwar in the Dhârwâr district. Sômalêva gives us a king Krishṇa, with the date of A. D. 959.[63] Ranna gives us a king Âhavamalla, who was reigning A. D. 983.[64] A later Sômadêva gives us a Bhôja, who was ruling in the Kôlhâpur territory in A. D. 1205.[65] And Jñânêśvara gives us a Râmachandra, who was reigning A. D. 1290 ;[66] while another work gives a date for the same king in A. D. 1297, and shews that the Koṅkaṇ was a part of his dominions.[67] In the way of definite names with uncertain dates, we should have, from Jahlaṇa,[68] another king Krishṇa, with his predecessors Mallugi, Bhillama, and Siṅghaṇa, whom we could not place in any particular period from his information alone. And we should have, from Hêmâdri,[69] a much longer list, in which we should recognise the same names, without, however, here again the means of referring them to any particular period. We should probably obtain the right clue here from the fact that Hêmâdri elsewhere mentions, as the successor of his king Mahâdêva, a Râmachandra, who, we should guess, ought to be identified with the Râmachandra of A. D. 1290 and 1297. But in the case of Bâṇa's Harsha or Harshavardhana and Bilhaṇa's Vikramâditya, we should in all probability go completely wrong; the temptation would be almost irresistible, to identify Vikramâditya either with a Vikramâditya who is mentioned in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* as a contemporary of Pratâpâditya of Kashmîr in the period B. C. 180 to 148, or else with the Vikramâditya of Ujjain of the legend, who is supposed to have died or to have begun to reign in B. C. 57, and to identify Harsha with a certain Harsha-Vikramâditya, king of Ujjain, who is mentioned in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* as a contemporary of Hiraṇya and Mâtṛigupta of Kashmîr in the period A. D. 76 to 111. We should look in vain in the *Purâṇas*, for any of the names obtained from the literature and the *Paṭṭâvalis*. But we should, to the best of our ability, work those names, and the dates connected with them, into the list obtained from the *Purâṇas* and in continuation of it. And we should possibly be working into it also some quite modern inventions, such as those of the bards of Kâthiâwâr, which were at one time supposed to be "old-world tales," but which really sprang

Puranas were excessive, both for generations and for reigns. And, adjusting those figures according to his own estimate, and taking, as a starting-point, B. C. 1027 for the date of Buddha as fixed by the Chinese authorities as interpreted by De Guignes, he submitted a revised scheme, which placed Pradyôta B. C. 1029, Nanda B. C. 699, and the rise of the Andhrabhrityas in B. C. 149. — (In this revised scheme, a specific date was not proposed for Chandragupta, whose importance had not been recognised at that time). — He further suggested other corrections, which would place Pradyôta B. C. 317 or 17, and Nanda A. D. 13 or 313. But he pointed out that this arrangement would take the Andhrabhṛityas on to at least the sixth to the tenth centuries A.D., "without leaving room for the subsequent dynasties, if they reigned successively." And it does not seem to have recommended itself to him at all favourably.

[57] Vol. XI. above, p. 253.

[58] Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, pp. 150, 456.

[59] See a note on the date of Dhruva, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI.

[60] See page 2 above.

[61] Vol. XII. above, p. 217.

[62] See page 13 above.

[63] See page 13 above.

[64] Rice's *Karnâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 28 ff.

[65] Vol. X. above, p. 75.

[66] *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 250.

[67] Vol. XXI. above, p. 51.

[68] See page 13 f. above.

[69] See page 14 above.

into existence within the last twenty-five or thirty years, and owe their origin only to certain preliminary speculations, put forward by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, that found their way to the bards through an educational treatise.[70] In this way, we should build up a chronological list of the rulers of India, and of some of its provinces, with B. C. 1260 as a starting-point. And then, sooner or later, we should be met by the discovery that Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśôka, was known to the Greeks as Sandrokottos, and that his date is fixed by the Greek writers We should thus learn that Aśôka could not be placed before about B. C. 275. All the early part of our arrangements would be upset by a thousand years. And the subject would become a maze of bewilderment, confusion, and speculation, to be approached afresh from an entirely new point of view.

Fortunately, **the discovery about Chandragupta was made and announced,** — by Sir William Jones, in 1793,[71] — before speculation into the ancient history of India had gone very far. And, fortunately, **a few of the inscriptions had already begun to come to notice.** From that time, more and more attention was paid to them ; and particularly from the time when they were taken in hand by Mr. James Prinsep, who first succeeded in deciphering the records of Aśôka, and, in that and other ways, laid the real foundations of the whole superstucture that has been subsequently reared up. And it is with relief that we turn to them, and lay aside any further consideration of the position in which we should have found ourselves without them.

This is not the occasion for entering into any detailed exposition of the historical results that we have obtained from **the inscriptions.** The subject would require a volume to itself, and will be dealt with hereafter in that way. But we may point to the first two hundred or more pages of Miss Duff's book on the *Chronology of India*[72] for a general résumé of those results, in a form which will be most useful and indispensable to any student of Indian history. And we may say that, though many details still remain to be filled in from future exploration and research, we have now a very fair knowledge in outline of the political history of India from about B. C. 300 to A. D. 350, and a very full knowledge of it from the latter time onwards. And we are indebted for this, in respect of the earlier period, a good deal to coins taken in connection with the epigraphic records,[73] but, in respect of the later period, almost entirely to the epigraphic records.

We must have, however, **some idea as to what the inscriptions are,** — as to the extent of territory that they cover, — and as to how they help us so definitely. And, to make the first and third of these matters clear, we must present a classification of the records from two points of view, according to the materials on which they have been preserved, and according to the objects to which they were devoted.

As regards **the materials on which they have been preserved,** — among the records there is one that stands by itself, in respect of the peculiarity of being engraved **on iron ;** namely, the short poem on the iron column at Mêharaulî, near Delhi, which constitutes the epitaph of the great king Chandra. With this exception, the records are to be divided into those which are **on copper,** and those which are **on stone.**

The former usually describe themselves by the name of **tâmraśâsana, or "copper-charters."** And they consist sometimes of a single plate, but more usually of several plates strung together on a large signet-ring which bears generally the seal of the authority who issued the particular charter. Many of them have come to notice through being produced by the modern possessors of them before

[70] See *Gupta Inscrs.* Introd. p. 50.

[71] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IV., Anniversary Discourse, p. 13, reprint of 1798.

[72] Published by Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster ; 1899.

[73] For some of the numismatic researches which are most useful for historical purposes, see, in particular, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* by Messrs. Gardner and Poole (1886), General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas, and Kushâns* (1888, 1890, 1892), his *Coins of Ancient India* (1891), and his *Coins of Mediæval India* (1894), and Mr. Rapson's various writings, especially his *Indian Coins* (1897), Part III. B. of Vol. II. of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde.*

official authorities in the expectation of establishing privileges which, it is hardly necessary to say, have long since ceased to exist through the lapse of time, the dying out of the families of original holders, rights of conquest, and the many changes of government that have taken place; and it is still in private hands that we must look to find the majority of those that remain extant but unknown. But others have been found buried in fields, and hidden in the walls and foundations of buildings; and the decay of old erections, and the excavation of ancient sites, may at any time yield a rich harvest in this direction.

The stone records usually describe themselves by the name of **śilâśâsana, "stone-charters," śilâlêkhâ, "stone-writings," or praśasti, "eulogies."** They are found on rocks, on religious columns such as those which bear some of the edicts of Aśôka and others which were set up in front of temples as "flag-staffs" of the gods, on battle-columns or columns of victory such as the two at Mandasôr, on the walls and beams and pillars of caves and temples, on the pedestals of images, and on slabs built into the walls of temples or set up in the courtyards of temples or in conspicuous places in village-sites or fields. And they are often accompanied by sculptures which give the seal of the authority issuing the record, or mark its sectarian nature, or illustrate some scene referred to in it.

As a matter of convenience, we know **the copper records** best by the name of **"grants,"** and **the stone records** best by the name of **"inscriptions."** But there is no radical difference between the two divisions, such as might be inferred from these two names.

As regards **the extent of territory that they cover,** — the inscriptions come **from all parts of India,** from Shâhbâzgarhî on the north, in the Yusafzai subdivision of the Peshâwar district, to the ancient Pâṇḍya territory in the extreme south of the peninsula, and from Kâthiâwâr in the west to Assam on the east; and, **from beyond the confines of India itself,** we have some from Nêpâl, others from Ceylon, and others from Cambodia in Indo-China. And **they are very numerous.** Professor Kielhorn has lately put together a list, with dates, names, and some other leading details, of more than seven hundred from Northern India;[74] that is to say, chiefly from the territory lying on the north of the Nerbudda and Mahânadî rivers. And they are still more abundant in Southern India, where the Musalmâns, in consequence no doubt of being somewhat remote from the great centres of fanaticism, lived formerly, as now, more peaceably with the Hindûs, and did not do so much damage to the temples and their stone records. Sir Walter Elliot, who first systematically collected the southern records, compiled manuscript copies of no less than five hundred and ninety-five from the Kanarese country, in addition to a large number of others from the Telugu provinces. Dr. Hultzsch, in his first two volumes of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, and in Part I. of Vol. III., has published nearly three hundred, chiefly from the Tamil country. And further inquiries in the Kanarese country have disclosed the existence of a wealth of materials there, the extent of which can hardly yet be guaged: from the province of Mysore, Mr. Rice has given us texts and abstract translations of a hundred and forty-four records at the great Jain centre Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, and has dealt, in two volumes of his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, with one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five from the Mysore district alone, and he has still eight volumes to issue; from the Beḷgaum and Dhârwâr districts, in the Bombay Presidency, impressions of nearly a thousand inscriptions were obtained under my own direction; and the southernmost parts of Dhârwâr, which are very full indeed of such materials, and some parts of the Beḷgaum and Bijâpur districts, still remain to be explored.

And **the inscriptions help us so definitely,** partly because, from the middle of the fourth century A. D., they are **nearly all specifically dated in the various Hindû eras,** the initial points of which are now so well known that, — by means of various writings by Dr. Schram, Prof. Jacobi, Prof. Kielhorn, and Mr. Sewell and the late Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, — we can determine the dates of the records without any doubt, and partly because of **the voluminous, varied, and practical**

[74] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. Appendix.

nature of the matter presented in them. To understand the latter point, however, we must now proceed to **a further classification of the records according to the nature of their contents,** following, however, only some general lines, without aiming at an accurate completeness of subdivision which would be beyond the scope of our present objects.

We may place first **those which are plain statements of events,** sometimes perhaps containing allusions to religion and to donations, but not directed to any such ends. In this class, some of the best instances of **purely historical narratives** are, the Udayagiri cave inscription, already referred to,[75] which summarises **the career of Khâravêla of Kalinga** as far as the thirteenth year of his reign, and presents to us a chapter, or the beginning of a chapter, of a dynastic chronicle; **the eulogy of Samudragupta** on the Aśôka column at Allahâbâd,[76] which recites his pedigree, describes his conquests in Northern India, mentions some of the foreign tribes with which he had relations, and gives us a considerable insight into the political divisions of Southern India; and the short poem, in grand diction, on the two columns of victory at Mandasôr,[77] which describes **the triumphs of Yaśôdharman,** including the humbling of the great foreign invader Mihirakula "who had never before that bowed his head in obeisance to any save the god Śiva." To the same class belong **some of the epitaphs;** for instance, the short charming poem on the iron pillar at Mêharauli,[78] which preserves the memory of the great king Chandra, and the panegyric of the great Western Gaṅga prince Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa,[79] and the epitaphs of the Jain teachers Prabhâchandra and Mallishêṇa at the same place.[80] To the same class we may refer **some of the records of the carrying out of public works;** for instance, the two fine rock inscriptions at Junâgaḍh,[81] which record the repairing of the embankment of the great lake Sudarśana in the time of Rudradâman and again in the time of Skandagupta, — the former of them reciting, also, how it had once before been repaired by a brother-in-law of the great Maurya king Chandragupta, and had been embellished by a local governor of Aśôka. In the same class we have **some of the monumental pillars and tablets commemorating the death of heroes in battle;** for instance, the small pillar at Êraṇ,[82] which gives us the name of king Bhânugupta, as a preliminary to recording how his follower Gôparâja died in fight and how Gôparâja's wife accompanied his corpse onto the funeral pyre, and the *vîrgals* or "hero-stones" of Central India, Bombay, and Madras, as illustrated by the Têrahi stones[83] which recite how Châṇḍiyana, the governor of a fortress under Guṇarâja, was killed in a fight between Guṇarâja and Undabhata, — by the Ablûr stone,[84] which commemorates the death of the brothers Mâcha and Gôma, fighting valiantly on the occasion of a cattle-raid against their village, — and by the Kîḻ-Muttugûr and Âmbûr tablets,[85] which preserve the memory of other heroes killed on occasions of the same kind. In the way of **more miscellaneous records referable to this same class,** we have the Man'âr H ll rock inscriptions,[86] which record **the construction of a tank** by the order of Kôṇadêvî, the wife of king Âdityasêna; the Bhumarâ pillar,[87] which was set up as **a boundary-pillar** between the territories of the *Mahârâja* Hastin and the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha, and the record on which enables us to synchronise the families to which those two princes belonged; another stone at Kîḻ-Muttugûr,[88] which marks the spot on an embankment at which **a local hero killed a tiger;** the Kôtûr inscription,[89] which narrates how **a Saiva ascetic immolated himself in the fire;** and the Beḷatûru inscription,[90] which tells the pathetic tale of how, in spite of the remonstrances of her parents and her relatives, **the widow of a local governor entered the flames,** to accompany her dead husband to the world of the gods. In the same class we may notice two inscriptions at Śîyamaṅgalam and Tiruvottûr, which give an interesting insight

75 Page 10 above.
76 *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 1.
77 *Gupta Inscrs.* pp. 142, 149; and see Vol. XVIII. above, p. 219.
78 *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 139.
79 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 151.
80 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 22, and Vol. III. p 184.
81 *Archæol Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, and *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 56.
82 *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 91.
83 Vol. XVII. above, p. 201.
84 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 261.
85 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 178, B., p. 182, A., and p. 183, B.
86 *Gupta Inscrs* p. 211.
87 *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 110.
88 *Ep. Ind.* Vol IV. p. 179, C.
89 Vol. XX. above, p. 69.
90 *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 18.

into **the administration of criminal law in the twelfth century A. D.** :[91] one of them recites how a certain individual by mistake shot a man belonging to his own village, whereupon the governor and the people of the district assembled together, and decided that the culprit should not die for the offence committed by him through inadvertence, but should burn a lamp in the Tûnâṇḍâr temple at Śîyamaṅgalam, and accordingly he provided sixteen cows, from the milk of which ghee was to be prepared, to be used in burning the lamp; and the other records that a man went hunting, and missed his aim and shot another man. whereupon the people of the district assembled and decided that the culprit should make over sixteen cows to apparently the Tiruvottûr temple. We may further include here two inscriptions at Cheṅgama, which embody **political compacts of alliance for purposes of offence and defence.**[92] And, though it does not contain any narrative, we may conveniently note here **the seal-matrix** of Śaśâṅka, cut in the rock at the hill-fort of Rôhtâsgaḍh,[93] — the mould in which there would be cast the seals for copper-plate charters issued by him, — which, by its existence there, locates, in that direction, the kingdom of *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na* mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang.[94]

For practically all such records as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, we are indebted to a historical instinct which found expression more or less fully in them. And some of them illustrate how well the ancient Hindûs could put together brief historical narratives, concise and to the point, but limited in scope. But the records of this class, though fairly numerous in themselves, are but few in number in comparison with the others that we have yet to deal with. And, **for the great bulk of the epigraphic records that have come down to us, we are indebted, not to any historical instinct of the Hindûs, but to the religious side of their character and their desire for making endowments on every possible occasion.**

We shall notice next those for which we are indebted to **religious motives alone.** And we may place first **those which promulgate religious doctrine.** Here, however, we can bring forward, prominently, only the well known **rock and pillar edicts of Aśôka,** scattered about at various places that were of importance in his dominions, from Shâhbâzgarhî in the north to Siddâpur in Mysore on the south and to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa on the east. The object of them was to propagate, under royal endorsement, the Buddhist faith. But, in addition to mentioning the foreign kings Antiochus II. of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, — by means of which the period to which they belong is fixed, — they yield a little history, in giving the names of some of the peoples of India, particularly the Chôḷas, the Pâṇḍyas, and the Andhras,[95] and in recording the conquest of Kaliṅga, and in putting forward, apparently, a date, the year 256,[96] which represents the tradition of that period as to the number of years that had elapsed since the *nirvâṇa*, or else the death, of Buddha.

In **another class of records for which we are indebted to religious motives alone, without the accompaniment of endowments,** we may cite the following instances. We owe the Taxila plate of the Satrap Patika[97] to **the installation of a relic of Buddha.** We owe the Kura inscription of Tôramâṇa[98] to **the building of a Buddhist monastery.** And we owe the Nânâ Ghaut inscription, of the Andhrabhṛitya series,[99] to the desire **to commemorate the great sacrifices that had been celebrated,** and the costly sacrificial fees that had been given, by queen Nâyanikâ. For the inscription of Tôramâṇa on the chest of the stone boar at Êraṇ,[100] which establishes his conquest of Central India, we are indebted to **the building of the temple,** in the portico of which the boar stands; and to the same motive we are indebted for the Gwâlior inscription

[91] See the Annual Report of the Government Epigraphist for the year ending with the 30th June, 1900, p. 11, para. 26.

[92] See the same, p. 13, paras. 32, 33.

[93] *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 283.

[94] Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I. p. 210, Vol. II. p. 201.

[95] Vol. XX. above, pp. 239, 240, 242, 247.

[96] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 138, 141.

[97] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 54.

[98] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 238.

[99] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 60.

[100] *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 158.

of his son Mihirakula,[1] for the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakêśin II.,[2] which contains a great deal of important matter, and for the Vaḷḷimalai inscription,[3] which settles the first four generations of the family of the Western Gaṅga princes of Taḷakâd. It is **to the restoration of a temple** that we are indebted for the important Mandasôr inscription,[4] which gave us what had so long been wanted, namely, a date for one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in an era, capable of identification, other than that which was specially used by them in their own records. We owe another important record of the Early Guptas, the Êraṇ pillar inscription,[5] which gives us the name of Budhagupta and one of the dates which help to fix the exact initial point of the Gupta era, **to the erection of the column** as the "flag-staff" of the god of the temple in front of which it stands. We owe the Shâhpur record,[6] which gives us the date of king Âdityasêna in the Harsha era, **to the installation of an image.** We owe the important inscription at Tâḷgund,[7] which gives the account of the origin of the great family of the early Kadamba kings of Banawâsi, **to the construction of a tank in connection with a temple.** And we owe the record which proves the historical existence of the dynasty of the Suṅgas,[8] **to the building of a gateway** of the *stûpa* at Bharhut. **A dispute between two priests,** each of whom claimed the ownership of a particular plot of land for his god, has given us an interesting record of **a trial by ordeal** in an inscription at Kittûr.[9] **The settlement of a sectarian dispute** has given us an inscription[10] which narrates how king Bukkarâya of Vijayanagara brought about **a reconciliation between the Jains and the Vaishṇavas of Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa,** and embodies a compact under which the Jains were to enjoy equal freedom and protection with the Vaishṇavas in respect of their rites and processions. **The necessity for reforming the sacred law** on a certain point, has given us an inscription at Viriñchipuram[11] embodying **an agreement fixing the law of marriage** among the Brâhmaṇs of the Padaivîḍu country, by which they bound themselves that marriages among their families should only be concluded by *kanyâdâna,* that is to say by the father giving his daughter gratuitously, and that any father accepting money, and any bridegroom paying money for his bride, should be subject to punishment by the king and excommunication from caste. The desire of pilgrims to commemorate their **visits to sacred sites** has given us a number of records, which are of considerable value in the geographical line of inquiry.[12] And **the presentation of caskets to hold relics of Buddha** has disclosed to us, in the inscriptions found at the Bhaṭṭiprôḷu *stûpa,*[13] a peculiar variety of the Aśôka alphabet, which has not been met with elsewhere, and which has an important bearing on the question as to the antiquity of the introduction of the art of writing into India.

Still more numerous are **the records of which the object was to register religious donations or endowments,** to gods, to priests on behalf of temples, and to communities. The inscriptions of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśôka, in the caves on the Barâbar and Nâgârjunî hills,[14] were engraved to record **the presentation of the caves to a community of ascetics.** The Nâsik inscription of Ushavadâta, son-in-law of the Kshaharâta king Nahapâna,[15] was engraved to register **the presentation of the cave, with large endowments in money, to a community of monks.** The object of the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skandagupta,[16] and of the Kûram grant of Paramêśvaravarman I.,[17] was to register **grants of villages to gods.** The Cochin grant of Bhâskara-Ravivarman,[18] which establishes the existence of a colony of Jews in the Travancore State, was issued to record **the bestowal of a village on the Jews, with the right to use certain religious paraphernalia.** We should not have had the Ablûr inscription, which discloses the

[1] *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 161.
[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 1.
[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 140, A.
[4] *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 79.
[5] *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 88.
[6] *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 208.
[7] See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 1, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 286.
[8] Vol. XIV. above, p. 138.
[9] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 307.
[10] *Inscrs. at Srav.-Bel.* No. 136.
[11] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 82.
[12] See, for instance, the list of geographical names given by Dr. Bühler, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 407, from records of this kind at Sâñchî.
[13] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 323.
[14] Vol. XX. above, p. 362.
[15] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 102, No. 7.
[16] *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 52.
[17] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 144.
[18] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 66.

real originator of the movement that led to the revival of Śaivism in the twelfth century A. D.,[19] but for the fact that the ultimate object of it was **to register the names of the villages that had been granted to Êkântada-Râmayya for the purposes of the temple that he built.** For the date of Lakuḷîśa,[20] we are indebted to a record the object of which was to register **the grant of a field to a temple,** to the establishment of which he was then attached. The Indôr grant of Skandagupta[21] was issued simply to record **an endowment to provide oil for a temple of the sun.** And so on with innumerable other instances, in which history has been recorded only as an incidental matter, in connection with the primary topic of religious benefactions.

And finally we have **the records which register secular grants to private individuals.** As instances in this class, we may cite the Vakkalêri grant,[22] which gives the full direct lineal succession of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, from the first paramount king Pulakêśin I. to the last of the line, and was issued to register **the grant of a village to a Brâhmaṇ,** and the Hîrahaḍagalli grant of the Pallava king Śiva-Skandavarman,[23] which was issued **to endorse the holding of a garden by certain Brâhmaṇs,** and to fix the share of the produce that each of them was to take. In this class we have to place, amongst numerous other records, the majority of **the vîrgals of Mysore,** which, differing in this respect from the similar records elsewhere, mostly record **grants of land in addition to commemorating the deaths of heroes**; for instance, the Bêgûr stone[24] not only records the death of the commander of the Nâgattara troop in a battle that was fought between the forces of Ayyapadêva and those of Vîramahêndra, but also records the appointment of his successor and registers the grant of various villages to him. The supplementary inscription on the Âtakûr stone[25] gives another instance of **a grant of villages, in recognition of bravery in the battle-field, to a hero who fought and survived.** And we learn from it that grants of this kind were sometimes accompanied by the ceremony of washing the warrior's sword, just as religious grants were usually accompanied by the ceremony of laving the feet of the priest into whose hands the donation was actually given.

Now, the donative records are by far the most numerous of all. And, as the result of this, we arrive at the point that **in the vast majority of the epigraphic records we have a mass of title-deeds of real property, and of certificates of the right to duties, taxes, fees, perquisites, and other privileges.** The copper-plate grants are the actual title-deeds and certificates themselves. The stone inscriptions are usually of the same nature. But they sometimes mention the concurrent bestowal of a copper-plate charter. And in such cases they are, rather, a public intimation that the transaction had been made complete and valid by the private assignment of the necessary title-deeds and certificates.

The essential part of the records was, of course, the specification of the details of the donor, of the donee, and of the donation. And we have to bear in mind that, not only are the donative records by far the most abundant of all, but also, among them, **by far the most numerous are those which we may call the records of royal donations,** by which we mean grants that were made either by the kings themselves, or by the great feudatory nobles, or by provincial governors and other high officials who had the royal authority to alienate state lands and to assign allotments from the state revenues. The reason for this, no doubt, is that which was suggested by Dr. Burnell;[26] namely, the tendency for gifts to take the place of the sacrifices which, according to the epic poems, and in fact according to some of the earlier records, the kings of India used to have performed, in order to acquire religious merit or to attain other objects. But, be the reason what it may, the fact remains, that **the records of royal donations, whether for religious purposes or for other purposes, are the most numerous of all.** And many of them register, not simply the gift of small holdings, but grants of entire villages, and large and permanent assignments from the public revenues.

19 See page 2 above. 20 See page 1f. above. 21 *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 68.

22 Vol. VIII. above, p. 25; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 200. While giving the full descent from father to son, omits to mention Maṅgalêśa; see page 10 above.

23 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 1.

24 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 45.

25 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 50.

26 *South-Ind. Palæogr.* p. 94.

It is to these facts that we are indebted for the great value of the records from the historical point of view. The donor of state lands, or of an assignment from the public revenues, must shew his **authority for his acts.** A provincial governor, or other high official, must specify his own **rank and territorial jurisdiction,** and name the king under whom he holds office. A great feudatory noble will often make a similar reference to his **paramount sovereign,** in addition to making his own position clear. And it is neither inconsistent with the dignity of a king, nor unusual, for something to be stated about his **pedigree** in charters and patents issued by him or in his name. The precepts of the law-books, quoted by Dr. Burnell from the chapters relating to the making of grants, prescribe, in fact, that a king should state the names of his father and his grandfather, as well as his own.[27] This, no doubt, is a rule deduced from custom, rather than a rule on which custom was based. But we find that, from almost the earliest times, the records do give a certain amount of **genealogical information.** More and more information of that kind was added as time went on. The **recital of events** was introduced, to magnify the glory and importance of the donors, and sometimes to commemorate the achievements of recipients. **And so, not with the express object of preserving history, but in order to intensify the importance of everything connected with religion and to secure grantees in the possession of properties conveyed to them, there was gradually accumulated almost the whole of the great mass of epigraphic records, from which, chiefly, the ancient history of India is now being put together.**

Such are the nature and extent of the materials with which we are working. And the above sketch will suffice to give some idea of the results that we have already accomplished from them. But, though so much has been achieved, **a great deal still remains to be done.**

In the first place, **only a small part of the mine of epigraphic information has been as yet explored.** For the earlier period, before A. D. 350, we are looking forward to the results of excavations, still to be made, which should, and undoubtedly will, enable us to get at many an important record now hidden from sight. For the period onwards from that date, we have still to trace many additional copper-plate records, not yet brought to notice, which unquestionably exist in private hands; and, from the enormous number of stone records, we have to select those which will best repay the trouble of editing them in full, — dealing with the others by means of abstracts that shall bring forward every point in them that can be turned to practical account.

In the second place, **we must before long make a start towards bringing the records together, in chronological order, in volumes according to the dynasties and periods to which they belong,** on lines such as those adopted in the volume of *Gupta Inscriptions*, prepared as Vol. III. of the intended Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum which, however, has not gone beyond Vols. I. and III. It is very difficult to exhaust any particular line of research from texts which are scattered about in the volumes of different Journals, among extraneous matter of all sorts and without any attempt at or possibility of general arrangement according to dates, and many of which are printed in Native characters which do not lend themselves to the use of capitals, thick type, and other devices for marking points that are to be specially attended to. To a great extent, of course, this scattered and unsystematic disposal of our results has been unavoidable. As an inevitable consequence, however, not even the department of political history has been dealt with as fully as might be the case even from such materials as we already have for reference. Much has been done by the *Epigraphia Indica* towards minimising the difficulties entailed by having to search the volumes of so many different publications. But more is needed. We must set about bringing together, in the manner indicated above, such records as have already been published, — inserting, at the same time, any others of each series that can concurrently be prepared for publication. We want, for instance, one volume devoted to the records of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, with those of the early

[27] *South-Ind. Palæogr.* p. 97.

Kadambas of Banawâsi and the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, and with some others of the same period which are not numerous enough to make up a volume by themselves. We want another volume for the records of the Eastern Chalukyas, — another for those of the Râshṭrakûtas, — and others for those of the Kalachuris and the Gâhaḍavâlas, — and so on, each with the miscellaneous records of the period brought in. When such compilations have been made, we shall have the basis of a systematic arrangement, by means of which the materials can be examined far more conveniently and exhaustively than at present. And it will then be an easy and simple matter to insert in such volumes, in the proper places, references to further records which, of course, must continue to be published in the present detached manner until sufficient materials for supplementary volumes accumulate. Most urgently, perhaps, we want the contemplated volume, devoted primarily to the records of the Indo-Scythian kings and of the Kshatrapas, which was intended to be Vol. II. of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Still, as a beginning, a valuable service would be rendered by anyone who would compile the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhî, — revising the published texts, transliterating into Roman characters such of them as have been edited in Native type, and giving a critical translation of at least one complete record illustrating each of the different standard drafts of that series, and similar translations of the varying parts of the other records, with an exhaustive Index, and with an Introduction sketching the history and other matters deduced from the records. And such a compilation would doubtless be welcomed as an Appendix to a volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, if we cannot, by the time that it is ready, propose any other arrangements for publishing it.

In thus re-arranging the records already edited, **we have to revise the published texts, and bring them up to date on an uniform system according to our latest knowledge and experience.** Even among the most recently issued versions, there are but few that could be finally reprinted simply just as they stand. We require to have both the texts and the translations dealt with critically according to an absolutely uniform method of treatment. The same passages in different records have to be translated in identically the same words, according to whatever final renderings may be determined on. And technical titles and expressions require to be recognised, and to be used as they stand without attempting to render them by English words which may, indeed, be literal translations, but the meanings of which do not suffice to convey the ideas intended by the originals. There are many points in the records, which will not be recognised until we begin to deal with the records on the lines indicated above. There are, also, many allusions in the records, which we are only now beginning to understand. And, as a very suitable instance of what an up-to-date revision can effect, we may point to the case of the Aihoḷe inscription of A. D. 634-35, of the time of the Western Chalukya king Pulakêśin II. It was first handled fully by myself, some twenty-five years ago.[28] It seemed, then, that at any rate all the historical matter in it had been brought out fully and correctly. But it remained for Professor Kielhorn, in lately examining the record anew and re-editing it with the advantages of experience and wider knowledge,[29] to remove some mistakes made by me, and to discover still two more historical items in it, in the mention of the Kollêru lake and of the territory on the north of the Bhîmâ, and, further, to detect and explain two recondite allusions, one to a grammatical rule of Pâṇini and the other to the traditional precepts for the behaviour of kings in exile, and to bring out various interesting points in which the writings of the poet Kâlidâsa were used and imitated in this record and in some other early ones.

For reasons which have been explained elsewhere,[30] **the palæographic inquiry has to be taken a step further** than even the point to which it has been brought by the labours of the late Dr. Bühler. And, as one way of helping to this end, the occasions of publishing more final revised texts and translations of records already dealt with, must be utilised to substitute real facsimiles of at least the more representative originals, in the place of the manipulated and sometimes misleading lithographs that have occasionally been issued.

[28] Vol. V. above, p. 67; and again in Vol. VIII. p. 237.

[29] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 1.

[30] *Ep. Ind.* Vol VI. p. 79 f.

As has been said, even the political history has not been yet worked out from the published records as fully as might be done. And there are other lines of inquiry, of general historical interest, — particularly in **the geographical, administrative, and fiscal departments,** — which have hardly been touched upon at all to any purpose. **The geographical line,** indeed, has received a certain amount of attention. But the researches in this line have been made chiefly with the object of trying to identify places, countries, and tribes mentioned by foreign writers, namely, the Greek historians and geographers, the Chinese pilgrims, and the Arab travellers, and of constructing maps of ancient India from their writings. A map of India has still to be put together from the epigraphic records and other native sources. That map will give us the first reliable means of proceeding to apply properly any information that may be derivable from foreign sources. And, in the results that have been put forward from the inquiries that have been indicated above, there is much to be cancelled. There seems to be an idea, in some quarters, that we can and must still find an existing representative of every ancient name recorded by the foreign writers. But tribes die out and disappear; and towns decay and are deserted. Seaside emporia sometimes shift. And the names of cities are liable to change in the course of time, even though the places themselves survive. **The records of the Indian campaign of Alexander**[31] were written mostly by persons who actually went to India. And yet there are but few of the ancient places, mentioned in them, that have been identified with any real approach to certainty. The author of **the Periplûs of the Erythræan Sea**[32] evidently sailed in person round the coast of India. But we cannot expect to find, now, every place on the coast mentioned by him. And, — as regards his inland details, — his statement that Paiṭhaṇ, which is really about two hundred miles almost due south-east from Broach, lies south of the latter place, at a distance of a twenty days journey. quite suffices to shew that, for places away from the coast, he was at least sometimes dependent on information which was liable to be of a very vague kind, and leaves us free to exercise considerable latitude of choice in respect of the direction, in applying his immediately following assertion that Tagara, at a distance of a ten days journey from Paiṭhaṇ, was on the east of Paiṭhaṇ. It is with but little confidence that we can use **Ptolemy's work,**[33] with only our present means of applying the information given in it, towards reconstructing the early geographical and political divisions of India. Ptolemy, who wrote about the middle of the second century A. D.,[34] had not even the opportunities of personal observation which the author of the *Periplûs* enjoyed, but only compiled from the reports of travellers and navigators, and from the works of previous writers, of whom some may have enjoyed such advantages, but others had simply put together information obtained similarly at second-hand. The writer of the geographical part of the article on Ptolemy in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XX., has told us that Ptolemy's geographical knowledge is strikingly imperfect even in regard to the Mediterranean and its surroundings, and that it is especially faulty in respect of the southern shores of Asia, in connection with which he had obtained — (as we can readily detect) — only a vague acquaintance with extensive regions, based on information which was indeed to a certain extent authentic, but which had been much exaggerated and misunderstood. Ptolemy — (we are told) — recognised the importance of utilising, to check and adjust results, any positions of places that had been determined by actual observations of latitude and longitude. But there was not any appreciable number of such places. And thus "the positions laid down by him "were really, with very few exceptions, the result of computations of distances from itineraries and "the statements of travellers, estimates which were liable to much greater error in ancient times

[31] *Ancient India, its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, by J. W. McCrindle.

[32] For Mr. McCrindle's translation of this work, see Vol. VIII. above, p. 107 ff He has there shewn grounds, which seem conclusive, for placing the work between A. D. 80 and 89, though by other authorities it has been placed somewhat earlier, in Pliny's time (A. D. 23 to 79), and, on the other hand, considerably later, after A. D. 161. The writer of the geographical part of the article on Ptolemy in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XX., has placed it "about A. D. 80" (p. 94).

[33] See the extracts from *Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia*, with a commentary, given by Mr. McCrindle, Vol. XIII. above, p. 313 ff.

[34] It appears that the first recorded observation of this celebrated mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, was made in A. D. 127, and the last in A. D. 151 (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XX. p. 87), but that he was still alive in A. D. 161 (Smith's Classical Dictionary, p. 627).

"than at the present day." Moreover, in addition to placing the equator at a considerable distance from its true geographical position, and accepting a prime meridian which made all his eastern longitudes about seven degrees less than they should have been, he made a still more serious mistake, which "had the effect of vitiating all his subsequent conclusions," in taking every degree of latitude, and of longitude measured at the equator, as equal to only five hundred stadia or fifty geographical miles, instead of its true equivalent of six hundred stadia or sixty miles. And, as the result of the last-mentioned error, "if he had arrived at the conclusion from itineraries that two "places were five thousand stadia from one another, he would place them at a distance of ten degrees "apart, and thus in fact separate them by an interval of six thousand stadia." The curious and utterly erroneous conception of the shape of India, formed by Ptolemy, is well shewn by the map which accompanies Mr. McCrindle's extracts from his work.[35] And the general distortions that resulted from his data and method of work, are admirably exhibited in an ingenious form in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XV., in Plate vii., between pages 516, 517, which shews Ptolemy's idea of the world superimposed upon an actual map of the corresponding portions of the world: his results, exposed in this way, place Paithaṇ (on the Gôdâvarî) well out to sea in the Bay of Bengal: they make Ceylon an enormous island, stretching from below the equator to about the twelfth degree of north latitude, and covering the position of the northern half of Sumatra and of part of the Malay Peninsula, with a large area of the Bay of Bengal including the Nicobar Islands; they make the Mahânadî river run over Siam and Cambodia; they make the Ganges run over the very heart of China, flowing towards the sea somewhere near Canton; they carry Palibothra, which is Patna (on the Ganges), to the east of a line from Tonquin to Pekin; and they make the Himâlayan range, as represented by the Imaos and Emôdos mountains, run north of Tibet, through the north of China, across the Yellow Sea and Korea, and into Japan. It is obvious that, before we can do anything substantial with Ptolemy's work, in the direction of utilising it for even the outlines of the early political geography of India, we need something more in the way of an exposition of it than even that which Mr. McCrindle has given us, and we require an adjustment of Ptolemy's results for India similar to that which Captain Gerini has given us in respect of his results for the countries beyond the eastern confines of India.[36] And — (passing on to a still more definite source of information) — there is still much to be done in connection with **the writings of Hiuen Tsiang,**[37] who travelled through practically the whole of India between A. D. 629 and 645 and kept a very close record of his peregrinations. The territorial divisions mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang are fairly easy to locate, more or less approximately, with the help of certain hints from the epigraphic records and other sources. But his cities, or such of them as survive, are more difficult; especially because he has often not given the names of them. Before his writings can be fully utilised, we want better readings of some of his names, and a clearer exposition as to how the *li* is to be interpreted as a measure of distance, or as an indication of distance by the time occupied in travelling, in different styles of country. And, with reference to the understanding, which is no doubt quite correct, that the distances and directions given by him are the distances and directions from each capital to the next capital, we have to bear in mind, in the first place, that even a slight difference in bearings will lead to a wide divergence in position when the bearings are set out on a long line, and, in the second place, that, whereas it is impossible that every capital can have been due north, east, south, or west, or due north-east, north-west, south-east, or south-west, from the preceding capital, he — (if we judge by the present translations) — recognised no points of the compass beyond those eight, and very seldom, if ever, gave the bearings except as if they were due north, *etc.*, or due north-east, *etc.*[38] We have by no means yet found — (if we ever can

[35] Vol. XIII above, p. 329.   [36] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1897, p. 551 ff.

[37] *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang* (1853), and *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales par Hiouen-Thsang* (two volumes, 1857 and 1858), by M. Stanislas Julien, with an examination of the geographical results by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin; and the *Si-yu-ki* or *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (two volumes, 1884), and *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* (1888), by the Rev. Samuel Beal.

[38] The translations represent Hiuen Tsiang as indicating the directions, in the large majority of cases, in the following terms, — (1) "à l'est" (to the east), "à l'ouest, au sud, au nord" (for instance, Julien's *Contrées*, Vol. II. pp. 64, 83, 105, 162), corresponding to which we have, in the English translation of the same passages, "going east, going west,

find) — every city mentioned even by Hiuen Tsiang. And some of the most confidently asserted identifications of places spoken of by him, are unquestionably wrong. Take, for instance, the case of the capital of Kaliṅga, which he visited and mentioned without, apparently, recording its name. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin[39] felt satisfied that it is represented by Kaliṅgapaṭam on the coast, in the Gañjâm district, — an identification which was practically, if not absolutely, endorsed by Mr. Fergusson.[40] While General Sir Alexander Cunningham arrived at the conclusion that it must be Râjamahêndri on the Gôdâvarî,[41] the head-quarters of a subdivision of the Gôdâvarî district. But the epigraphic records make it clear that neither was it either of those two places, nor even was it — (as one might be tempted to think) — identical with the Kaliṅganagara which figures in records of A. D. 677-78 and onwards and[42] is represented by the modern Mukhaliṅgam and Nagarikatakam in the Gañjâm district; they shew that it can only be Piṭhâpuram, — the head-quarters of a zamindârî or estate in the Gôdâvarî district, eleven miles almost due north of Coconada, — which is mentioned as Pishṭapura in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634-35 and, before that, in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of about A. D. 380. For the ancient geography, as for everything else connected with the past of India, we are really dependent primarily and almost entirely on the epigraphic records. It is from that source that it must be mostly worked out. And we can only fill in additional details from extraneous sources, such as those discussed above, when we have arrived at some more definite idea of at least the general features from the indigenous materials.

There is, thus, plenty of both original research and revisional work still to be done in connection with, and by the help of, the epigraphic records. And the leading desideratum is, certainly, to get those records explored more fully and published in larger numbers. But systematic co-operation in other lines of study would help very greatly, even towards a more accurate understanding of the records. And there are **various ways in which much valuable assistance towards the ends that we have in view, might be given by scholars who are not inclined to undertake the editing of the records or even the detailed study of them.** In connection with **the general literature**, there is still a great deal to be done in discovering, and bringing to notice by texts and translations, **the historical introductions and colophons**, the value of which has been indicated above. We want a compilation of all **the historical and geographical hints, and any other practical matter, that can be derived from the epics, the plays, the classical poems, and the collections of imaginative stories.** And we want **succinct abstracts of all the similar matter contained in the historical romances.** Life is too short for the historian to examine all these sources of information in the original texts, or even, in every case, to go thoroughly through translations of them. An editor of a text, on the other hand, could do all that is wanted in a day or two of extra work, the results of which would be embodied in an introduction and an index.

going south, going north" (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. pp. 185, 200, 217, 266), and (2) "au nord-ouest" (to the north-west), "au sud-ouest, au sud-est, au nord-est" (for instance, *Contrées*, Vol. II. pp. 84, 90, 124, 168), corresponding to which we have, in the English translation of the same passages, 'going north-west, going south-west going south-east, going north-east" (*Si-yu-ki*, Vol II. pp. 201, 206, 234, 271). Beal's translation sometimes suggests a less specific statement in the original; for instance, it presents "in a south-easterly direction" (*Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I. p. 30), and "going eastwards, going eastward, going in a south-westerly direction, travelling northwards" (*Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. pp. 191, 194, 204, 253); but Julien's translation of the same passages presents the specific terms "au sud-est" (*Contrées*, Vol. I p. 16), and "à l'est, à l'est, au sud-ouest, au nord" (*Contrées*, Vol. II. pp 71, 74, 88, 146). And I find — (on, of course, a cursory examination) — only one case in which both the translations agree in presenting a direction that is not quite specific: Julien has given "dans la direction de l'ouest" (*Contrées*, Vol. I. p. 17); and Beal has given, in the same passage, "westward" (*Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I. p. 31). — We may credit the Chinese pilgrims with any amount of accuracy in the perception of the directions in which they were travelling. But it seems plain that Hiuen Tsiang recorded directions which were only approximate. And, while we may not go so far as to deliberately substitute, say, "north-east" or "south-east" for "east," still, in dealing with such a statement as "going east" or "à l'est," we are at liberty to consider how much deviation we may make towards the north or towards the south, without diverging far enough to arrive at a point which he would most probably have indicated by saying 'to the north-east" or "to the south-east."

39 *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, Vol. II. p. 395.

40 *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. VI. p. 252.

41 *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 516.

42 As shewn by Mr. G. V. Ramamurti (see *Madras Jour. Lit. Soc.*, 1889-94, p 68 ff., and, more finally, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 187 ff.).

And a student of any particular book might, on finishing his perusal of it, easily put together an instructive and valuable note which would be welcomed as an article in this present Journal, in the pages of which it would at once attract the attention of those who could use it for general purposes. **The Paṭṭâvalis** require to be examined more fully, especially with a view towards determining how far back we can carry the verses on which the earlier portions of them were based, and to what extent those portions of them are imperfect or erroneous and open to adjustment. **The geographical lists of some of the Purâṇas** still remain to be exhibited, on lines similar to those adopted in respect of the topographical list of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* :[43] at present we have, beyond that, only the list of the *Bhâgavatapurâṇa* ;[44] and, though it may be difficult to find many such lists the value of which is enhanced and made specific by our knowing the exact periods during which they were composed, as is the case with the list of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, still they will all come in usefully in some way or another. And there is, no doubt, **many a Mâhâtmya or Sthalapurâṇa** that will be useful for local geography and the identification of places, in the manner in which the *Mahâkûṭamâhâtmya* helped in establishing the identity of the Vâtâpi of the records with the modern Bâdâmi.[45]

There is, in short, **a vast amount of work still to be done, in all the various lines of research connected with the past of India.** We hope, in particular, that the present sketch of the position at which we have arrived, may do something towards attracting more attention to the principal materials, the epigraphic records, and towards inducing more scholars to join us in exploiting them. But we hope, also, that others may be induced to co-operate, by examining more methodically and critically the subsidiary sources of information, and by bringing forward their results in such a way as to make them available for being easily worked in with the more special results derivable from the epigraphic records. **The principal materials are the epigraphic records.** And a very brief study of some of them will suffice to shew the specific importance of them, and to excite a desire to join in exploring them. **But the subsidiary materials, also, are numerous and interesting.** And anyone who will take any of them in hand systematically, with just enough knowledge of the results derived from the epigraphic records to shew the objects that require to be kept in view and the general lines of work that should be followed, can render assistance the value of which will be made clear enough when his results are put forward in an accessible form, even if it may not be fully realisable by him while he is actually at work.

NOTE ON JAINA MYTHOLOGY.

BY JAS. BURGESS, C. I. E., LL. D.

THE mythology of the Jainas has been very little studied by Europeans, and perhaps even by Native scholars outside the Śrâvaka denomination. It would probably repay investigation on the part of those who have local opportunities and access to their literature. Important works have been printed by themselves, at Bombay and Aḥmadâbâd, within the last forty years ; and these deal with the ritual and mythology of their cult in a form that would open the way to a scientific study. Of the *Śrî Ratnasâra*, the second *bhâg*, a volume of 766 pages (Bombay, Saṁ. 1923), fell into my hands many years ago ; but the first part I have not seen. The work, besides much other matter, contains a sort of inventory of the mythology. At p. 696 of *bhâg* 2, is a list of the 24 Tîrthaṁkaras of the past, present, and future æons *(trîsachovîsînânâṁ)*, followed by nine other lists of 24 Jinas each, connected with these three series of Tîrthaṁkaras, being the corresponding Jinas in the divisions of the Dhâtukîkhaṇḍa and Pushkaradvîpa and in the Airâvata section of Jambudvîpa. These give 720 Jinas — all invented except Mahâvîra perhaps. At pages 706-26 we find the twenty-four Jinas of the present *avasarpiṇî* or age, tabulated with 56 particulars relating to each of them, such as — *chavaṇatithi, vimâna, janmanagarî, janmatithi, pitânânâm, mâtâ, janmanakshatra, lâñchana, vṛiksha, yaksha, etc.* In this *Journal*, Vol. XIII, p. 276, some of these details were given.

[43] Vol. XXII. above, p. 169 ff.

[44] Vol. XXVIII. above, p. 1 ff.

[45] See Vol. V. above, p. 68, and Vol. VIII. p. 238.

The attendant Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs, who have their shrines or images close to or in the temples of the Jinas, had perhaps their analogues in Buddhism. But besides these, we find a regular, pantheon about such places as Satruñjaya and Girnâr in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, at Âbu, Pârśvanâtha, and other sacred places.

They divide the gods, all of whom are mortal, into four classes :— (1) the **Bhavanavâsins** or **Bhaumeyikas,** of which there are ten sub-divisions, Asurakumâras, Nâgakumâras, Suvarṇakumâras, Vidyutkumâras, *etc.*, each governed by two Indras ; (2) the Vyantaras, who live in woods, and are of eight classes, — Piśâchas, Bhûtas, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas. Mahoragas and Gandharvas : these we know also in the Hindu pantheon ; (3) the **Jyatishkas** or divinities of the sun, moons, nakshatras, planets, and stars ; and (4) the **Vaimânikas** who are divided into Kalpopagas, or those born in the heavenly Kalpas, Kalpâtîtas or those born in the regions above them ; the **Kalpopagas** live in the twelve Kalpas after which they are named : *viz.* — Saudharma, Îśâna, Sanatkumâra, Mâhendra, Brahmâloka, Lantaka, Mahâśukla, Sahasrâra, Ânata, Prâṇata, Âraṇa and Achyuta. The **Kalpâtîtas** are sub-divided into the Graiveyaka gods, and the Anuttara gods of five kinds, *viz.:* the Vijayas, the Vaijayantas, the Jayantas, the Aparâjitas, and the Sarvârthasiddhas. — (Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 221 f., and *Uttarâdhyayanasûtra.*)

Here there is a classification ; can any of your readers fill out the details of individual gods, of their respective cults and iconography ? The field is open to the investigator. Since the essays of Colebrooke and H. H. Wilson, very little has been added to our information on this subject. Much of it is directly borrowed from Hinduism, but new rôles and conditions are imposed on the gods, they are shorn of their honour and made the servants of the Jinas ; and the details of such changes have an interest. Jaina temples are covered with sculptures and the *parigaras* in their shrines are filled with *devatâs :* a study of these would yield much fresh material.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX. p. 378.)

1792. — No. IX.

FORT WILLIAM, **26th October 1792.** The Secretary lays before the Board Copies, which he has received from Lieutenant Blair, of his Instructions to Lieutenants Roper and Wales, when the Viper was dispatched to the Andamans.

Instructions to Lieuts. Roper and Wales, 19 October.

To Lieutt. George Roper, Commanding the H. C. Snow Viper.

Sir, — Agreeable to the Accompanying Order you will be pleased to proceed, and consider the delivery of the Accompanying Dispatch for the Honble. **Commodore Cornwallis** as your principal Object. It will be necessary that you look into **Port Cornwallis (formerly Northeast Harbour)** where if you do not find H. M. Ships, you will proceed without loss of time to **Old Harbour**, [now Port Blair] and wait the arrival of the Commodore.

The Native Overseer the twenty Laborers and the Tents you carry down, you will deliver over to Lieutt. Wales, also such Laborers as can be spared from the Settlement the Sepoys, and Mr. Clark the Gunner, with two Months Provisions for the whole, to execute the inclosed Order. You will then remain with the Viper for the protection of Old Harbour, until you receive further Orders which will probably be about the end of November.

Calcutta,
Octr. 19th, 1792.

Wishing you a Speedy passage, I remain, etca.,
(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

To Lieutt. John Wales, Commanding the H. C. Snow Ranger.

Sir, — On the arrival of the Viper at **Old Harbour, formerly Port Cornwallis**, you will receive from Lieutt. Roper One Native Overseer and twenty Laborers also such proportion of the Sepoys and Laborers as can be spared from the Settlement with two Months Provisions ; you will also embark as many of the Articles which you were desired to prepare for the new Settlement as you can Stow. You will then proceed to Port Cornwallis (formerly Northeast Harbour) and begin clearing, at the north or northwest point of **Chatham Island**, employing on this Service besides the Laborers sush as can be Spared from the duty of the Vessel, with the promise of extra pay as an encouragement.

It will be proper for some time to avoid intercourse with the Natives, and to be on your guard against hostilities, and the better to prevent surprise, you will carry **the Leeboard** with you, and employ her occasionally in cruizing about the Harbour to observe their motions.

Should the Honble. Commodore Cornwallis visit the new Settlement you will communicate your Instructions and obey his Orders.

By the end of next Month you may expect to receive further Orders from this place.

Calcutta, Wishing you Success, I remain, etca.,
Octr. 19th, 1792. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Read a Letter from Lieutt. Blair.

Lieutt. Blair. 25 October.

My Lord, — I have the honor to lay before your Lordship a **Plan of a Harbour situated on the northeast coast of the Great Andaman, which I accurately surveyed in March 1791.** It will be obeserved by examining the Plan, that it is abundantly capacious, containing above eight square nautic Miles, of excellent and safe anchorage. Both the Ingress and Egress are rendered remarkably easy, by the range of the Harbour having a Northwest direction , by which the S. W. and N. E. monsoons, which are the prevailing winds, blow across, and are consequently fair, for either entering or quiting it : being thus ventilated it will also cool and purify the air, which will no doubt be favorable to the health of the Settlers and the Fleets which may visit it.

The entrance is so wide and so clear of danger that Ships may enter or quit it even in the night; as a proof of this assertion **the Union and Viper** run into this harbour, in a dark squally night in the height of the S. W. monsoon.

At the Head of the Harbour there are two small Basons, one between **Ariel and Wharf Islands** the other to northwest of **Pit Island,** which would contain six or eight Ships closely moared : into those places, an inferior Force might retire under cover of Works on the Islands, which appear admirably situated for the defence of the Basons.

The most eligible place for the Settlement, I conceive to be **Chatham Island,** and its insularity would in a great measure prevent predatory Visits from the Natives.

Though I did not find any Streams of fresh water in the Harbour, I have yet great hopes that there may be several; and I am led to this Opinion from observing the contours of several valleys which wind down from **the Saddle,** the highest land on the Andamans, into the Harbour. In one towards the sea three leagues south of the Harbour and noticed in the General Chart I found abundance of fresh water. The bottom of the valleys in the Harbour are very difficult of access. from the Mangrove and excessively entangled Underwood which environ the Shores and will require considerable labor to penetrate.

The face of the country like the other parts of these islands, is very uneaven, consisting of abrupt and irregular risings with intermediate Valleys, some pretty extensive. The Soil appears the same as that in the Vicinity of the other harbour, which I found highly productive in excellent tropical Fruits Vegitables and Grain.

The situation of this Harbour being on the east coast and near the north extremity of the Island, will make the communication with Bengal, more expeditious than from any of the other Harbours of the Andamans : the vicinity of **the Cocos** and of **Diamond Island** which abound with Turtle may also be mentioned as a convenience ; and the **Parts of Persaim** [Bassein] **and Rangoon.** with proper management and the necessary attention to prejudices, might afford supplies of Provision, an excellent breed of Cattle, Teak Timber, and many commercial Articles which might be conducive to the prosperity of the Settlement.

In quiting this harbour in the S. W. monsoon the situation may be a little disadvantageous; for I apprehend the most probable rout, to secure a passage to **the Coromandel Coast,** will be, to proceed to the southward, round **the little Andaman ;** consequently the time required of working from Port Cornwallis to the Old Harbour will be the difference of time against the former; but if the passage to the northward of the Andamans should be found practicable, which I apprehend it may, there will be no disadvantage in point of situation, in quiting Port Cornwallis at this Season. The Approach to this Harbour in the S. W. monsoon appears to me easier and safer than to any of the others. For the cluster of Islands which forms the north extremity of the Andamans are sufficiently high to be seen at the distance of seven leagues, the Cocos are seven leagues to N. E. of those, and these form the broad and clear Channel which I recommend for Ship[s] bound to Port Cornwallis during this stormy season. By steering as near as possible to the latitude of 13-47 it is hardly possible that a Ship could pass through this Channel, without seeing the northern Cluster or the Cocos (even in dark weather); either of which with the soundings will be sufficient guide for s[t]eering to the Southward for the Harbour; some further examination which is necessary to compleat the General Chart of the Andamans, will throw further light on this important consideration.

Being intimately connected with this subject, I hope to be excused, for also laying before your Lordship, **a Plan for a Dock, on somewhat new principles,** and particularly applicable to the Harbours of the Andamans, which gave rise to the idea. It is a high gratification to me the reflection that it may possibly prove of public utility and I hope will plead in excuse of my presumption, for intruding on your Lordships time.

Calcutta,
October 25th, 1792.

I am, etca.,
(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Ordered that **the Chart** received from Lieutenant Blair be deposited in the Secretarys Office, and that his Letter shall lie for Consideration for the present.

1792. — No. X.

Fort William, **5th November 1792. The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.**

The Board having Resolved, in Compliance with Commodore Cornwallis's recommendation to establish a **Naval Arsenal at the North East Harbour in the great Andaman Island,** and the preparations for removing the Station from Port Cornwallis being now in great forwardness, I submit the following Propositions to their Consideration.

1st. — That **the Union Snow** and the three Pilot Vessels, which have been fitted out for the purpose of conveying Artificers, Stores, etca., etca., to the Andamans, be dispatched forthwith, **under the Orders of Lieutenant Blair,** who shall be instructed to attend to such directions as he may receive from the Commodore, and remain in **charge of the new Settlement** until the arrival of the Officer appointed to take that command, after which Lieutt. Blair shall proceed to Bombay to resume his station ; and as his attention and abilities in the management of our first establishment at the Andamans claim our warm approbation, and as he has stated that he has been subject to considerable expence by the distance of those Islands from Bengal, and other Countries from whence he could procure Supplies, I think that he should receive one hundred and fifty Rupees per Month in addition to his Surveyor's allowance from the time of his first taking possession of Port Cornwallis until he shall be relieved from

the command, and that his Surveyors allowance should be continued to him till he shall arrive at Bombay.

2dly. — It is very essential in establishing a Settlement, which is likely to be permanent, and may eventually be of great importance for the security of our Asiatic possessions, that the Situation for public and private buildings should be judiciously chosen, and the spots which it may hereafter be advisable to fortify, should as early as possible be ascertained, I recommend that **Captain Alexander Kyd of the Corps of Engineers,** in whose honor and integrity I place the highest confidence, and of whose merits in his profession I have been myself a Witness, should **be appointed to the temporary Command,** and that, with the pay and full Batta that his Rank my entitle him to, He should receive an allowance of one thousand Rupees a month as Superintendant.

3rdly. — A Subaltern Officer of the Corps of Engineers should accompany Captain Kyd to the new Station; and as one or perhaps two Companies of Sepoys must be sent thither, it will be proper to select a careful and intelligent Officer of Infantry to command them, not only for the purpose of assisting Captain Kyd in making his various arrangements, but to take charge of the Settlement in the event of his temporary absence from it.

Agreed and Ordered in conformity to the Propositons laid before the Board by the Governor General.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.R.A.S., M.F.L.S.

No. 14. — The Story of the Ant (a Cumulative Rhyme).

Sîma sachhu dayai,
Namali dukha mayai,
Murri chettu ravmîrai,
Kaki kálu irigai,
Yainuga kungeḷḷu kulipoai,
Laidlu kaḷḷu kuluḷḷiragai,
Yaitlo nîlu kaila kaila ayai,
Jonna sainu purugupattai,
Peddarajuka budda digai,
Pedda dorasaniki pîtantu kunai,
Paidarállu Peddammaku tutta antakunai.[1]

Once upon a time a peahen reared an ant, which became so attached to her that every day she would precede her foster-mother home from the fields, whither the peahen had gone to fetch the ant her daily food.

One day said the ant: — "Mother dear, I am going to make some *arsailu*[2] for you tomorrow morning."

"Don't make it, don't make it, darling," said the peahen. "You will fall into the pan."

But the ant paid no attention and made the *arsailu*, and began drawing them out of the pan: one, two, three, four, but at the fifth draw there was an accident and she fell into the pan of boiling oil.

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1 These lines mean:— The ant killed itself, the peahen sorrows, the banyan-tree exudes, the crow's leg has gone the elephant's legs have lost their power, the deer's knee-joints are broken, the waters of the river are disturbed, the millet-field is insect eaten, the great king has hydrocele, the queen's seat has stuck to her, the basket has stuck to Paidarallu Peddamma.

2 To make *arsailu*. Pound some rice to a coarse powder, mix into a cake with boiled molasses while still liquid place the cakes in a pan of boiling oil, when cooked fish up with an iron ladle and serve the cakes as *arsailu*. *Arsailu* are used on ceremonial occasions, such as betrothals, marriages, and so on.

In due time the peahen returned as usual, but for a long while she searched in vain in every nook and corner for the ant. At last she found the poor little ant quite dead in the burning oil and set up a great lamentation. In her sorrow she sat down under a banyan-tree lamenting, and thus made the tree say: —"O peahen, peahen, you have always been joyous: what is the matter today?"

"O banyan-tree, O banyan-tree, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps."

The banyan-tree began at once to weep at every pore, and a crow that always used to perch on one of its branches began to enquire: — "O banyan-tree, O banyan-tree, you were always hearty: what is the matter today?"

"O crow, crow, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves.
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg."

Immediately one of the crow's legs fell off and it began hopping on one leg miserably. An elephant saw it and said: — "O crow, crow, you were always perky: what is the matter today?"

"O elephant, elephant, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg,
The elephant has lost all."

Immediately all power went out of the elephant's legs and he began to crawl cumbrously here and there. In this plight a deer saw him and said: — "O elephant, elephant, you were always strong: what is the matter today?"

"O deer, deer, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg,
The elephant has lost all,
The deer broke her knees."

Instantly the deer fell on its knees by the river-side in great pain. Said the river: — "O deer, deer, you were always blithe: what is the matter today?"

"O river, river, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg,
The elephant has lost all,
The deer broke her knees,
The river bubbles."

When the river began bubbling, said the millet-field alongside:—"O river, river, you were always smooth: what is the matter today?"

"O millet-field, O millet-field, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg,
The elephant has lost all,
The deer broke her knees,
The river bubbles,
The millet-field is blighted."

A great blight at once settled on the millet-field and the king who was there[3] said:—"O millet-field, O millet-field, you were always full of corn: what is the matter today?"

"O king, king, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg,
The elephant has lost all,
The deer broke her knees,
The river bubbles,
The millet-field is blighted,
The king has gone lame."[4]

The king began at once to go dot-and-go-one and when the queen saw him,[5] she said:—"O king, king, you were always sturdy: what is the matter today?"

"O queen, queen, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg,
The elephant has lost all,
The deer broke her knees,
The river bubbles,
The millet-field is blighted,
The king has gone lame,
The queen stuck to her seat."

And sure enough the queen had at once to carry her seat about with her, and Paidaralla Peddamma[6] seeing her in such a plight said:—"O queen, queen, you were always sprightly, what is the matter today?"

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[3] In the story as usually told this passage runs:—Into the millet-field the king used to go for the purposes of nature.

[4] The vernacular version has:—the king has hydrocele.

[5] The vernacular has:—when the queen saw that the king had hydrocele, she said, *etc.*

[6] In Telugu folk-tales, the keeper of the now where the hero or the heroine, as the case may be, lodges and board and gets the first information of the country he or she is visiting.

"O Paidarallu Peddamma, don't you know?

The ant died,
The peahen grieves,
The banyan-tree weeps,
The crow has lost a leg,
The elephant has lost all,
The deer broke her knees,
The river bubbles,
The millet-field is blighted,
The king has gone lame,
The queen's seat stuck to her,
And the basket has stuck to Paidarallu Peddamma."

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 356.)

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD PANTHAY.

Now that both domestic and foreign troubles are falling thick upon the Central Chinese Government at Peking, it is probable that we shall hear of the **Panthays** again. They are Chinese converts to Islâm, and large numbers of them are found in the Provinces of **Shensi, Kansuh** and **Yunnan.** In the former two Provinces, they are known as **Tungani** or **Hui-hui.** In Burma and the adjoining Shan States, the Muhammadans of Yunnan are known as **Panthay** or **Pang-hse.** They are a fine and warlike race, and held Yunnan against Imperial troops from 1855 to 1873. In raising a British regiment at Wei-hai-wei, Chinese Muhammadans are much sought after by the recruiting sergeants.

In Northern China, the Chinese call the converts to Islám **Hui-hui,** 囘囘, and the Yunnanese call them **Hui-tzu,** 犭回子. There is a great deal of contempt and hatred implied by the Chinese character 犭回 as distinguished from 囘, as the first part of the former means "a dog." Evidently the compliment is a reciprocal one, because the favourite epithet used by all Muhammadans in addressing the followers of other religions is "infidel dog." The Yunnanese also call the Chinese Muhammadans **Fan^{3} P'an^{4}** 反叛 or rebels. Both the Burmese word **Panthay**[1] and the Shan word **Pang-hse** are evidently derived from **fan^{3} tsei^{4},** 反賊 or **pan^{4} tsei^{4},** 叛賊, which means "a rebellious brigand."

The derivation of the word **Panthay** appears to be one of the vexed questions of Sinology, and I trust that the above solution will be acceptable to Chinese scholars. In this connexion, the appended extracts bearing on the subject under discussion will be of interest.

Rangoon, June 18th, 1900. TAW SEIN-KO.

Extract I.

Anderson's "Mandalay to Momien," pp. 223-25.

"The Mahommedans of Yunnan have a tradition of their origin, which is curious, but mythical. The governor and the hadji at Momien stated, in substance, that their forefathers came from Arabia to China one thousand years ago, in the reign of the Emperor Tung-huon-tsong, who had sent his chief minister, Khazee, to Tseeyoog(?) to implore help against the rebel Oung-loshan. Three thousand men were accordingly sent, and the rebellion was crushed by their assistance. Their former compatriots refused to receive them back, as having been defiled by a residence among pork-eating infidels, so they settled in China, and became the progenitors of the Chinese Mahommedans. This information was furnished in the form of answer to questions put by me carefully written, and translated into Chinese, and Sladen also procured a Chinese document, giving substantially the same account. It will be seen that the variations of this from the account furnished to General Fytche are important; but as the name of the Emperor Tung-huon-tsong differs but slightly from that of Hiun-tsong of the Tung dynasty, against whom Ngan-Loshan rebelled, it seems possible to connect this account with Chinese history. His son Sutsung, A. D. 757, was rescued from his difficulties by the arrival of an embassy from the Khalif Abu Jafar al Mansur, the founder of Bagdad, accompanied by auxiliary troops, who were joined by Ouigoors and other forces from the West. It must be added that my informants, while claiming Arab descent, stated clearly that their more immediate ancestors had migrated from Shensi and Kansu to Yunnan about one hundred and fifty years ago, History, however, shows the early growth and rapid increase in China of a large Mahommedan population. whom the Chinese term **Hwait-ze**; **the name Panthay or Pansee being of Burmese origin.**

As to the derivation of this term, several theories have been suggested. Major Sladen gives **Puthee**

[1] Pronounced "Pangsay" by the Chinese and Shans.

as a Burmese term for Mahommedans generally. Garnier says that the word **Pha-si**, which the Burmese have corrupted into **Pan-thé** according to Colonel Phayre, is the same as **Parsi** or **Farsi**, which, in India, is applied to the Mahommedans, and that this denomination is very ancient, as Colonel Yule pointed out that in a description of the kingdom of Cambodia, translated by A. Remusat, a religious sect is described, called **Pâssi** who were distinguished by wearing white or red turbans and by refusing to drink intoxicating liquors or to eat in company with the other sects; but that distinguished Chinese scholar, Sir T. Wade, derives the term **Panthay** from a Chinese word **Puntai**, signifying the aboriginal or oldest inhabitants of a country; and Garnier mentions that a poople called **Pen-ti** are found on the eastern side of the Tali Lake, and in the plain of Tang-tchouen, to the north of Tali. They are a mixed race, descended from the first colonists sent into Yunnan by the Mongols, after the conquest of the country by the generals of Kublai Khan.

Mr. Cooper tells us that the term **Pa-chee**, or white flag party, as distinguished from the Hung-chee, or red flag, or imperialists, was also used to designate the rebels in the north of Yunnan, and Garnier frequently applies these terms to the contending parties. The termination ze in the name **Hwait-ze**, as in Mant-ze, Thibetans, Miaout-ze, hill tribes, and **Khwait-ze**, foreigners, seems always to imply political and tribal separation from Chinese proper. These names occur in the curious prophecy of the Four-ze Wars, quoted by Cooper."

Extract II.

Colborne Baber's "Travels and Researches in Western China," pp. 159-160.

"The word **Panthay** has received such complete recognition as the national name of the Mohammedan revolutionaries in Yünnan that I fear it will be almost useless to assert that the term is utterly unknown in the country, which was temporarily under the domination of Sultan Suliman, otherwise Tu Wên-hsiu. The rebels were and are known to themselves and to the Imperialists by the name of **Hui-hui** or **Hui-tzu** (Mohammedans), the latter expression being slightly derogatory.

The name of 'Sultan,' utterly foreign to the ordinary Chinese, was never applied to their ruler, except perhaps by the two or three hadjis among them The name 'Suliman' is equally unknown. The Mohammedans of Yunnan are precisely the same race as their Confucian or Buddhist countrymen ; and it is even doubtful if they were Mohammedans except as far as they professed an abhorrence for pork. They did not practise circumcision, though I am not sure if that rite is indispensable; they did not observe the Sabbath, were unacquainted with the language of Islâm, did not turn to Mecca in prayer, and professed none of the fire and sword spirit of propagandism.

That they were intelligent, courageous, honest, and liberal to strangers, is as certain as their ignorance of the law and the prophets. All honour to their good qualities, but let us cease to cite their short-lived rule as an instance of the 'Great Mohammedan Revival.'

The rebellion was at first a question of pork and of nothing else, beginning with jealousies and bickerings between pig butchers and the fleshers of Islâm in the market places The officials, who were appealed to, invariably decided against the Mussulmans. Great discontent ensued and soon burst into a flame.

The first outbreak seems to have originated among the miners, always a dangerous class in China, who were largely composed of Moham medans. The usual measures of exterminative repression were adopted by the officials ; their Confucian hostility against any faith or society which possesses an organisation novel to or discountenanced by the Government, was aroused ; a general persecution ensued ; the Mohammedans made common cause, excited, it is very possible, by their traveller hadjis ; and so began the period of disorder and disaster with which we are acquainted.

Regarding the faith of these unfortunate people, Dr. Anderson writes :— 'Our Jemadar frequently lamented to me the laxity that prevailed among them, and my native doctor held them in extreme contempt, and used to assert that they were no Mussulmans.' "

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME BIRTH CUSTOMS OF THE MUSSALMANS IN THE PANJAB.

ON the birth of a daughter no intimation is given to the relations and friends of the father.

After the 7th day, when the dinner ceremony, called usually *dhamdyan* in the Panjab, is over, the woman resumes her usual avocations, at least those do who are strong and have to work for their living. Many, however, do not recover strength for a month.

GULAB SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIX. p. 320.*)

CHAPTER V.

The Narrative Revelations.

NARRATIVE fragments in the oldest revelations — Historical recollections — Morals of the stories — Alterations of Biblical tales — Intentional obscurities — Various methods of narration — Analysis of various narrative addresses — Transition of the descriptive period — *Al Fâtiḥa.*

In the development of the *Qorân*, the part of which we are going to treat in this chapter stands above others of the Meccan period as far as variety of topics is concerned, and was undoubtedly more effective than any of the preceding ones.

Although the East is the home of the public narrator (and Muhammed's aim was to instruct and overawe rather than amuse), yet in Arabia he was able to inaugurate **a new era in the art of the story-telling.** In pre-Islamic times public recitations were poetic, but prose narrations cannot have been quite unknown, at any rate in certain circumscribed areas, since the Meccans used the Greek term *asâtîr* for stories, which they disparagingly applied to those told by the Prophet.

The reason why Muhammed introduced tales into his sermons is obvious. A large part of his knowledge of the Bible was of historical in character. He could not fail to realize quickly that by inserting small historical fragments he aroused the curiosity of his hearers. Although these served at first solely as examples to illustrate his warnings, they became gradually longer, and ultimately — being provided with a rich stock of tales of prophets and others who could easily be stamped as such — he simply reversed his tactics. Thus the tale became the chief object of the address, and the morals to be drawn were interspersed.

The short quotations from other books to be found in earlier revelations gave Muhammed opportunities of showing an acquaintance with past events and miracles which must have come as a great surprise to the Meccans. In the primary stages of Islâm, however, tales would have been out of place. Muhammed's first object was to introduce himself as the Messenger of Allâh, to preach His unity, and to confirm his own position. When all he had to say on these points was exhausted, repetition would but have wearied and repelled his most faithful adherents. Interesting tales were, therefore, not only a powerful attraction for his old friends, but an effective means of gaining new ones. They were suited to every capacity, and in an agreeable way induced reflection, whilst working considerably on the superstition of untutored savages.

In the preceding chapter we noticed that **these early historical fragments**[92] **refer to the ancient tribes of 'Âd and Thamûd.** Legendary reminiscences of the latter were extant among the Arabs, who had lost the faculty of reading the records engraved in the stones of Al Ḥijr. The frustrated expedition of **King Abraha** gave rise to *Sûra* cv., but although the incident had occurred within the memory of living persons, Muhammed dared to transform the plague which had decimated the forces of the enemy, into birds sent down from heaven. In *Sûra* lxxxv. 18, **Pharaoh** is mentioned for the first time,[93] and in other places either alone or together with other persons.[94] **Abraham and Moses** we encountered in connection with the *Suḥuf* ascribed to them.[95] It must, however. be noted that the two passages in question belong to the confirmatory period, and are not again repeated. I believe this is not accidental. Muhammed may have found it necessary to show that he knew of the existence of previous prophets and their books, but he may not have cared to speak too much about them at that time. He was more interested in

[92] *S.* lxxxv. 18; xci. 11.

[93] *Cf. S.* lxxxix. 9.

[94] *S.* lxxiii. 16, lxxix. 17, lxix. 9; liv. 41.

[95] *S.* lxxxvii. 19, liii. 37, *cf.* Ch. IV.

trying to focus all attention on himself and his new doctrine. People had to become accustomed to see in him first and foremost the bearer of the monotheistic idea, whilst other prophets moved like satellites around him. Finally "the people of Noah" appear in *Sûra* liii. 55.[96]

The Qoranic tales in so far resemble their Biblical models, as they show a marked tendency to demonstrate that the believer is rewarded whilst the infidel meets with severe punishment. Both are portrayed in such vivid colours, that the moral of the story stands out sharply defined against the background. It frequently appeals to the lowest instincts in human nature. When the tales become longer, the thread does not run smoothly, but is at certain intervals interrupted by contemplations.[97]

To demonstrate more clearly the meaning of the first verses in *Sûra* lxviii., Muhammed relates an anecdote of two agriculturists whose harvest was destroyed as a punishment for their having announced their intention of reaping without having exclaimed first: if Allâh please! and with the determination not to give any to the poor.[98] Somewhat later but still of a very early period are v. 34-52 with an allusion to Jonah, "the man of the fish."

The first revelation of distinctly narrative character is *Sûra* li. The beginning reminds us of a good example of the declamatory period.[99] Then follows a brief description of the torments of hell and the pleasures of paradise. To an observant person signs of a divine Providence are to be found in the earth as well as in man's own soul. This is illustrated by a *résumé* of Gen. xviii. The comparison of the account as given in the *Qorân* with its legendary form in Rabbinical literature has been made by Geiger.[100] Evidently in order to make the sermon a little longer, brief accounts of the wickedness of Pharaoh, the people of 'Âd, Thamûd, and the generation of Noah are added. The keynote of the address is probably to be found in v. 52:[1] "There never came a Messenger unless they said: he is a sorcerer or mad." This shews that not only had the old reproach been revived but another had been added, *viz.*, that Muhammed was prompted by a desire for material gain.[2] The latter he refuted in the concluding verses winding up with a threat for the wicked.

If the narration of the strangers' visit to Abraham be examined a little more chosely, we observe that Muhammed altered his original to suit his purpose. The message they brought to him with regard to the birth of a son is treated as a matter of secondary importance, whilst their chief object is represented as being to inform Abraham of their intention to destroy a wicked people among whom there is only "one house of Moslims" (v. 36). The whole is meant to represent a "sign" for those who fear the punishment.

There is scarcely a single revelation of narrative character in which the "sign" is not mentioned. This proves how keenly Muhammed felt the disappointment of being still unable to perform a miracle. Hence the employment of *âyâ*, the term for "sign" also for "verse." The "sign" is the main object of all the Meccan *sûras* following and many Medinian ones. Not less than ten Meccan *sûras*, all of which are narrative, begin with the words: "These are the signs of the manifest Book," or something similar.[3] A veritable lecture on the sign is

[96] *Cf. S.* lxxi. 1 more in detail.

[97] To this rule even *S.* xii. makes no exception, *e. g.*, v. 34, 38, 40, *etc.*

[98] See Ch. VIII.

[99] V. 10 قُتِلَ ; *cf.* lxxxv. 4; lxxx. 16; lxxiv. 19, 20. Nöld. *l. c.* p. 83 regards v. 24 *sqq.* as a later addition.

[100] *Was hat Muhammed, etc.*, p. 129 *sqq.* Beidh. draws attention to the grammatical character of ضيف which is used for sing. and plur. alike. It is possible that Muhammed chose a singular form on purpose with respect to Gen. xviii. 3, which gave the Jewish commentators also opportunities of attaching remarks to it. — Another direct reference to the original is to be found in v. 26 أهله = הנה באהל; *ibid.* v. 9.

[1] Application of v. 39.

[2] *Cf. I. Isḥ.* p. 1000 and the interview of Oṭba with Muhammed; *cf. ibid.* p. 185 *sq.*, and *Qor.* xli. 1 to 3; xxxviii. 86.

[3] Meccan *S.* x. to xv., lxxvi., xxvii., xxviii., xxxi.; Medinian: xxiv., lxii.

Sûra xxvi., which is as elaborate as it is methodically constructed. In the beginning the speaker describes his mental condition as follows :[4] —

1. Those are the Signs of the manifest Book.
2. Haply thou art vexing thyself to death that they will not be believers.
3. If we please we will send down upon them from heaven a Sign, so that their necks shall be humbled thereto.

This most impressive introduction[5] is followed by a very detailed relation of the message of Moses to Pharaoh. As credentials he and Aaron receive **Signs** in word and deed similar to Exod. iv. 1-17. They perform their task to the astonishment of all present, and lead the Israelites through the sea. The tale ends then with the same words as v. 7, which return regularly as refrain after the stories of Abraham, Noah, 'Âd, Thamûd, Lot, and Shueib. The appearance of each prophet being connected with a "sign" wrought upon the people to whom they were sent, was to prove to the Meccans that Muhammed's knowledge of those facts was miraculous, and therefore likewise a "Sign." This can be inferred from the following words : —

v. 192. And verily it is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds.
193. The faithful spirit[6] came down with it.
194. Upon thy heart, that thou shouldst be of those who warn.
195. In plain Arabic language.
196. It is [to be found] in the *zubur* of the ancient ! [7]
197. Shall it not be a **Sign** unto them, that the learned men of the children of Israel recognise it.

There is an obscurity in these verses which is intentional rather than accidental. Such strange things as the *zubur* and "the faithful **Ruh**" were better left unexplained as food for general contemplation and wonder. The assurance that the revelation had been brought down "in plain Arabic language" did not help to make matters clearer, nor did it follow that everyone understood it. It is, on the contrary, an endeavour to hide the un-Arabic look of the whole paragraph. The same assurance is repeated about half a dozen times in the next few years,[8] and three times at the beginning of addresses. As a Sign must also be regarded that already "the learned of the children of Israel" knew it.[9] This is as vague an expression as can be, since, as we saw above, the Children of Israel were for Muhammed only a historical reminiscence and nothing more. The Meccans were the last to know anything at all about them.

The verbosity of *Sûra* xxvi. is in itself a sign of the severe struggle which raged in the bosom of the Prophet. He saw himself compelled to amend the deficiency in quality by quantity. He represents himself as being sent to warn his nearest kinsmen and to spread his

[4] As to the initials see Ch. XIII.

[5] V. 6 descriptive. — The verses 7 to 8, 67 to 68, 103 to 104, 121 to 122, 139 to 140; 158 to 159, 174 to 175; 190 to 191 form eight refrains which include the seven narrations. The intervals (59, 35, 17, 17, 18, 14, 15 verses) are so unequal that this *sûra* does not give much to support O. H. Müller's assertions (*l. c.* p. 40 *sqq.*). It is to me more than doubtful that Muhammed, in the composition of this *sûra*, followed any tradition of olden times. The *sûra* has a second refrain, *viz.*, v. 109, 127, 145, 164, 1680 : "I expect no reward."

[6] الروح v. 193. In the older passages الروح is only mentioned in the connections with the angels (الملائكة); *cf. S.* xcii. 4; lxx. 4; lxxviii. 38; *cf.* also xvi. 2 (and standing alone, xxxviii. 72). الملائكة without الروح liii. 28; xvii. 97. All these passages do not go beyond the declamatory period. *Al Rûḥ* is, of course, the same as in Exod. xxxi. 3, *etc.* — The روح القدس of rabbinical origin, is not mentioned until xvi. 104 (descriptive). The original Arabic form is الرُّوح.

[7] الزبر used here for the first time; *cf.* liv. 43, 52. The verses 79 to 84 appear to be a reflex of various paragraphs from the Jewish prayer called '*Âmîdâ*, or "Eighteen Benedictions."

[8] xx. 112; xliii. 1; xii. 2: xxxix, 29; xlvi. 11; xvi. 105; xli. 2. See Ch. I. p. 6.

[9] Suffixum in يَعْلَمَهُ refers to تنزيل (v. 192).

wings over all those who follow him in belief (v. 214 to 215), but is not responsible for the perdition of the disobedient (216).[10] These words betray more self-confidence than real potency. Muhammed was hardly able to protect himself, much less others, and, indeed, he could not have succeeded in giving shelter to one of them, had they not enjoyed the protection of influential families. It is therefore better to take v. 215 purely in a spiritual sense, with which the admonition of v. 217, to put his trust in Allâh, agrees very well.

If one peruses the narrative revelations, it is soon perceived that these are of two classes. Some there are which name quite a number of prophets, to each of whom only a few verses are dedicated, whilst others mention but one or two altho' with far more detail. Yet even those of the latter class seldom give complete biographies, but are contented with one or two episodes out of the life of the prophet under discussion, whilst they save other noteworthy incidents concerning the same prophet for other occasions. Thus it happens that larger episodes of the lives of men like Abraham, Moses and Jesus[11] are scattered piecemeal through the whole book. Muhammed exercised a wise economy in not exhausting his material too quickly in order to sustain the interest of his hearers with an ever fresh display of learning.

The narrative element is so essential, that it must be carefully investigated especially with regard to its bearing on Islâm in general. Since the bulk of it belongs to the Meccan portion of the *Qorân*, we may conclude that **those who had the greatest influence on Muhammed's theological views, were the persons who are oftenest discussed.** Now the foremost of these is **Moses** who is mentioned about *twenty* times ; then follows **Abraham** with *fifteen*, **Noah, Lot, Shoeib** with *ten* to *seven*. The birth and mission of **Jesus** are mentioned in the Meccan *sûras* only twice, but both times without acknowledgment of his divinity (xix. 36 ; xliii. 58-9). This proves that Muhammed was little influenced by the New Testament. In the face of this fact Wellhausen's assertion, that Christianity had sown the seed of Islâm, is untenable. Nor was it Judaism, but Mosaism of which Islâm is a weak imitation. Therefore Moses and Abraham are frequently placed before Believers as the representatives of an uncompromizing monotheism.

Here again method and systematic dealing manifest themselves, and out of the apparent chaos of incoherent stories emerge distinct forms which Muhammed has set up as his models. It is not accidental that those who appear next in frequency to Moses and Abraham are **Hûd and Ṣâliḥ, the two legendary prophets of 'Âd and Thamûd,** because they are taken from the history of Muhammed's own country ; nor is it even by chance that the latter is mentioned not only alone, but earlier and more in detail than the former, probably because the ruins of their dwellings in Al Ḥijr were known to all travellers.

Typical of older narrative *sûras* is liv. Beginning with a solemn reminiscence of the declamatory period it announces that "the Hour is near and the moon rent ; although[12] they might now see a Sign, they would turn away and say : 'deception without end' " ! — Subsequently the speaker mentions the people of Noah, 'Âd and Thamûd, without, however, stating the names of the apostles belonging to the two last, a proof that Hûd and Ṣâliḥ have allegorical meanings, *viz.*, Penitent[13] and Pious. Sin and punishment of Thamûd are more minutely described than of the others, including Lot and Pharaoh. The narrator also bestowed a certain amount of care on the forms. The stories are divided into paragraphs each ending with a refrain which runs :

16. Then how was my punishment and my warning.
17. We have made the *Qorân* easy as reminder — but is there anyone who will mind ?[14]

[10] I believe the sermon ended v. 220, whilst v. 221 to 228 form an independent address.

[11] The number of prophets mentioned in the *Qorân*, is five and twenty (*Itqân*, 790), whilst there occur about forty names of persons.

[12] Ruckert's *Doch wenn sie schon* is wrong.

[13] هود plur. of هائد, *cf.* Ch. II.

[14] V. 21 to 22, 32, 40. Also here I can see no strophes, as the paragraphs are of very unequal length. Besides the refrain in vv. 30 to 32 is interrupted by v. 31, which describes the punishment of the Thamûd. The whole is a rhetorical play. Palmer omits the refrain several times.

Sûra xxxvii. begins with a completely declamatory introduction to support the proclamation of the Unity of Allâh. Signs would be disregarded by the infidels who hold that death is the end of everything.[15] "When they are told, there is no God beside Allâh, they behave haughtily and say: shall we forsake our gods on account of a mad poet" (v. 34[16] to 35)? This charge which had evidently not died out yet, provided Muhammed with another opportunity of a very realistic description of the pleasures of Paradise and the tortures of hell.

After this homiletic overture follows the essential part of the lecture which is of narrative character. Having briefly mentioned Noah, the sermon proceeds to relate the rabbinical legend of Abraham's adventure with his father's idols.[17] On this occasion the speaker treats on an episode in Abraham's life differing from that given in *Sûra* xxvi. Whilst the tone in the latter is solemn and pathetic, the former is anecdotal and in part even satirical. Abraham taunts the idols as well as their worshippers, and the latter construct a furnace into which he is thrown. Being rescued by divine interference, Abraham recites a prayer and receives tidings that "a son" is to be born unto him.[18] In a dream he is commanded to sacrifice his son (v. 101 to 104), but finally he is absolved from performing this painful task and is rewarded for his obedience.

In the course of the sermon Moses and Aaron are alluded to, and Muhammed hurries on to introduce a new personality in the figure of the prophet **Elijah.**[19] The citation of this man in the *Qorân* has another interest for us, as the worship of **Ba'al** is mentioned in connection with his name.[20] There can be no doubt, that Muhammed's acquaintance with the history of Elijah could only have come from Jewish sources, as *ba'l* in Arabic is only known in its original meaning of *husband.*

It is rather confusing to find in this part a few verses devoted to Lot and his wife,[21] but Muhammed had another new person to introduce, *viz.*, **Jonah.** We read about his adventures on the ship, his being swallowed by a fish, his illness,[22] his gourd, and his mission to hundred thousand[23] people who are saved from destruction by embracing the true faith. — A genera feature to be noted in the latter part of the *sûra* is the refrain which terminates the account of each messenger in the words: Peace be upon N. N.,[24] *etc.*, which at the end of the *sûra* is repeated in a more comprehensive manner thus: Peace be upon the messengers, and praise to Allâh, the Lord of the worlds.

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[15] *Cf.* v. 51 and xliv. 34 opposed to v. 56; see Ch. III.

[16] The passage is one of the two expressing the *Dikr*, see Ch. II.

[17] The anecdote is reported in full by Geiger, *l. c.* p. 122 *sqq.* — Moslim theologians of the Zahirite school (see Goldziher, *die Zahiriten*, p. 116 *sqq.*), which interprets the *Qorân* strictly according to its literal sense, are greatly concerned about several apparently sinful sayings and doings of Biblical persons. Ibn Ḥazm, therefore, takes the trouble to remove these difficulties. Abraham, he points out, made several misstatements, *viz., S.* xxxvii. 87, vi. 76; xxi. 64, to which Ibn Ḥazm adds Abraham's statement that Sarah was his sister. The last statement does not occur in the *Qorân*, but Ibn Ḥazm must have learnt it from a private source, which did not reveal him Gen. xx. 12. As a consequence of his rigid method of exegesis Ibn Ḥazm's explanations are rather hair-splitting. In a similar manner he treats Adam's disobedience, Noah's error (*S.* xi. 47), and Lot's impious remark (*S.* xi. 80). The untruth Joseph's brothers told their father (*S.* xii. 8 to 18) is dismissed with the declaration that they were not (rophets. In the same way Ibn Ḥazm speaks of the transgressions ascribed to Moses, Jonas, David and Solomon pfol. 323vo to 333vo).

[18] This son is not Isaac but Ismael, as the former is mentioned, v. 112 *sq.*

[19] Mentioned only once more (vi. 85).

[20] Baghawi وهو اسم صنم لهم كانوا يعبدونه لذلك سميت مدينتهم بعلبك قال مجاهد عكرمة وقتادة البعل الرب بلغة اهل اليمن. In the *Qorân* itself بعل occurs several times in its original meaning *husband* (pl. بعولة), ii. 228; xxiv. 31. *Sûra* xi. 75 وهذا بعلي شيخا, however, seems to be translation of (Gen. xviii. 12) ואדוני זקן The assertion of Al Baghawi that البعل means in the dialect of Yaman *master* is of no consequence, as the original meaning of this word had then already undergone great transformation.

[21] V. 135 is exactly like xxvi. 171. The wife is not mentioned any more.

[22] Jonah iv. 8, ויתעלף.

[23] *Ibid.* v. 11, "twelve myriads."

[24] Vv. 109, 120, 130, 181.

Of very similar construction is *Sûra* xliv. The "Book" was sent down in "a blessed night."[25] Then follows a rhapsody ending with the words: There is no Allâh beside Him;[26] He quickens and kills, (He is) your Lord and the Lord of your fathers.[27] — The reproach that Muhammed is only "a trained madman" (v. 13), is refuted by the reproduction of a story of Pharaoh to whom "a noble messenger" came who was in fear of being stoned (v. 19). This is evidently a reflex of Exod. viii. 26. Then follows the rescue of the Banû Israel "whom we have chosen[28] on account of our knowledge of the worlds (v. 31), and gave them the signs." — The objection raised by Meccans that man dies only once, is met by reminding them of the fate of the people of Tobba',[29] whose history was sufficiently known in Arabia. — The address is then concluded by a description of hell, particularly of the tree Zaqqûm, which is in so far significant, as it is mentioned in two preceding addresses.[30]

I here add *Sûra* xxxviii., the revelation of which, according to some commentators, stands in close connection with the conversion of Omar.[31] V. 5 evidently refers to the final seclusion of the Qoreish[32] who remonstrated that so complete a repudiation of every polytheistic relic[33] was unheard of in "the last religion."[34] This paves the way for the argument that also the people of Noah, 'Âd, and Pharaoh ("the man of the stakes") had refused to become believers, as well as the Thamûd, the people of Lôt, and of Al Aika.[35] Quite a new personality is introduced in "our servant David, the man of power." The mountains and birds which praise (Allâh) with him are reflexes of verses like Ps. xcvi. 11 to 12, cxviii. 8, *etc.* The fable related in 2 Sam. xii. 1 to 6 is reproduced by Muhammed in the light of a real incident, but is evidently confounded with 1 K. iii. 27. Another novelty is the introduction of **Solomon**, whose love for horses (1 K. x. 28) is hinted at, as well as his predilections for enjoyments as shown in Eccles. Ch. ii. The building of the Temple remains unnoticed, although Muhammed, a little later, alludes to his nightly journey to the same, but the rabbinical legends of Solomon's rejection, repentance, and his dominion over spirits are touched upon, being more entertaining.

New likewise is "my servant **Job**" (*cf.* Job xlii. 7 to 8) who is told by God to stamp with his foot, and a spring gushing forth from the ground should cure him of his disease. There exists no Biblical or rabbinical equivalent for this, but I believe Muhammed had the story of **Na'amân**, whose leprosy was cured by bathing in the Jordan, in his mind (2 K. v. 10 to 14). An allusion to this was in so far very appropriate, as the Syrian general had been under the impression that the prophet Elisha (mentioned below) would apply a charm to free him from his disease, and the confusion of the two cases is therefore probable. Subsequently we meet "our servants" **Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Ismael and Elisha.** Who **Dul-Kifl**[39] may be, cannot be made out. The name owes its origin apparently to some misreading on the part of Muhammed of which we have had several instances.

The lecture ends in a sermon on the paradise, "the day of reckoning"[40] and hell. The verses which follow are of special interest; I therefore give the translation.

v. 65. Say: I am only a warner, and *there is no God beside Allâh,*[41] the One, the Victorious.

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[25] *Cf.* xcvii. 1, في ليلة القدر. [26] See Ch. II. [27] Adaptation of Hebrew *Elohênu wêlôhê abhôthênû.*

[28] See Ch. II. and *S.* xxxv. 29. [29] Only once more, *viz.*, l. 13. [30] lvi. 52; xxxvii. 60.

[31] Sprenger, II. 23, where the traditions are reproduced. I. Isḥ. p. 279 refers to the death of Abû Tâlib.

[32] "The aristocracy severed themselves from them and said: Go, confide in your gods, *etc.*"

[33] This is meant by v. 6. Sprenger, II. 94 (rem.), refers the multiplicity in آلهاتكم to angels. The word ملة is used here for the first time; see above p. 16.

[34] Palmer: "in any other sect" has completely missed the sense of the phrase.

[35] أحزاب Sprenger, I. p. 471, rightly compares the word with Hebr. גוים

[36] *Cf.* Geiger, *l. c.* p. 183. [37] *S.* xvii. 1. [38] Geiger, *l. c.* p. 188.

[39] See above and *S.* xxi. 85. Sprenger, II. p. 270, gives him a Yemanian origin. It is, however, to be observed that also Pharaoh is styled ذو الأوتاد, and Noah ذو النون (xxi. 87).

[40] Occurs three times in the *sûra*, *viz.*, v. 15, 25, 53. [41] وما من إله إلا الله.

66. The Lord of the heavens and the earth, and what is between them, the Mighty, the Forgiving.

67. Say: It is a grand story, (68) but ye turn from it.

69. I had no knowledge of the exalted chiefs when they contended.[42]

Now the last verse contains a bold statement. Muhammed pretends to have been till then unacquainted with a discussion which took place between the heavenly hosts concerning the creation of man. What he really did know was a rabbinical legend on this subject, connected with Gen. i. 26 ("let *us* make"), but he did not reveal it fully until a Medinian sermon (ii. 28).[43] In this place he confines himself to reproduce, in Biblical terms,[44] the divine intention of creating man, to which he adds the rabbinical tradition that Adam being superior to the angels, the latter had been ordered to pay homage to him. Satan, however, refused to do so, and was cursed and banished. In conclusion Muhammed found it necessary to repeat that, like previous prophets, he asked no reward for his ministry, nor was he prompted by mercenary motives. This assertion, which no one will deny, was meant to place him in contrast to professional soothsayers, and could not but be useful to him.

We now come to a batch of *sûras*, which are distinguished by certain features which they have in common. They have no declamatory prologue, and the refrain, which marks the paragraphs, is also missing. Finally they all begin with reference to the "Signs of the Book and a manifest Qorân.[45] Of these revelations I mention first *Sûra* xxvii. 4 to 59, in which the refrain has not been omitted entirely, but is visibly disappearing.[46] After a short introduction of irrelevant character we hear quite a new story, *viz.*, Moses' vision of the burning bush. He is instructed how to perform the *two* signs, which shall be among the "nine Signs[47] (to be shown) to Pharaoh and his people" (v. 12). Subsequently David is mentioned, then Solomon, who informed mankind that he had received the power of understanding the speech of the birds (v. 16). In the same sermon the speaker inserted the history of Solomon's meeting with the Queen of Sheba in legendary form, which in the following generations has developed into a beautiful fairy tale. It is interesting to observe that Muhammed puts the formula of Unification into the mouth of the hoopoe.[48] A few verses later we come across the formula which Muhammed subsequently placed at the head of all documents, and which also stands at the beginning of each *sûra*, and since heads every book or document written by Moslims. — To this story are attached short accounts repeating the missions of Ṣâliḥ, the prophet of Thamûd, and and of Lot.[49]

Sûra xxviii. having no other beginning than the verse mentioned above, at once proceeds to relate the history of Moses. Pharaoh (v. 2) is charged with oppressing the inhabitants of the *earth* by slaying their sons and outraging their daughters; he and his adviser Hamân must therefore be punished. Moses' mother is advised by Allâh to nurse her child, and if she fears for his safety, to throw him into the sea without any misgivings. Pharaoh's men find him in the water, but his *wife* takes great liking to the boy, and persuades the king to adopt him

[42] Sprenger, II. 240, regards v. 68 to 70 as belonging to the time when the mentor had disappeared; *cf.* p. 350.

[43] Bagh. يعنى فى شأن ادم عم حين قال الله تع إنّى جاعل فى الأرض خليفةً قالوا أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها. See *B'rêshith Rabbâ* to Gen. i. 26.

[44] V. 82, فنفخت فيه من روحى, *cf.* (*S.* xv. 29 and) Gen. ii. 7.

[45] *Cf* above.

[46] Only v. 14 (not after v. 45), 52; v. 53 is an echo of xxvi. 7. V. 60-95 form an independent address, beginning and ending with الحمد لله.

[47] Confused with the ten plagues which are called מופתים. Exod. vii. 3; x. 1.

[48] V. 26, لا اله الا هو. The words ربّ العرش العظيم evidently form an intentional contrast to v. 23, ولها عرش عظيم.

[49] V. 60 *sqq.* I believe this piece forms a separate *sûra* belonging to the descriptive period, *cf.* 10!

Moses' mother is well pleased, and appoints her daughter to look after the boy, Muhammed evidently forgetting that the latter was already with the royal couple. The child refusing to be fed by a native woman,[50] his sister offers to find a place where he could be reared, and subsequently he is sent to his mother's house. He grows up, and kills the Egyptian, but repents his transgression (6 to 16). The next verses (17 to 18) read almost like a translation of Exod. ii. 13 to 14. An unknown man from "the remotest end of the city" warns Moses against the danger which threatens his life. Afterwards there is a great confusion in the narrative. Moses flees, and meets *two* women whom he assists in watering their flocks. These are not only confounded with Lôt's two daughters,[51] but also with those of Laban, since the father of the two girls, whom he had assisted, offers him one in marriage on the condition, that he serves him *eight* or *ten* years. Then follows the vision of the burning bush, and Moses receives his call (v. 29 to 35). Pharaoh's command to Hâmân to build him a tower[52] on which he could ascend to Moses' God is evidently a reflex of Gen. xi. 4, Isaiah xiv. 13, and perhaps also Esther v. 14.

In none of the preceding accounts of Moses' mission was allusion made to the revelation on Sinai. This does not seem to be accidental, since Muhammed was well acquainted with its history, but reserved it for use on another occasion. An opportunity soon arose for alluding to the scene,[53] but he did not reproduce the Biblical tale, because, to judge from v. 48,[54] several Meccans knew it already, and wished him to arrange a similar ceremony. Being unable to comply with the demand, he at least gave a clever answer, asking whether Moses himself had not met with disbelief.

Now in contradiction to earlier theories concerning man's own responsibility, we read here among observations attached to the story in question that "Allâh does not guide the wicked."[55] This maxim subsequently gained preponderance over the other, and was adopted by the orthodox school. The long sermon of contemplative character, which then follows — and in which the Creed is repeated twice[56] — is broken only by a remark on Qōraḥl's rebellion, and the fabulous wealth attributed to him by the Talmudical tradition.[57]

It would be both irksome and unnecessary to analyse every *sûra* which belongs to this group, and we must therefore be content to draw the main features of each. *Sûra* xv. repeats after a homiletic introduction the story of the disobedience of Iblîs (Satan, 28 to 50), and then proceeds to relate the visit of the angels to Abraham (51 to 77). After this the people of Al Aika are briefly mentioned (78 to 79), and the "people of Al Ḥijr," *viz.*, the Thamûd, whose sepulchral caves[58] (v. 82) Muhammed mistook for houses (80 to 86). A short sermon closes the *sûra*.[59]

A visible effect must have been produced on the hearers by these tales, which not only increased Muhammed's eagerness to recite them, but also induced him to arrange them more carefully for this purpose. Nor did he fail to prepare his hearers for an extraordinary treat, when the story they were going to be told, promised to be of unusual interest. Now an incident had occurred which spurred Muhammed to show his histrionic talent in its best light. Tradition relates that Al Nadhr b. Ḥârith, one of the Prophet's bitterest enemies, endeavoured to outrival Muhammed's stories by telling the Meccans the adventures of Persian heroes. Al-Nadhr himself, accompanied by Oqba b. Abu Mo'eit, were sent to Medina in order to make enquiries about Muhammed's prophetic powers of the Jewish Rabbis of this town. The latter

[50] *Cf.* Geiger, *l. c.* p. 153.

[51] V. 23, وابونا شيخا كبيرا, is evidently translation of Gen. xix. 31. Geiger overlooked the double confusion.

[52] *Cf.* xl. 38 to 39 more elaborate than v. xxviii. 38 and therefore probably later.

[53] V. 44 to 46.

[54] V. 48.

[55] V. 50 to 56; *cf.* Ch. III.

[56] V. 70 and 88.

[57] V. 76 to 79; *cf.* Geiger, *l. c.* p. 168.

[58] *Cf.* Doughty, *Notes et Extraits*, xxix. p. 4 *sqq.*

[59] V. 87, "seven of the mathâni;" *cf.* Geiger, *l. c.* p. 58. V. 98, فسبّح, invites to joining the preacher in prayer.

are said to have given the messengers certain queries to be put before Muhammed who replied by narrating the stories of the **Seven Sleepers of Ephesus**, contained in *Sûra* xviii.[60]

However sceptical our attitude may be towards this tradition, thus much is true, that Muhammed was somewhat downhearted, when he began this sermon. "Haply, he says (v. 5), thou grievest thyself to death[61] after them, if they believe not in this (following) communication." It is very probable that the rivalry of Al Nadhr in entertaining his followers with the attractive tales of daring deeds made his spirits sink. The story of the Seven Sleepers (v. 8 to 25) which he related, was by its miraculous character not only calculated to outdo tales of the most perilous adventures, but was introduced by the words of Allâh (v. 12) "We relate unto thee their story in truth." A homily attached to the tale takes the form of two parables.[62] The following piece (v. 48 to 58), recapitulating the disobedience of Iblîs, is perhaps directed against Al Nadhr, especially the second part of v. 48.[63] The fabulous journey of Moses and his servant (v. 59 to 81) which then follows, is, I believe, based on that of Tobias, intervowen with anecdotes heard elsewhere. The series of tales ends with an account of the journey of the "**Two Horned,**" generally supposed to be Alexander the Great,[65] who is requested by a people of strange speech to protect them against the encroachments of Jâjûj and Mâjûj.[66]

The finest and best rounded tale in the whole book is the recitation styled "**Yûsuf,**" which fills out *Sûra* xii[67]. Muhammed begins with the reference, quoted above, to "the Sign of the distinct Book," and proceeds again : We will relate to thee the finest of stories[68] with which we reveal to thee this *Qorân*. The harmony of the composition is, however, impaired by the daring assertion (v. 103).

"This is one of the stories of the unseen which we inspire thee with, though thou wert not with them when they agreed in their affair, when they were so crafty — and yet most men, though thou shouldst be urgent, will not believe."—Another new tale, the birth of **Jesus**, is related in *Sûra* xix. Muhammed tells of nothing but the nativity, because he regards the Founder of Christianity in the light of a monotheistic prophet alone, and quotes only such teachings as relate to his mission as a servant of God. He is in possession of "the Book." He is a blessed prophet, charged to teach the propriety of praying, giving alms, honoring parents, and the hatred of oppression. On ecannot fail to bestruck with the careful manner in which Muhammed weighed each word when lecturing on this delicate subject, and we have here the best opportunity of noticing, how conclusions may be drawn from things which he left unsaid as well as from those which he said. Vv. 34 to 36 show[69] clearly the attitude he adopted towards the New Testament. In v. 38 he speaks of the various sects and their differences.[70]

The story of Jesus being rather short, Muhammed reverts to the history of the Patriarchs Moses, Aaron, Ismael (v. 55), Idrîs[71] (v. 57), Noah, and "his descendants Abraham and Israel."[72]

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[60] See J. Q. R. Vol. X. p. 100 *sqq*. [61] *Cf. S.* xxvi. 2. [62] See Ch. VIII. [63] "They are foes of yours," *etc*.

[64] Geiger, *l. c.* p. 171, confesses that he is unable to discover the source of the story. It is to be remembered that Moses bears in Talmudical tradition the name of Tobias (Sôtâ, fol. 12vo). According to Itqân, p. 793, the Mûsa of this story is not identical with the Biblical Moses, but is a son of Manasse, which is evidently confused with Exod. vi. 19. — There is another explanation possible. According to a Rabbinic legend, R. *Joshua* b. Levi, a famous Talmudical authority, meets the Prophet Elijah, who journeys with him through paradise and hell. In a parallel Moslim tradition by Al Bokhârî (ed. Krehl, III. p. 276) Moses and *Joshua* b. Nûn meet Al Khiḍr (the prophet Elijah), who advises them on their journey. Now while the Rabbinic legend is focussed round the person of a Rabbi (who from a collector of legendary traditions became their hero), the Moslim counterpart of the same tale clung to the better known Biblical *Joshua*, whose master Moses became the chief person concerned in the legend.

[65] Nöldeke, *l. c.* p. 103, seems to have given the right explanation of the name.

[66] Gen. x. 2; Ez. xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 6. [67] V. 2, "Arabic Qorân."

[68] *Cf. S.* vii. 99, iv. 3 *sqq*. Josef gives his fellow prisoners a lecture on Islâm.

[69] V. 34 refers to the resurrection of all flesh in Messianic times, or Muhammed would have slated otherwise. *Cf.* I. Ish. 200 *sq.*, and *S.* xliii. 57 to 59.

[70] *Cf.* xliii. 65; fuller definition of أحزاب is given in xxxviii. 12, xl. 5.

[71] For the etymology of the name see Geiger, *l. c.* p. 106, Itqân, 792.

[72] V. 59; Gen. xxxii. 28 was evidently not known to Muhammed.

A conspicuous feature of this *sûra* is the employment of the term **AlRaḥmân for Allâh** no less than *eighteen* times. Sprenger is of opinion that the term stands for Christ. This is however, impossible, since Maryam herself places her hope in Al Raḥmân before Jesus is born (v. 18). Besides most of the passages in which that name occurs treat of other prophets.

If the Syrian Christians employed *raḥmânâ* for Jesus, they did the same as the Jews did in speaking of God. *Al Raḥmân* in the *Qorân* is therefore nothing but a synonym for *Allâh* or *Al Rabb*.[73] As long as Muhammed lived in Mecca he treated the name **'Îsâ** (Jesus) as one belonging to an ordinary mortal, and it was only when he came to Medina, and had nothing more to fear, that he substituted **Al Masîḥ**[74] for it. On the other hand Al Raḥmân is scarcely used at all after the *narrative period*, since it is rare in the descriptive group. In Medinian revelations it is only mentioned twice (ii. 158, lix. 22); both times in the earlier revelations of this epoch, and used as an attribute in the Creed, and not as name at all.[75] Muhammed explains this clearly in *Sûra* xvii. 110, where he characterizes *Al Raḥmân* as another word for Allâh, because the Meccans had charged him with adoring two gods.[76] In another place *Al Raḥmân* is identified with *Huwa* (xiii. 29), and cannot therefore be due to Christian influence at all.

Muhammed could not conclude this sermon without referring to the doctrine of the fatherhood of Al Raḥmân (v. 91 to 93).

The brief account of Jesus given in *Sûra* xix. is supplemented in *Sûra* xliii. 14 to 15,[77] but in a rather antagonistic spirit. Subsequently Abraham and Moses are quoted as examples of true servants of Allâh, after which the discussion on Jesus[78] is resumed.

Very similar to the preceding two *sûras* is *Sûra* xxi. both as regards matter and composition. The chief subject of discussion is the Unity of Allâh which Muhammed, as intimated above, endeavours to demonstrate by way of syllogism. V. 23, "He shall not be questioned concerning what He does, but they shall be questioned," is a reflex of Job ix. 12 (Eccl. viii. 4) a verse made popular through insertion into a Jewish prayer[80] for the Day of Atonement. V. 25 we have mentioned as one of the early attempts to formulate the Creed; v. 26 re-echoes the verse xliii. 59,[81] v. 27 ("they do not speak until He speaks, but at His bidding do they act) is a distinct reflex of Ps. ciii. 20 to 21. The whole passage together with the words "they shrink through fear" (v. 29) may be borrowed from the Jewish morning prayers preceding the reading of the *Shma'*, since there can hardly be any doubt, that the Jews in the Ḥijâz recited the same every day. In spite of these purely theological observations, to which may be added the denial of man's immortality (35 to 36),[82] the narrative character of the *sûra* is maintained in the second half. Moses and Aaron are briefly stated to have received the *Furqân* (v. 49). This word which occurs here for the first time, stands for *Tôrâh*, as it does in all Medinian revelations, excepting *S.* viii. 42 where it maintains its Aramaic meaning "victory."[83] Muhammed evidently confounded the latter signification with that of *Perâqim* into which the Pentateuch was divided for liturgical purposes, and which also guided the interpretations given to the word by the Moslim Commentators.[84] The rest of the *sûra* is taken up with tales of Abraham and other Biblical characters. In v. 105 Muhammed shows his acquaintance with the Psalms by quoting Ps. xxxvii. 29.[85]

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[73] *Cf.* lv. 1 = xcvi. 1 to 2; see Ch. VI. and XVII. 110.

[74] *Cf.* iii. 40: المسيح عيسى.

[75] The tradition on Muhammed's prayer: O Allâh, O Raḥmân; see Sprenger, II. p. 200.

[76] See the Commentaries.

[77] See Ch. VIII.

[78] On عَلَمٌ (v. 61) see the Commentaries and *S.* iii. 52, where Jesus is compared to Adam.

[79] *Cf.* xxiii. 93; see Ch. II. p. 23.

[80] *Ne'îlâ.*

[81] See above and *S.* xix. 36, 91, 93.

[82] See v. 8 and *S.* xxix. 57.

[83] Geiger, p. 56, only records the Aramaic interpretation of the word.

[84] *Cf. S.* xvii. 107, وقرآنًا فرقناهُ; the resemblance is more noticeable in the spelling than in the pronunciation.

[85] See Sprenger, II. p. 196 (misprint for Ps. xxxvii. 29) and *S.* xxi. 105. The Hebrew text has not "*çaddûk*" but *ṣaddîqîm.*

The foregoing *sûra* is a fine example of Muhammed's endeavours to relieve the monotony of narrative sermons by introducing meditations on all sorts of subjects. The same policy is observed in *Sûra* xiv., which begins with the remark that no messenger is dispatched except he speak the language of his own people (v. 4). This is a variation of the phrase "*Arabic Qorân*" usually employed. Another and still more noteworthy feature of the *sûra* is that it is rich in parables,[87] which are of Jewish, and indirectly of Biblical, origin. The merely narrative element in the address offers nothing new, except that Abraham prayed to Allâh to make "his house (Mecca)" safe (v. 40).

Sûra xx. is more drawn out. It begins with a very detailed account of the message of Moses, which is in so far of interest, as the Israelites are reminded of the covenant received "on the right side of the mountain" as well as of the Mannah and quails.[88] The description of Allâh as "Living and Eternal *(alḥayyu alqayyûmu)*"[89] is new. An account of Adam's sin and forgiveness with the admonition belonging to it close the *sûra*.

Sûra xi. commences with a sermon in which the speaker alludes to the creation of heaven and earth in six days,[90] and "His throne upon the water" (v. 9). Now it appears that one circumstance mentioned above, *viz.*, that the stories relating to one and the same person were rich in variations, had given rise to the suspicion that Muhammed took liberties with the facts. This reproach he endeavours to refute in v. 15: "Haply thou art leaving part of what is revealed to thee and thy breast is straitened thereby, lest they should say: why is not a treasure sent down to him? or why did not an angel come with him? thou art only a warner, and Allâh is guardian over all.—16. Or they will say: he has devised it. Speak: *Bring ten Sûrahs* like it devised, and call upon whom ye can beside Allâh, if you do tell the truth, etc.[91]"

This challenge we have already discussed, as also the theological dogma derived from it.[92] A rather stale parable (v. 26)[93] closes the homiletic part of the *sûra*, which then becomes broadly narrative, and takes its name from the first prophet mentioned in it, *viz.*, Hûd. His story (52 to 63) is followed by that of Ṣâliḥ (64 to 71), Abraham and Lot (72 to 84), Shoeib (85 to 98), and Moses (99 to 112). A feeble attempt at a refrain is made by repeating the admonition placed at the beginning (v. 3): "Ask pardon of your Lord, then return to Him" three times.[94] This is a proof of the unity of the *sûra*. At the conclusion Muhammed receives the assurance that all these stories had been revealed to him in order to strengthen his heart (v. 121).

In the following *sûras* the narrative element is visibly on the decline. To these belongs *S.* xxxiv. in which only the first portion (v. 1 to 20) contains references to Biblical persons and is otherwise partly descriptive, partly homiletic.

Several portions, of which *Sûra* vii. is composed, belong to the latest revelations of this period, and are only welded together by a common rhyme. The usual introduction calculated to attract the attention of the hearers contains the phrase (v. 6): "Now let us narrate to them the Meccans) knowledge, for we (Allâh) were not absent." In a mixture of narrative and descriptive style the creation of the earth and man is touched upon, followed by a repetition

86 V. 4; see the Commentaries and traditions.

87 See Ch. VIII.

88 Muhammed uses the Biblical terms, see I. Ish. 368. The explanations of المنّ, given by the Commentators, are wrong.

89 This is, perhaps, a proof that the Arab Jews pronounced *qayyômô*.

90 The phrase فى ستّة ايام occurs in the following passages: vii. 52, x. 3, xi. 9, xxv. 60, xxxii. 3, l. 37, lvii. 4.

91 *Cf.* Bagh. ائت بقرآن غير هذا ليس فيه سبّ آلهتنا همّ النبى ان يدع آلهتهم ظاهرا.

92 Known in Moslim theology as اعجاز; *cf.* Ch. I. p. 17.

93 V. 26; see Ch. VIII.

94 V. 54, 64, 92; v. 114 is not exactly the same.

of the fall and expulsion of Adam and his wife from paradise (1 to 24). This gives an opportunity of apostrophising the "sons of Adam"[95] into paragraphs of exhortative character with reference to their past life. The middle portion of the *sûra* contains a succession of tales dealing with Hûd, Ṣâliḥ, Lot and Shoeib (v. 57 to 100), and closes with the repeated assurance that the knowledge of all this is of divine origin. After this, and evidently belonging to the same piece,[96] follows a long account of the mission of Moses. It is interesting to note that Muhammed mentions five plagues or "Signs" (v. 130), *viz.*, the *flood* (either confounded with that of Noah, or the drowning the Egyptian army), locusts, lice, frogs, and blood. Muhammed's information on this subject was, however, so deficient, that later on[97] he confused them with the "nine and manifest Signs," which Moses performed before Pharaoh. Otherwise the narrative closely follows the lines of the Biblical original.[98] The piece comprehending v. 186 to 205 being an independent homily on the "Hour," and stated to have formed one of Muhammed's answers to Al Nadhr b. Al Ḥârith,[99] was probably placed here on account of v. 194 being similar to v. 178. The sermon to which the latter belongs is, however, Medinian.[100] It contains a historical outline of the evolution of man from one pair and the child born to them. The words of v. 189 "they called on Allâh, their Lord" recall Gen. xxv. 21 to 22.[1] V. 198: "Endeavour to pardon command that which is merciful, and shun the ignorant" represent the first attempt to formulate a sentence, and this became subsequently of great importance both in theology and jurisprudence.[2] V. 204 has some slight resemblance to Deut. v. 5 to 7, whilst the last three words, of the *sûra* also recall a phrase of the Jewish prayer book.[3]

Apart from the first vision of Muhammed (spoken of in Ch. III.) he now tells of a second, namely, his nightly journey to the Temple in Jerusalem, which under the name *almi'râj*[4] has become famous in Moslim tradition. This forms the beginning of *Sûra* xvii. which was, I believe, very short originally, and only assumed its present bulk through the insertion of large pieces belonging to the following Meccan periods. The mention of the Temple in Jerusalem (v. 1) gives Muhammed an opportunity of surveying briefly the two chief phases of the Israelitish history (v. 2 to 8). The concluding part of the *sûra* (v. 103 to 111) is narrative, although entirely disconnected from the first piece, whilst several words in v. 106 running parallel to v. 7 and v. 108 to v. 5 show the reason why these two pieces were put in one *sûra*. Here is to be placed *Sûra* lxxiii. 15 to 19.[5] According to the Commentators v. 110 (of *S.* xvii.) was misconstructed by the infidels into a charge of dualism.[6] This suggested the revelation of the docrine that "the most beautiful names" were those of Allâh *(ibid.)*, of which the legend counts not ess than ninety-nine beside "Allâh."

Sûra xl. is of equally compound character, the portions 1 to 6, 24 to 35, 38 to 59 being narrative.[7] Pharaoh is here not represented as a historical figure at all, but stands as the prototype of a wicked and daring person, combining the characteristics of Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar. The verses 36 to 37 stand for themselves to represent Joseph as a prophet, thus supplementing *Sûra* xii. in a very important omission. The prophetship of Joseph is evidently an afterthought, as through the romantic character of his history Muhammed had neglected to stamp him as a prophet.[8] For the rest of the *sûra* see below.[9]

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[95] V. 25, 26 ; v. 29 and 33 are younger and only placed here on account of the same beginning.

[96] V. 101 ذم.

[97] xvii. 103 ; *cf.* xxvii. 12.

[98] V. 154 = Exod. xviii. 25 (together with Numb. xi 24) واختار.

[99] See above.

[100] See below.

[1] See Palmer, I. p. 161, rem.

[2] *Cf. Meiôqif.*

[3] Bend the knee and prostrate and give thanks.

[4] *Cf. Mishkât* and Sprenger, II. 527 *sq.*

[5] The verses treat also of Pharaoh ; *cf* v. 18 كان وعده مفعولا.

[6] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 114.

[7] The phrase "O my people," v. 30, 31, 34 and again vv. 41, 42, 44.

[8] Joseph's prophetship, which distinguishes him from his brothers, is made the object of discussion by Ibn Ḥazm, fol. 3.

[9] V. 68 sqq., an independent sermon beginning with قل, but placed here on account of ربّ العالمين, v. 66 and 67.

To the same period also belongs *Sûra* xxix. 13 to 42.[10] From the reappearance of Pharaoh with Hâmân we may conclude that the speech in question was revealed almost simultaneously with the corresponding portion of *Sûra* xl. A fine parable breaks the sameness of the topics.[11] V. 47 contains the famous assertion that prior to his ministry Muhammed had been unable to read and write.[12]

The second and smallest portion of *Sûra* x., recapitulating the missions of Noah, Moses and Jonah, shows an attempt at chronological order, which is repeated in *S.* xxiii. 23 to 52 with Noah, Abraham, and Moses. The piece was inserted here on account of *alfulk* ("ships," v. 27; *cf.* v. 22).

I have to mention here several pieces of narrative character which the compilers have inserted into Medinian *sûras*, but which undoubtedly are of Meccan origin. It is improbable *a priori* that Muhammed should have revealed new discourses in Medina on the old topics recited during the service in the Meccan *sûras*, besides which the ministry of Muhammed was of more practical nature, and it is unlikely that he would have returned to these tales. The style is the same as in the other narrative *suras*. These pieces are xl. 20 to 35 on 'Âd and Moses, and ii. 200 to 210 without reference to any particular person.

An isolated narrative speech we find inserted in *Sûra* v., which is of Meccan origin in spite of the place allotted to it by the compilers (v. 23 to 38). It consists of two parts, the former (v. 23 to 29) giving a condensed account of Numb. Ch. xiii. to xiv. 34. The second (v. 30 to 35) reproduces Gen. iv. 2 to 9 with the agadic already exposed by Geiger, who also discloses the source of v. 35. The next three represent probably the moral drawn from the foregoing tales, and are meant to impress Meccan foes. The punishments threatened were not executed in Medina, but they had only to choose beween conversion and execution.

It was the narrative period of the *Qorân* which, as I believe, gave birth to the short *sûra* which heads the book and is known under the name *alfâtiḥa*. It consists almost entirely of verses which occur frequently in revelations belonging to this period, and which Muhammed selected in order to form them into a short prayer. V. 1 is one of the two sentences which are used to invite the audience attending sermons to start praying,[13] and is found both at the beginning and at the end of many discourses. It is at the commencement of *Sûras* xviii., xxxiv., xxxv., and xxvii. 60 which evidently marks the beginning of a new speech. In the last named *sûra* the phrase also ends the sermon, as it does in *S.* xxxvii., xvii., and xl. 67 (end of a sermon) and xxxix. *Sûra* lii. 48 is a combination of both sentences used for the purpose, whilst *S.* x. 10 to 11 informs us that

10. Their prayer therein (in paradise) shall be: celebrated be thy praises *(subḥânaka)* oh Allâh, and their salutation shall be: Peace !

11. And the end of their prayer shall be : Praise to Allâh, the Lord of the worlds !

This is quite in accordance with the instances given in other places.

The verses 5 to 6 (of *Sûra* i.)[14] appear in *S.* xliii. 42, xi. 59, vii. 15 ; xlii. 52 to 53, *etc.* Now although it is very difficult to fix the date of the *sura* with accuracy, that given to it by Nöldeke is evidently too early.[15]

(To be continued.)

10 V. 1 to 12 legislative; *cf.* Ch. VII.

11 *Cf.* Ch. VIII.

12 *Cf.* Ch. I. p. 12.

13 The other being فسبّح بحمد ربك.

14 *Cf.* Ps. xxv ii. 11.

15 Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 86 f.; Itqân, p. 54.

NOTES ON AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR IN SOUTH BIHĀR AND HAZĀRIBĀGH.

BY M. A. STEIN.

IN September, 1899, I applied to the Government of Bengal for permission to utilize the approaching Pūjā vacation for the purposes of a short **archæological tour through portions of the Patna, Gayā and Hazāribāgh Districts.** The main object I had in view was to acquaint myself personally with the most important of the ancient sites contained in this part of **old Magadha** and to test by their examination the materials available for the study of its ancient topography. In the course of my preliminary labours for a comprehensive account of the ancient geography of Northern India my interest had naturally been attracted towards Magadha, both on account of the historical importance of this territory and the detailed descriptions which the Chinese pilgrims have left us of its Buddhist *topographia sacra.* I therefore wished to use the first opportunity that offered to obtain that personal acquaintance with the actual localities and their extant remains, which previous experience elsewhere had shown me to be of no small advantage for researches of this kind. An additional reason for the proposed tour was that it offered a convenient opportunity to visit certain ancient remains previously unsurveyed in the Hazāribāgh District, upon which I had been asked to report to Government.

The proposal regarding my tour received the ready approval of Sir John Woodburn, K. C. S. I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The Local Government accordingly agreed to bear the travelling expenses connected with it and to make the services of a Sub-Overseer of the Public Works Department available for survey purposes. For the liberal assistance thus rendered to me I beg to record my grateful acknowledgment.

Introductory. — Owing to its wealth of ancient remains and the fullness and accuracy of the records left by the Buddhist pilgrims already alluded to, Magadha has since the days of **Kittoe** received an exceptionally large share of attention on the part of those Indian Archæologists who have worked in the Gangetic Valley. As a result of their labours, and particularly of the extensive researches of **General Cunningham,** we possess more or less detailed descriptions of all sites, the identity of which with sacred localities mentioned in the Chinese itinerarise has hitherto suggested itself, or which have otherwise attracted antiquarian notice. The fullest and on the whole most reliable of these accounts are due to General Cunningham, and, having been embodied in various volumes of his *Archæological Survey Reports*, are conveniently accessible for reference. In dealing with the sites visited by me I shall, therefore, be able to restrict my remarks to the points, which have a direct bearing on questions of ancient topography, and to those objects of archæological interest, which have either been left unnoticed or been insufficiently described in the above accounts.

I commenced my tour in Magadha on the 9th October at **Nawadah**, which, as a station on the newly-opened South-Bihar Railway and the headquarters of a sub-division of the Gayā District, formed a convenient starting point for a visit to the series of old localities ranged along and between **the Rājgir chain of hills.** Thanks to the kind attention of Mr. E. W. Oldham, C. S., Collector of the Gayā District, I found ample arrangements for transport awaiting my arrival and was hence able to march without delay to **Giryek,** at the eastern extremity of the Rājgir range.

Giryek : Indraśailaguhā. — The archæological interest of Giryek is due to the fact that the rugged hill rising immediately to the west of the village, can be shown beyond all doubt to be identical with **the Indraśailaguhā mountain of Hiuen Tsiang and Fa-hian.** It was sacred to Buddhist tradition as containing the cave in which Buddha had answered the forty-two questions of Indra, Lord of the Dēvas. This identification, first proposed by General Cunningham,[1] supplies useful evidence of the accuracy with which the indications of the Chinese pilgrims can be

[1] See *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. i. pp. 16 *sqq.*; iii. pp. 145 *sqq.*

traced in this part of Magadha, wherever prominent natural features of the ground assist us in checking the distances and bearings recorded in their itineraries.

Hiuen Tsiang, whose account is, for these parts, throughout more detailed and exact than that of Fa-hian, places the hill "of the rock-cave of Indra" at a distance corresponding to about 10 miles south-east of **Nālanda**. "The summit has two peaks which rise up sharply and by themselves. On the south side of the western peak between the crags is a great stone house, wide but not high." On the top of the eastern peak was a monastery and before it a Stūpa, which, from a pious legend connected with the site, was called **the Haṁsa or Goose Stūpa.**[2] In **Fahian's** description, which, though far briefer, agrees in all essential points, the distance to the hill is reckoned as nine *yojanas* in a south-easterly direction from **Pāṭaliputra or Patna.**[3]

The distances and bearings indicated by the two pilgrims correspond closely to the actual position of Giryek relative to **Badgaon, the undoubted site of Nālanda,** and to the modern city of Patna. But more convincing proof for the correctness of General Cunningham's identification is obtained by an examination of the rocky spur in which the northern of the two parallel ranges known as **the Rājgir Hills** terminates opposite the villageof Giryek. Ascending from the bed of **the Panchāna River,** which washes the eastern foot of the spur, an ancient walled-up road, still traceable in many places along the steep scarp, leads up to the ruined Stūpa known as **"Jarāsandha's seat (baithak)."** This structure, accurately described by General Cunningham, occupies a commanding position on the eastern end of the ridge, and is, notwithstanding its ruined condition, still visible from a considerable distance (see Fig. I.). About a hundred yards to the south-west of the Stūpa the ridge culminates in a small summit, which was undoubtedly occupied by buildings. The thickness of the thorny jungle, which covers the summit, did not permit a close inspection. But a broad flight of steps leading up to it from the Stūpa and massive terrace walls on the west can clearly be seen through the jungle. The position of these remains corresponds so closely to that indicated by Hiuen Tsiang for the Stūpa of the Goose and the Vihāra behind it, that their identity with the structures seen by the Chinese pilgrim can scarcely be doubted.

The ridge continuing further to the west gradually rises again and forms at a distance of about 400 yards a second summit covered with large rocks, many of which show flat tops and thus curiously resemble seats. It is possible that it was this natural feature, apparently not noticed in previous accounts, which suggested to the eyes of the pious "the traces on the top of the mountain ridge where the four former Buddhas sat and walked."[4]

Indraśailaguhā. — Descending from this point on the southern face of the ridge towards the valley which separates the two ranges of the Rājgir Hills, I reached the small cave known as **Gidhadvārī,** already fully described by General Cunningham. By position and appearance it corresponds exactly to the cave, which we find mentioned in Hiuen Tsiang's account as the scene of Indra's interogation of Buddha. The cave itself shows no trace of human workmanship, but at its entrance, which is reached by scrambling over some precipitous ledges of rock, there is a small platform about 20 feet in length supported by a wall of old masonry. It is useful to note **the total absence of any marks that this natural fissure in the rock was once a place of worship and pilgrimage.** This observation may offer some assurance with regard to the identifications we shall have to propose for some other caves to be mentioned thereafter.

Rājgir : Rājagṛha. — From Giryek I marched on the 12th October along the northern foot of the hill-range to **Rājgir, the ancient Rājagṛha,** once the capital of Magadha and the site of many notable events connected with Buddha and his church. In view of the exceptional historical interest attaching to the locality, it is indeed fortunate that the survival of its ancient name in Brahman and Jaina tradition and in the modern form Rājgir has from the first assured its correct identification. But even if the old designation of the place had completely disappeared in

[2] *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, ii. pp. 180 *sqq.* [3] *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. p. lviii. [4] *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 181.

the course of a history reaching back over 2,500 years, we should find no difficulty in locating it. So detailed are the descriptions which the Chinese pilgrims have left us of the unalterable natural surroundings of the ancient capital, and so clearly marked their agreement with the position of Rājgir.

The modern village, to which the name Rājgir properly applies, is built on the site of the city which **King Ajātaśatru**, Buddha's contemporary, had founded as his residence. This city was distinguished in the days of Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang as "**the New Rājagṛha**" from the far more ancient capital, originally known as **Kuśāgārapura**, which occupied the valley between the two parallel ranges of hills already mentioned, immediately south of the present village. Kuśāgārapura was a desolate waste of ruins even when Fa-hian visited its sacred spots about A. D. 400. But the five hills, which he describes as completely encircling the valley "like the walls of a city,"[5] and the lines of ramparts still traceable through the jungle, leave no possible doubt as to the position and extent of the old capital. The new site, too, to which Ajātaśatru (*circ.* 5th Cent. B. C.) removed the royal residence, was destined to become deserted. From Hiuen Tsiang's record we learn that already King Aśoka changed the capital of Magadha to Pāṭaliputra and gave the city of Rājagṛha to the Brahmans. These were the sole inhabitants at the time of his visit (*circ.* A. D. 637), and as their number is given as only a thousand families, we see to what modest dimensions the "New City" had already then dwindled.[6]

Tīrtha of Rājgir. — The mention of this **Brahman population at Rājagṛha** is a point which deserves special attention with regard to the historical topography of the place. It is easily explained by the fact that the site of Rājgir has, evidently since early times, borne the character of a Hindu Tīrtha. Even now a very considerable portion of the population of Rājgir consists of Brahman Purōhitas living on the pilgrims attracted to the place. The celebrity which Rājgir still enjoys, as a place of popular pilgrimage for Hindus of all sects and classes, is undoubtedly due to the numerous hot springs, which rise in and near the gorge leading from the north to the site of the "Old City," and which, like similar springs throughout India, are worshipped as special manifestations of the divine power. The full description, which Hiuen Tsiang give of the numerous temples constructed around the springs and of their pilgrim visitors,[7] corresponds closely to the present appearance of the place. It shows plainly that apart from all Buddhist associations Rājagṛha was then, as now, a popular Tīrtha.

This fact, it appears to me, deserves more consideration than it has received hitherto. On the one hand it may explain to us the true reason for the presence of the numerous Jaina shrines which still crown the heights around the old Rājagṛha, for throughout India we find the local worship of the Jaina community attracted to places which Hinduism at large has invested with a sacred interest. On the other hand it must direct our attention to the extant **Māhātmya of the Tīrtha** as a useful source of information on the ancient topography of the place. My researches in Kashmīr have shown me what valuable help can often be obtained for the study of the ancient local nomenclature by a critical examination of the *Māhātmyas* of particular Tīrthas.[8] The *Rājagṛhamāhātmya* now in use, which purports to be taken from the *Agnipurāṇa*,[9] may not be in itself a very old production. But the fact that it has preserved a series of local names, which can be proved from independent sources to be of genuine antiquity (*e. g.*, the names, of the hills **Vaibhāra** and **Vipula**, the name of **Rājagṛha** itself, *etc.*), indicates sufficiently that its evidence deserves consideration in studying the old topography of this part of Magadha.

The Walls of "Old Rājagṛha. — The importance of Rājagṛha as the ancient capital of the country is forcibly brought home to us by the wide extent of the ground over which its remains spread. The lines of ruined walls still traceable through the thick jungle of the central plain

[5] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. lix. [6] *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 167. [7] *Si-yu-ki*, ii. pp. 155 *sq.*
[8] See my *Memoir of Maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr*, *J A S. B.*, 1899, pp. 46 *sqq.*
[9] It has been printed by Sāhib Prasād Singh Khaḍgavilāsa Press, Bankipur, 1898.

between the two hill-ranges indicate the site of the inner city of "Old Rājagṛha" or Kuśāgārapura, with a circuit of about five miles, as described by Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang. But outside this inner city we find the crests of the hills north and south crowned far away with walls of massive masonry, which undoubtedly belonged to a system of circumvallation intended to protect the capital. These lines of walls, rendered difficult of access by the rugged character of the hills and the thick jungle which covers their slopes, have not yet been properly surveyed. But the relative distances of the points, where their remains are easily distinguished and accordingly have been noted by General Cunningham and other observers, strongly support the correctness of the estimate of Hiuen Tsiang, who gives to the external defences of Kuśāgārapura a circuit of about 150 *li* or 30 miles.[10]

Within the area enclosed by the hills which gave to old Rājagṛha the characteristic epithet of **Girivraja**, "the mountain-girt city," all was "desolate and without inhabitants" already in the days of Fa-hian. This accounts largely for the scantiness of ancient structural remains now visible above ground, and the difficulty we consequently experience in regard to the exact identification of the numerous sacred spots connected with Buddha and his church, which the pilgrims describe within the valley and near its entrance from the north. With the limited time at my disposal no attempt could be made to scrutinize all the identifications which General Cunningham, and partly his Assistant Mr. Beglar, had proposed for these particular sites.

Position of the Sattapaṇṇa Cave. — Among the latter none is historically more interesting than the place where the First Council of the Buddhist Church was held, the famous **Sattapaṇṇa Cave.** As the question of its exact position had been the subject of much speculation and controversy, I was anxious to utilize the opportunity offered by my short stay specially for its examination. According to the uniform testimony of all the Buddhist canonical records the First Great Council, which was convened by Kāśyapa soon after the demise of Buddha to fix the principal tenets of the Church, took place near Rājagṛha in a cave in the Vebhāra Hill, which bore the Pali name of Sattapaṇṇa or Sattapaṇṇi. The *Mahāvastu*, which gives the Sanskrit name of the cave as **Saptaparṇa**, furnishes the additional detail that the cave was situated on the north of the hill, which is called there **Vaihāra.**[11]

For more exact indications we must turn to our Chinese guides. Fa-hian, starting from the north side of the Old City, takes us first to the **Kalaṇḍaveṇuvana Vihāra**, which from a comparison of Hiuen Tsiang's record can safely be located within or close to the defile leading from new Rājagṛha to the Old City.[12] He then continues: "Striking the southern hill and proceeding westwards 300 paces there is a stone cell called the **Pippala Cave**, where Buddha was accustomed to sit in meditation after his midday meal. Still further west five or six *li* there is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain and called Che-ti. This is the place where five hundred Arhats assembled after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books, *etc.*"

Hiuen Tsiang describes the place of the great convocation as "a large stone house" situated in the middle of a great bamboo forest, which occupied "the north side of the southern mountain, about 5 or 6 *li* to the south-west of the [Karaṇḍa]-Veṇuvana." Before the "large stone-house" there was to be seen an old foundation-wall. This edifice was ascribed to King Ajātaśatru, who made it for the accommodation of the assembled Arhats. Though Hiuen Tsiang's words are not as precise as we might wish, it seems highly probable that here, as elsewhere, he means a natural cavern,[13] and that only the edifice marked by the foundation wall in front was structural.

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[10] *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 150; *Arch. Survey Reports*, i. p. 23.

[11] Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 102.

[12] See Map of Rājagṛha, plate xli., of *Archæol. Survey Reports*, III.

[13] Compare the use of the same expression for the small cells in the rocks of Mount Gṛdhrakūta (*Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 154); for the cave in the Indraśailaguhā Hill (Giryek, *ib.* ii. p. 180), for the cave now known as Rājpiṇḍ, near Jethian (see below), *etc.*

Previous views regarding the Sattapaṇṇa Cave. — General Cunningham, who was the first to take up the search for the traditional site of that great event in Buddhist history, was much influenced in his views by considerations connected with the artificial excavations known as **Sōnbhāṇḍār**, "the Treasury of Gold." These excavations are situated at the south foot of the **Baibhār (Vaibhāra)** Hill, about one mile to the south-west of the gorge leading from New Rājagṛha to the site of the "Old City," and have often been described. They consist of two comparatively small chambers cut out of the solid rock and highly polished inside. They show in their architectural features so close an affinity with the Barābar caves of Aśoka and Daśaratha, that the opinion of Mr. Fergusson and Dr. Burgess, which attributes their construction to the period of the Maurya dynasty, has everything in its favour.[14] In his first *Archæological Survey Report*, for the year 1861-62, General Cunningham wished to identify the Sōnbhāṇḍār with the **Pi-po-lo Cave**, referred to in the above extract from Fa-hian's account, and also mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. In accordance with the direction indicated by Fa-hian, he was then prepared to look out for the Sattapaṇṇi Cave on the Northern face of the mountain, at the distance of about one mile from Sōnbhāṇḍār, as the supposed cave of Buddha's meditation.[15]

When publishing in 1871 his *Ancient Geography of India*, Gen. Cunningham had come to locate the Sattapaṇṇi Cave itself at Sōnbhāṇḍār, and to this belief he subsequently clung, notwithstanding the manifest impossibility of making the position of Sōnbhāṇḍār agree with the uniform testimony of the pilgrims, which distinctly points to the northern side of the Vaibhāra Hill as the site of the famous cave.[16] This serious objection, to which Mr. Beal, the English translator of Hiuen Tsiang, and others had rightly called attention, was in no way weakened by General Cunningham's discovery, recorded in his *Report* for 1871-72, of the **Pi-po-lo stone cell** and the Asura's cave behind it at the eastern end of the Baibhār Hill.[17] For although the distance of the Sōnbhāṇḍār from this second site would approximately correspond to the 5-6 *li* counted by Fa-hian between the Pipolo and Sattapaṇṇi Caves, yet a glance at General Cunningham's own map will show that the bearing from the former cave to the Sōnbhāṇḍār is nearly south, and not west as indicated by Fa-hian.

In the cold season 1872-73 Rājgir, with a series of other localities in Magadha, was visited by Mr. Beglar, General Cunningham's assistant, who in his account of this tour published in Vol. viii. of the *Archæological Survey Reports* has returned in detail to the question of the Sattapaṇṇi Cave.[18] He describes there how, realizing the obstacles in the way of the proposed identification with Sōnbhāṇḍār, he searched for the cave in the direction indicated by Fa-hian, *i. e.*, by going to the west from the Pi-po-lo Cave at the entrance of the gorge which leads to Kuśāgārapura, and then skirting the north foot of the Baibhār Hill. There he came across a series of fissures in the rock all facing to the west and forming a row of little chambers from 4 to 10 feet wide and equally shallow. Owing to a peculiar configuration of the rocks, which a rough plan and section attempt to illustrate, these recesses are said to escape notice on going from east to west, but to be distinctly visible for an observer moving in the opposite direction. They are described as being "less than a mile from the Pippal (Pipolo) Cave, and to the west of it;" and as situated "in the middle third of the hill."

This collection of rock fissures, which elsewhere is spoken of as "a large natural cavern" "divided by natural Septa of rock into compartments," was taken by Mr. Beglar to be the true Sattapaṇṇi Cave. In support of this belief we are referred to the etymology of the name **Saptaparṇa**, the designation of a plant, the **Alstonia scholaris**, but literally meaning "Seven-leaved," and to the statement that by the side of the six recesses seen by the explorer there was room for a seventh on a part of the rock-face hidden by impenetrable jungle.

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[14] See *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, p. 49.

[15] See *Arch. Survey Rep.* i. p. 21.

[16] *Ancient Geography*, p. 463.

[17] The argument in favour of the identification of the Sonbhāṇḍār and the Sattapaṇṇi Cave is taken up at length in *Arch. Survey Rep.*, iii. pp. 140 *sqq.*

[18] *Arch. Survey Rep.*, viii., pp. 90 *sqq.*

A perusal of Mr. Beglar's description of this remarkable spot conveys the impression that his visit had been of the most hurried character. It is, therefore, to be regretted that when he subsequently revisited Rājgir in the company of General Cunningham, no steps were taken to obtain exact facts as to the alleged site of the Sattapaṇṇa Cave. General Cunningham in the Preface to the Volume declares the theory broached by his assistant regarding the Sattapaṇṇi Cave to be quite untenable.[19] But we are not informed whether he actually saw and examined the rock recesses mentioned in the description above summarized. Mr. Beglar himself in a note prefixed to the *Report* informs us that he has been constrained to abandon what he considered as the main arguments against the identity of the Sōnbhāṇḍār with the Sattapaṇṇa Cave.[20] His words leave us in some doubt as to the value which he would still have us attach to his own discovery of the "Seven-leaved" Cave.

This brief retrospect on a much vexed question will explain why the interest of my short stay at Rājgir specially turned on the examination of the Baibhār Hill. The words of our Chinese guides make it quite clear that the cave, which was shown to them as marking the site of the First Synod, was on the northern side of this very hill. Yet I knew from communications of my friends Dr. Grierson and M. Sylvain Lévi that they had both failed to trace Mr. Beglar's rock-cavern, the only cave so far described, which by its position would seem to correspond to the one seen by the pilgrims.[21] The only information I had been able to obtain by my preliminary enquiries among the local Purōhitas and others referred to two caves, briefly mentioned also in the entry of the *List of Ancient Monuments of Bengal* concerning the Baibhār Hill. They were said to exist close together on the rocky scarp of the hill below one of the Jaina temples which crown its south-eastern ridge.

Caves on the north face of Baibhār Hill. — Ascending the road which leads to these temples, I first reached the remarkable square platform of unhewn, but carefully fitted, blocks which General Cunningham has noticed under the name **"Jarāsandh-kī baithak"** and correctly identified with the **Pi-po-lo stone-cell.**[22] If the tradition is genuine, which made Buddha dwell in one of the cells of this remarkable structure, we have in it indeed the oldest Indian stone building of which the date is approximately known.[23] Its position and distance relative to the road leading from the north to Kuśāgārapura, is exactly as indicated by Fa-hian.[24] The road marked in numerous places by ancient masonry then rises steeply along the north-eastern extremity of Baibhār and, leading generally in a westerly direction, reaches the flatter portion of the ridge where the Jaina temples are situated. They are quite modern in their superstructures; but the massive platforms on which they are built seem old, and in any case, we know from Hiuen Tsiang's reference to the "naked heretics" (Nirgranthas), who frequented the top of Mount Pi-pu-lo (Vaibhāra),[25] that the sacred character of this hill for the Jainas is not a feature of modern growth.

The caves, to which my Purōhita guides referred, are situated near the temple dedicated to **Ādinātha,** which is the fourth in order from below and according to a rough estimate at a distance of about a mile from the commencement of the ascent. A path, which descends the rugged northern scarp of the ridge to a level of about a hundred feet below the temple, leads to a long terrace, which, notwithstanding the luxurious vegetation covering it at the time of my visit, clearly betrayed its artificial origin. The wall, which supports it towards the lower slope, is composed of large unhewn slabs and can be traced for fully a hundred feet running in the direction from N. E. to S. W. along the face of the slope. The average width of the terrace is twenty-five feet. Where, at the south-west end, the supporting wall is lost in thick jungle, a narrow path strikes off towards a natural cave in the rock face overhanging the terrace. It runs in the direction

[19] See *Arch. Survey Rep.*, Vol. VIII., p. viii.

[20] *Arch. Survey Rep.*, Vol. VIII., p. xiv.

[21] See *Rapport de M. Sylvain Lévi sur sa mission dans l' Inde et Japon*, Comptes-Rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1899, p. 73.

[22] *Arch. Survey Rep.* iii., p. 141.

[23] Compare Mr. Fergusson's remarks, *Cave Temples*, pp. 33 *sq.*

[24] *Si-yu-ki*, p. lx.

[25] See *Si-yu-ki*, ii., p. 158.

W. N. W. to E. S. E. and is 40 feet deep in its open portion. The height is about 12 feet at the entrance and 10 feet further in. The cave is widest at the middle, where it is about 16 feet broad. The cave, though undoubtedly due to a natural fissure in the rocks, may have been somewhat enlarged by rough excavations at the sides. At least, there is a suggestion of this in the presence of flat low ledges of rock which line the sides.

Along the same wall of rocks, at a distance of about 50 feet further to the south-west, is a second and somewhat larger natural cavity. It is 47 feet deep, 25 feet wide at its broadest and ten to eleven feet high. Its end is lost in a narrow fissure which is said to extend much further. Several large detached rocks lie in front of the caves.

The ancient wall, which supports the platform in front of the caves, is at present the only proof that these natural fissures were inhabited or visited at an early date. Their position relative to "the Pípolo stone cell" corresponds close enough to the indications which the Chinese pilgrims give as to the traditional site of the First Great Council. But for a definite identification, we may well demand further evidence. It can scarcely be expected that this should be forthcoming in the form of structural remains, seeing that Hiuen Tsiang found nothing but an old foundation wall at the spot. It would, however, be undoubtedly a point of negative evidence, if it could be shown that the northern face of the Baibhar Hill does not contain any other caves, natural or artificial, in the position indicated. My Purōhita guides, as well as the Rājwar coolies accompanying me, who had often grazed cattle on the jungle of the hillside and were thus well-acquainted with the locality, denied all knowledge of any other caves.

In order to see myself as much as possible of the northern face of the hill, I descended towards the Rājgir plain by a circuitous path. The jungle which covers the hill is thorny and thick, but not very high. Though it was thus possible to examine the slope closely from more than one projecting point, yet I could not trace any indication of a cave. Nor did I succeed in discovering the rocky recesses described by Mr. Beglar, although I moved subsequently along the foot of the hill in the direction he indicates, from west to east, and took special care to examine all rock-faces with a pair of field-glasses. I do not assume that my examination of the Baibhār slopes has supplied the negative evidence above alluded to in an absolutely conclusive form. But I think its result helps to show that at present only the site below the Ādināth Temple has a claim for serious consideration in our search for the famous Sattapaṇṇi Cave.

Ancient Sites South-west of Râjagṛha, — The questions, which I was next anxious to examine during my short stay at Rājgir, are connected with a series of ancient localities situated at some distance to the south-east of the old capital. Hiuen Tsiang had visited them as he marched from the neighbourhood of Gayā towards Kuśāgārapura, but they had so far not been traced with any certainty. Hiuen Tsiang's account of these sites may thus be briefly summarized.[26] Proceeding from the **Kukkuṭapādagiri** or "Cocks-foot Mountain," with which we shall have to occupy ourselves hereafter, for about 100 *li* to the north-east he reached a mountain called **Buddhavana**, which contained a store chamber once inhabited by Buddha. Going about 30 *li* to the east "amongst wild valleys," the pilgrim came to a wood of bamboos called **Yashṭivana** ("the forest of the staff"), the site of various Buddhist legends. In the midst of this wood was a Stūpa built by Asoka. South-west of the Yashṭivana "about 10 *li* or so and on the south side of a great mountain" two warm springs are noticed, which were visited for their healing powers. To the south-east of Yashṭivana, about 6 or 7 *li* and on the transverse pass of a mountain, there was a Stūpa marking a spot where Tathāgata explained the law. To the north of this mountain 3 or 4 *li* the pilgrim mentions a solitary hill where the Rishi Vyāsa had once lived in solitude, and again about 4-5 *li* to the north of this hill another in which there was a large cave. "In this place Tathāgata, when living in the world, repeated the law for three months." Apart from a

[26] See *Si-yu-ki*, ii. pp. 145-149.

large and remarkable rock above the cave, reference is made by the Chinese pilgrim to a lofty cavern in the south-west angle of the cave, which a local legend supposed to lead to the "city of Asuras." Near the cave were seen the remains of broad passages which King Bimbisāra had constructed through the rocks and along precipices in order to reach the place where Buddha was. "From this spot proceeding eastward through the mountain about 60 *li* we arrive at the city Kuśāgārapura."

General Cunningham, who alone seems to have concerned himself with the identification of the localities above described, had, while examining in 1862 the remains of Rājgir, obtained information which induced him to identify **Yashṭivana** with a spot known according to him as "**Jakhtiban**," and the warm springs with those still existing at **Tapoban**, a short distance to the south. He thought to recognize **Buddhavana** in a lofty hill called **Budhain** about 8 miles to the south-west of Rājgir. General Cunningham's brief notices, contained both in his *Ancient Geography* and Vol. iii. of the *Archæological Survey Reports*,[27] show clearly that he had not visited the places himself. He also acknowledged his inability to trace either the caves or the particular structures referred to by Hiuen Tsiang. It is hence scarcely necessary to explain here in details the topographical errors contained in these notices, and the impossibility of bringing the alleged positions of the modern localities mentioned into agreement with Hiuen Tsiang's well defined distances and bearings.

General Cunningham, himself, was evidently well aware of the insufficiency of the data collected by him; for on a subsequent occasion he specially directed the attention of Mr. Beglar to the exploration of the valley which stretches to the west of the site of Kuśāgārapura, and in which he supposed the localities he had heard of to be situated.

Mr. Beglar informs us that he "twice attempted to penetrate the pathless jungle which literally chokes up the valley, but on both occasions without success." Looking down subsequently from the top of the Baibhār Hill Mr. Beglar thought he could make out in the distance, where the two hill-ranges enclosing the valley seem to meet, "a small tumulus having precisely the appearance of a Stūpa." This he assumed to be the "tope near Jaktiban" mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. But "from the valley through the pathless jangal" he found it impracticable to get to it.[28]

March to Jeṭhian. — The indications furnished regarding this supposed *stūpa* were too vague to warrant a search on my part. I accordingly decided to make first for the village of **Jeṭhian**, which had been mentioned to General Cunningham as close to "Jakhtiban," and the name of which seemed a manifest derivative from the ancient Yashtivana. Two routes were available to Jethian, one skirting from Rājgir the outer foot of the northern range of hills and then crossing the latter into the valley by the pass called Cakra Ghāt. The other, more direct but also decidedly more difficult, leading from the site of Kuśāgārapura straight through the jungle-covered valley towards Jethian.

As I was anxious to look for any remains that might be hidden in the valley west of the old city, I chose the latter route when setting out for Jeṭhian on the morning of 14th October. The dense jungle I encountered, soon after proceeding beyond the line of the inner ramparts of Kuśāgārapura, sufficiently explained the decided objections which my Rājgir guides had at first raised to my use of this route. Once started, however, they did their best to find a track, though even from the back of the elephant I used, a look-out could be obtained only at rare intervals.

Budhain Hill. — After a march of close on three hours I reached a rocky ridge which traverses the valley in the direction from N.-E. to S.-W. and culminates in the Haṇḍia Hill, marked as a Trigonometrical station (elevation 1,472 feet) on the Survey Map. The pass by which I crossed this ridge near its north-eastern end, where it joins the main northern range of the valley, was called Budhain by the Ahīrs who accompanied me. This name may possibly apply also to the high rocky eminence of the main range, which rises to the north of the pass. But a glance at the map will show that its

[27] See *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 461, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, iii. pp. 138 *sq.*

[28] See *Arch. Survey Rep.*, viii., p. 86.

identification with Buddhavana of Hiuen Tsiang is manifestly impossible. The pilgrim tells us that he reached Yashṭivana by going to the **east**, whereas **Jeṭhian and the neighbouring Jeshṭiban, which, as we shall see, corresponds undoubtedly to Yashṭivana**, lie to the south-west of Budhain.

After crossing the pass the jungle gradually disappeared, until I reached, near the large village of **Kīrī**, some three miles from Budhain, the open plain of the valley. The latter is here in marked contrast to the jungle-covered sombre waste near Rājgir, fertile and well-cultivated. Proceeding through rice fields and green pasture lands two miles further to the south-west I arrived at **Jeṭhian,** a populous and evidently thriving village. A short halt made here, for the purposes of local enquiries, enabled me soon to trace the real position of the main localities, which Hiuen Tsiang's account mentions.

In the first place I ascertained that **Jeshṭiban (not "Jakhtiban"** as recorded by General Cunningham) is the name generally given to the western slope and foot of the hill, in which the transverse ridge already mentioned ends about ¾ of a mile to the east of Jethian village. There could be no doubt as to this name being but a slightly modified form of the ancient **Yashṭivana,** of which **Jeṭhian** itself is an old Prakrit derivative. **Tapoban** with its hot springs mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang was found to be situated about two miles to the south-west of Jeṭhian village, that is, exactly at the distance which the pilgrim indicates by his measurement of about 10 *li* or so from Yashtivana. I next obtained information regarding a large cave known as **Rājpiṇḍ** and already previously mentioned to me, which, by its position in a hill situated about 2 miles to the north-west of Jethian, was clearly marked as identical with Hiuen Tsiang's cave containing the lofty cavern called "**the Palace of the Asuras.**"

The Springs of Tapoban. — Time did not permit me that day to pay more than a flying visit to the hot springs of **Tapoban,** but I was able to re-visit them on my subsequent march to Kurkihār. They issue at a spot, which lies outside the valley and is approached after crossing the southern range of hills by a pass known as the **Jeṭhian Ghāṭ.** Their position at the south foot of this range corresponds to Hiuen Tsiang's words. There are four springs in all issuing at the rocky foot of the hillside at short distances from each other, but only two, towards the east, have a large flow. The largest and the one first approached from the east is called **Sanatkumarākuṇḍa.** It is, like the rest, enclosed by a stone wall and steps evidently built of old materials. To the west of it stands a small temple of modern date, said to have been built by Bābū Gopāl Singh, a local Zamīndār. Between the temple and the spring already mentioned rises a mound, measuring 75 by 81 feet at the base and 45 feet square on the top. Its height is about 10 feet. The top is covered with small square mounds marking the Samādhs of Sannyāsins and adorned in places with fragments of ancient sculpture. It seems probably that this large mound represents the remains of the *stūpa,* which Hiuen Tsiang mentions as having been erected "by the side of the springs to mark the place where Tathāgata walked for exercise."

The springs are visited by pilgrims in connection with the Tīrthas of Rājagṛha and also by many sick from the neighbourhood who seek here relief. A great Yātrā takes place at the Meṣasaṁkrānti date, when, as in the days of Chinese pilgrim, "men from far and near flock here to bathe, after which those who have suffered from disease or chronic affections are often healed."

Jeshṭiban: Yashṭivana. — After returning through the Jeṭhian Ghāṭ (on the top of which I noticed under a tree a collection of small relievos, all of ancient work and some distinctly Jaina) I proceeded, under the guidance of an intelligent village Gumāshta, to the locality known as **Jeshṭiban.** It forms a small undulating plateau, partly grassy, partly covered with low jungle, at the west foot of the hill, which is the last offshoot of the Haṇḍia ridge in this direction. No ancient remains could be seen above ground, but at a particular spot, designated as **Phal-Jeṭhian,** I was shown low mounds and furrows which, according to the statement of the villagers, mark the site, from where, some thirteen

years ago, old bricks were dug out by people from Kīrī. The excavated foundation walls seem to have belonged to a building about 45 feet square, correctly orientated. At a distance of 35 feet eastwards there are traces of some circular structure with a diameter of 43 feet. The place is popularly supposed to be the site of an old Rājā's Palace. Hiuen Tsiang informs us of Yashtivana, that "the bamboos that grow here are large; they cover the hill and extend through the valley." Bamboos still grow plentifully in the tangled brush-wood of the hill above Jeshtiban, though they cannot be found on the cleared grazing land properly designated as Jeshtiban. Of the *stūpa* which, according to Hiuen Tsiang, Aśoka had built here to commemorate the spot "where Tathāgata had displayed for seven days great spiritual wonders for the sake of the Devas," I could find no distinct evidence. Considering the open nature of the ground and the vicinity of several large villages, requiring stone materials for the *bands* which protect their storage tanks, the complete disappearance of such a structure could not cause surprise.

The almost perfect preservation of the ancient form of the name **Yashṭivana in Jesṭhiban** appears to me to be a distinct argument for placing here the sacred site mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. It is particularly at places of a sacred interest that we find older forms of the local names often preserved through the quasi-learned tradition of priests and their records. This observation is amply supported by my enquiries into the ancient topography of Kaśhmīr.[29] Whereas at the village which derived its name from the sacred spot there was nothing to stop the regular phonetic transition of Skr. **Yashṭivana into Jeṭhian,** its Prakrit derivative, the sacred site itself, was likely to retain better the traditional form of the name **Jeshṭiban.**

Cakra Ghāṭ. — The day was too far advanced and the distance to Rājgir, where I had to return, too great to allow me to extend my search for the other sites which the pilgrim's itinerary mentions in this neighbourhood. For my return march I chose the route, which leads from Kīrī across the northern range of the hills into the open plain beyond. The pass through the range is known as the **Cakra Ghāṭ,** and has evidently since early days been a much frequented line of communication.

Already, when ascending through the defile which leads up to the pass from the south, I had thought I could notice foundations of ancient walls flanking the present bridle-path. The remains became far more distinct on the north side. There, for a distance of several hundred yards, and close to the east of the path, the foundations of two parallel walls are distinguishable, each about 7 feet in thickness, and keeping at a distance of 14 feet from each other. In the space between the walls there are the remains of an old paved road. The construction of these walls closely resembles that of the fortifications around Kuśāgārapura, showing rough but well-set stone work.

There can be no doubt that the walls flanking the path across the Cakra Ghāṭ were intended for defensive purposes, to protect those using the route from attacks, for which the steep hills on either side would else offer great advantages. I have traced protecting walls in exactly corresponding positions along the ancient road which leads over the Shākāt Pass into the Swāt Valley, and similar old fortifications existed on the Malakand Pass before the construction of the modern works. In the hills of the Swāt Valley — a borderland since ancient days, with conditions evidently resembling those of the present Afghān frontier — the prevalence of such elaborate ancient defences is easily accounted for. But it is curious to meet their counterpart in the centre of old Magadha, apparently so peaceful and centralized.

In several of the villages of the fertile plain through which I passed on my return to Rājgir, particularly at **Simraur,** fragments of ancient sculpture could be seen collected at rustic places of worship. Most of them were distinctly Buddhist. But small Lingas of old appearance were also among them.

(To be continued.)

[29] Comp. my *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr*, §§ 33, 34.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LOG OF A VOYAGE ALONG THE COAST OF INDIA IN 1746.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX. p. 341.)

II.

Preliminary Remarks on the Log.

WE may now fairly turn our attention to the main part of the volume, *viz.*, the log, or rather the logs, contained in it. They are all in one hand-writing, and relate to the voyages of **"the Ship Wake, Captain Robert Norton, Commander,"** from Calpie on the Hughli below Calcutta, **round the Indian Coast** as far as Tellicherry, *en route* to Bombay, between August 15th, 1746, and December 30th 1746; on which latter date the account comes to an abrupt end, the remainder of the story having been apparently written into some other book.

There are really **six separate logs**, thus:—

Log I., 31 pp., from Calpie towards Madras.

Log II., 20 pp., from Pulicat to Vizagapatam, as the vessel never got to Madras, for reasons to be explained later on.

Log III., 24 pp., from Vizagapatam towards Bombay, but carrying us only as far as Colombo on "the coast of Zeloan." This time the vessel avoided the Coromandel Coast and went out to sea, for reasons to be explained.

Log IV., 19 pp., from Colombo to Anjengo.

Log V., 7 pp., from Anjengo to Cochin.

Log VI., 9 pp., from Cochin to "Callicute" and "Tellechery.'

As above said the whole of the logs are in **one handwriting**, which is shown by the internal evidence of the MS. to be that **of the chief mate, Mr. Macmehone.** Thus, at the very beginning of the first voyage there is an entry, on Sept. 16:—"Came on board the Captain," which shows that some other hand than his made it. There follow innumerable other such entries, proving that Captain Norton, Commander of the *Wake*, had no part in keeping the log.

He seems to have been a martinet, and towards the end of the log there are three entries, which show both this fact and the name and identity of the actual writer:—

(1) Nov. 28:—"att 8 A. M. was order'd Down to his cabin as a prisoner Mr. Macmehone Chief Mate for asking Civilly for his privelege which is usually allow'd by the owners of this Ship."

(2) Nov. 29:—"I was Sent on board by a Guard only Going ashore to aske of the Governor libertie to Stay ashore for the recovery of my Health and att the same time Asking Captain Norton about my Priveliege. Upon which he order'd me on board with a Guard of soldiers and there to be made a prisoner."

(3) Dec. 20:—"This Day I was order'd Down to Close Confinement for Observing with a passenger's Quadrant, and also threaten'd to put me in Irons by Captain Robert Norton."

To follow **the story of the logs.** On "fryday, Aug. 15, 1746" the *Wake* started from Calpie on the River Hughli on a voyage to Madras, and proceeded peacefully as far as Vizagapatam. While lying there news was received by **"the Loovain,** Captain Macmath Bound to Bengall" of the now well-known **historical attack of La Bourdonnais on the British Settlement of Madras in 1746.** To quote the quaint wording of the log:—"a gives us an account **the 18 Instant** he was obliged to run of [*i. e.*, off] out of Madrass road the place being attack'd by eight sail of french ship's undr the Command of Monsieur Lebourdenie." Finding the coast to be nevertheless pretty clear and going

cautiously, the ship is taken quietly down it as far as Pulicat, where the *Vernon* is met, "who gives us **the unfortunate relation of the taking of Madrass by the french [i. e., in Sept. 1746] on Thursday the 11th Instant** after a seige of 4 Days only, and not but six men kill'd at the most, and not above 8 Sail of french Ships, the 2 Biggest 60 Guns, the rest of 30 each and old Ships formerly mercht Ships." The *Vernon* seems to have rescued "100 Soldiers and Gunners, who made there Escape from Madrass after the takeing of the town," at Pulicat.

The first log winds up with the ominous statement "by which unfortunate News we are Oblig'd to bear away to some other port," and accordingly we find the *Wake* retracing its steps as far as Vizagapatam, which was reached on September 21st. From the 2nd October onwards we are treated to a very interesting series of notes as to the steps taken to meet "Dreadfull and Dempestuous Weathr," which was clearly caused, from the description given, by what we should nowadays call a cyclone to the southward.

Captain Norton after this evidently made up his mind to continue his voyage southwards by sailing past the then politically dangerous Madras Coast well out to sea. He accordingly set sail, as his log says, "towards Bombay," on Nov. 13th, making direct for the coast of Ceylon, and keeping a sharp look out for "the Enemy." The ship, naturally at such a time of year, met the full force of the North-East Monsoon, and we find the log to be chiefly made up of notes of bad and squally weather, till the ship hits upon the Little Basses, off the S.-E. coast of Ceylon. Colombo was reached on "Wednesday, Nov. ye 5, 1746," and there was learnt what had been the effect of the "Dreadfull and Dempestuous Weathr" of the **2nd October at Madras. The cyclone** had evidently struck the coast at Madras Town (just as the present writer saw one strike it on the 2nd May, 1872), and **sent the French fleet to destruction.**

The story, as given in the log, is particularly interesting, as it is given at first hand, for, to use the words of the writer:—"This I Copy'd from a letter which the Governour of Colombo was so good as to Interpret it to me in His own House 4 of Nov., 1746. All in french."

The accuracy of the facts stated in the log of the *Wake* can be gauged by a comparison with Orme's account of the period.[11]

"Early in the mourning of the 25th June (1746), the English squadron, cruising to the Southward of Fort St. David, near Negapatam, descried that of the French arriving on the coast of Coromandel" (p. 62). There was then an indecisive action and both parties went off to refit at Trincomalee[12] and Pondicherry respectively. "On **the 18th of August** the French squadron appeared and cannoned the town, but without doing any damage, **They attempted to take a ship belonging to the English Company out of the road,** but she moved into shoal-water so near the batteries of the fort, that the French did not venture to attack her with armed boats, and it was evident, from the unskilfulness of their operations during this cruise, that Mr De La Bourdonnais did not command them in person: he was at this time in Pondicherry confined to his bed by sickness." . . . . "The Protection of the English Settlements on the Coast of Coromandel was the principle object for which the [English] squadron had been sent into India, and their appearance before Madrass was at this time thought so necessary to its defence, that the inhabitants were in hourly expectation of seeing them, although they received no intelligence of them, since they were last seen six days before by Mr De La Bourdonnais. The consternation of the town was therefore little less than despair, when it was reported that they had appeared on the 23rd August 30 miles to the northward of Madrass, in sight of the Dutch Settlement of **Palliacatte,** from whence they had again put out to sea and disappeared. They proceeded to Bengal, for the 60 gun ship was so leaky, that it was feared that the shock of firing her own cannon would sink her, if she should be brought into an Engagement" (p. 66).

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[11] *History of the Military Operations in Indostan,* 1861, which is a reprint of the Ed. of 1803, and so far as the matters herein mentioned are concerned follows *verbatim* the first Ed. of 1763. The quotations are from the Ed. of 1861.

[12] Trincanomala in Orme, p. 63.

The result of this was that "on the 7th September the French began to bombard the town. . . . . **The 10th Sept.** the Deputies returned to the French camp, and after some altercations, consented to the articles of capitulation, which had been dictated to them in the first conference. It was agreed that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war: that the town should be immediately delivered up: but that it should be afterwards ransomed. Mr. De La Bourdonnais gave his promise that he would settle the ransom on easy and moderate terms. The capitulation was signed in the afternoon. . . . . There was not a man killed in the French camp during the seige: four or five Englishmen were killed in the town by the explosion of the bombs, which likewise destroyed two or three houses" (p. 67 f.).

Fortunately Messrs. Dupleix (then the French Governor-General) and De la Bourdonnais fell out, and not so much harm was done, as would otherwise have resulted to British interests. Finally Madras was handed back to England in August, 1749, pursuant to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. (p. 130).

As to De la Bourdonnais' strength. It consisted of nine ships, of 70, 36, (3) 34, 30, (2) 28, and 26 guns. The crews were 3,300 men, of which 700 were "either Caffres or Lascars." The English squadron was of five fighting ships, of 60, (3) 50, and 40 guns, with crews of about 1,600 men. "But the English had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, by which the fortune of engagements at sea is at present generally decided. And they likewise sailed better than the French, and were worked with much greater skill" (p. 62).

As to the cyclone of the 2nd October, we read :— "On the 2nd October the weather was remarkably fine and moderate all day. About midnight a furious storm arose and continued with the greatest violence, until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ships were in the road when the storm began, and not one of them was to be seen at day-break. One put before the wind and was driven so far to the southward, that she was not able to regain the coast again : the 70 gun ship lost all her masts : three others of the squadron were likewise dismasted, and had so much water in the hold, that the people on board expected every moment to perish, notwithstanding they had thrown overboard all the cannon of the lower tier : the other ship, during the few moments of a whirlwind, which happened in the most furious part of the storm, was covered by the waves, and foundered in an instant, and only six of the crew escaped alive. Twenty other vessels, belonging to other nations, were either driven on shore or perished at sea.

"All the merchandizes and a part of the military stores, belonging to the East India Company, together with all the naval stores found in the town had been laden on board the French ships : these articles, according to the computation made by the French, amounted to 130,000 pounds sterling : the half of the artillery and military stores was estimated at 24,000 pounds sterling : all the other effects and merchandizes were relinquished to the proprietors of them. . . . . The storm ruined the French marine force in India, and preserved the English establishments from imminent danger" (p. 70 ff.).

A minor point noticed by Orme is also confirmed by the Log :— "The other two ships, laden with part of the effects of Madrass, together with the three lately arrived from Europe, were at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, where they felt no effect of the storm, which was raging at Madrass" (p. 70).

From Colombo Captain Norton set sail for the now little known Settlement of Anjengo on the Malabar Coast, cautiously and in much fear of the French, where he stayed trading from "Monday, November ye 17, 1746" to "Wednesday, Dec : 3 : 1746." Thence he went uneventfully to Cochin in about four days, and sailed thence for Tellicherry, all fear of the French having by that time seemingly disappeared.

Though out of touch with Europeans, **the English sailor of that time had evidently a lively life.** It seems to have been the custom either to bully or run away from any ship that was casually met at sea. There are instances galore in the Log. Thus on Aug. 26, we find Captain Norton "firing a Gun" by way of bringing to and stopping two passing "paddy Boats," meaning by

that term native sea-going craft carrying rice, as may be seen from the next instance I give of firing on a passing sail. — "Sunday, Sept. 14, 1746. Att 4 P. M. fir'd 2 Guns att a Vessell, which we took for a paddy Boat, being Desirous to gett some Intelligence from Madrass and after haveing brought her too, found her to be the *Vernon*." So again, the *Wake*, on Oct. 29th, fires a gun after dark, by way of inducing a Dutch sloop to give up what news she had. In both these last two cases we see first a British and then a Dutch ship doing all they knew to avoid contact with a larger vessel flying British colours.

On the other hand, on the very day the *Wake* brought up the *Vernon* she had herself to run away, as is thus described :— "Sunday, Sept. 14, 1746, 11 (P. M.). Saw a large Ship on the Beam which [obliged us] to make what sail we Can and leave the *Vernon* to Shift for themselves."

On the 24th and 25th of October the crew had a very lively time of it in the open sea. "Fryday, 8r, 24, 1746. Att a 11 A. M. Saw a large Ship bear SbW. from us Dist. abt 4 leagues | upon the sight of which we haul'd Close upon a Wind | when we first saw her she was standg about SSE. but after hauling our Wind she haul'd up likewise upon her larboard Tack and stood for our Wake. She appears to be full of Hands and Carry's a tear of Guns."— "Saturday, 8r the 25, 1746. The aforementioned Ship findg she Cou'd not gain any thing to Windward of us She wore and stood to the Eastward."

On the 27th and 28th November, the times were still more exciting, while lying off Anjengo :— "Thursday, 27. have Intelligence of the french being upon the Coast. — fryday, Nov. 28. att 2 P. M. the Captain Came on | and upon the Sight of two large Vessels to the Southward weighed our Anchor and Warped into 4½ fm | Do[13] Borrow'd from the Shore 4 two pounders Six Musketts 6 pr of pistols with a 100 Shot and 24 Catriges | got every thing Clear to Defend our Selves against them if they shou'd Come | Do[13] Kept a Very Good look out all night | att 10 P. M. the *(deest)* Wrote a letter to our Captain to lett us Know the Vessel we Saw a Dutchman from Colombo bound Cochin." Everything being now safe, the mate proceeds to business at once, and records that he "Receiv'd on board 13 Quoils of Quoir Cordage," and so on, as he quaintly puts it.

In addition to all this the Captain of the *Wake* was naturally nervous all the way from Madras to Vizagapatam, and with good reason ; for on "Saturday, Sept. 20. 8 [A. M.] Saw a Sail which we took to be the *Vernon* bearg NEbN. The Ship we took to be the *Vernon* is a strange Ship | upon her tackg and Standing towards [us] we Haul'd up E½S. and upon her Hauling her Courses up and Showing Dutch Colours and then making all the sail She Could Carry after us and likewise being Very full of Hands judg'd her to be an enemy by her Action | So made what sail we Coud to gett away: att Noon she Bore NbW., hull too [?]."

And again we read :— "Wednesday 24. Sent the pinnace to speak to a boat which came from the So wd who Informs us of a Large Ship Lying att point Guardaware, which I take to be the Ship that Chas'd us some Days ago."

A curious point to note is **the manner in which deaths on board are recorded.** There are several instances in the log, all of native seamen :— on the 13th Nov., 23rd Nov., 2nd Dec., and 28th Dec. In each case the report is accompanied with a rough figure of a death's head and cross-bones, accompanied by a scythe and an hour-glass. The record is worded in the formal manner of the time :—"depart'd this life so and so," and "we committ'd his body to the Deep." These formal words arise no doubt out of a superstitious dread of mentioning death and burial in direct terms.

There are many **other points of interest** raised by a study of this valuable old log, but they can best be dealt with as they arise, by way of notes to the text of each portion thereof. For this purpose I will now divide the general log into six separate logs, and annotate each separately.

(To be continued.)

[13] This means at the same hour as before, *viz.*, 2 P. M.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 39.)

486, i, *s. v.* Orang-otang, 491, ii, *s. v.* Orissa, 492, ii, *s. v.* Paddy-bird, 496, i, *s. v.* Palankeen, 502, ii, *s. v.* Pandy, 509, i, *s. v.* Patcharée, 518, i, *s. v.* Paunchway, 521, ii, *s. v.* Pawnee, 522, i, *s. v.* Peenus, 523, ii, *s. v.* Pepper, 529, i and ii, *s. v.* Piece-goods, 535, ii, *s. v.* Pig-sticking, 536, ii, 5 times, *s. v.* Pommelo, 545, ii, *s. v.* Poolbundy, 546, ii, *s. v.* Poorub, 547, ii, *s. v.* Porto Piqueno, 550, i, *s. v.* Pulwah, 558, i, *s. v.* Punch, 558, ii, *s. v.* Puttywalla, 565, i, *s. v.* Pyke, 566, ii, *s. v.* Quihi, 568, i, *s. v.* Regulation, 575, ii, *s. v.* Regur, 575, ii, *s. v.* Rogue, 579, ii, *s. v.* Rolong, 580, ii, *s. v.* Rupee, 586, i (and footnote) and ii, *s. v.* Sambre, 596, i, *s. v.* Sanskrit, 598, ii, *s. v.* Sarnau, 601, ii, *s. v.* Sayer, 604, i and ii, 605, i and ii, both twice, see 609, i and ii, footnotes, both twice, *s. v.* Seer, 611, i, *s. v.* Seetulputty, 612, ii, *s. v.* Sepoy, 613, i, *s. v.* Settlement, 616, i, *s. v.* Shanbaff, 623, ii, *s. v.* Sicca, 632, ii, 3 times, *s. v.* Sircar (b) 638, i, *s. v.* Sirdar, 638, ii, *s. v.* Sirris, 638, ii, *s. v.* Siwalik, 640, i and ii, *s. v.* Souba, 649 i, *s. v.* Soursop (a), 650, i, *s. v.* Sudder and (b, 653, ii, (c), 654, i, twice, *s. v.* Sunderbunds), 660, i, *s. v.* Sunyásee, 661, ii, *s. v.* Surkunda, 666, i, *s. v.* Sweet Potato, 672, ii, 673, i, *s. v.* Syce, 673, ii, *s. v.* Talook, 680, i, *s. v.* Tanga, 682, i, *s. v.* Telinga (s.), 694, ii, twice, *s. v.* Tonjon, 709, i, *s. v.* Tope (b), 712, ii, *s. v.* Tribeny, 715, i, *s. v.* Tumlook, 717, i, twice, *s. v.* Whistling Teal, 740, i, *s. v.* Zemindar, 747, ii, twice, *s. v.* Zenana, 748, ii, *s. v.* Achánock (2), 752, i, *s. v.* Adawlut, 752, ii, twice, 753, ii, 754, i, *s. v.* Behar, 764, i (twice) and ii, *s. v.* Bungalow, 768, i, *s. v.* Buxerry, 769, i, *s. v.* Caryota, 773, ii, *s. v.* Casuarina, 774, i, twice, *s. v.* Cazee, 775, i (twice) and ii, *s. v.* Chownee, 779, ii, *s. v.* Coolin, 783. ii, *s. v.* Currumshaw Hills, 786, ii, *s. v.* Dengue, 789, ii, *s. v.* Gaurian, 800, i, *s. v.* Harry, 806, ii, *s. v.* Jeel, 811, i, *s. v.* Karbaree, 812, ii, *s. v.* Khot, 813, i and ii (footnote), *s. v.* Law-officer, 817, i and ii, *s. v.* Mamlutdar, 822, i, *s. v.* Mufty, 825, ii, *s. v.* Munneepore 826, ii, twice, *s. v.* Musk-Rat, 827, ii, see 828, i, footnote, *s. v.* Muzbee, 828, ii, *s. v.* Pandy, 836, ii, *s. v.* Patcharee, 842, i, *s. v.* Putnee, 847, i, *s. v.* Rogue's River, 849, ii, *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii; 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ann. 1594: *s. v.* Souba, 649, ii; ann. 1596: *s. v.* Cooch Behar, 191, i; ann. 1598: *s. v.* Chudder, 167, ii; ann. 1615: *s. v.* Gallevat (b), 276, ii; ann. 1623: *s. v.* Ghaut (c), 282, ii; ann. 1632: *s. v.* Hoogly, 322, i; ann. 1644: *s. v.* Chank, 141, i; ann. 1659: *s. v.* Elephanta (b), 261, ii; ann. 1660: *s. v.* Aracan, 758, ii; ann. 1665: *s. v.* Aracan, 758, ii, *s. v.* Cossimbazar, 784, ii; ann. 1666: *s. v.* Rupee, 586, ii; ann. 1676: *s. v.* Balasore, 39, i, *s. v.* Mangelin, 423, i; ann. 1679: *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii; ann. 1689: *s. v.* Firmaun, 270, ii, twice, *s. v.* Punch, 559, ii; ann. 1690: *s. v.* Crore, 214, i; ann. 1703-4: Muxadabad, 463, ii; ann. 1708: *s. v.* Anna, 22, ii; ann. 1726: *s. v.* Achánock, 2, ii, *s. v.* Sipahselar, 637, ii, *s. v.* Sunderbunds, 660, ii, *s. v.* Swatch, 672, i, *s. v.* Vedas, 735, i; ann. 1727: *s. v.* Anna, 23. i, *s. v.* Chandernagóre, 140, ii, *s. v.* Chank, 141, i, *s. v.* Cowry, 210, i, *s. v.* Opium, 489, ii, *s. v.* Respondentia, 577, i; 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(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

AURANGZEB'S FAMILY — DATE OF HIS DAUGHTER ZÎNAT-UN-NISSÂ'S DEATH.

It is usually asserted that the Princess Zînat-un-nissâ, daughter of 'Âlamgîr Aurangzeb (†1707) died in the year 1122 H. (1710-11). We know from the *Ma,âṣir-i-'Âlamgîrî*, the best authority for his reign, that the emperor had four daughters, of whom one only, the second, survived him.[1] This lady, Zînat-un-nissâ, was still living at the date the *Ma,âṣir* was written; and from the statement on p. 69 (printed text) we know that it was completed in 1122 H. (1710-11).

Now, although Zînat-un-nissâ is spoken of as still living in a book completed in 1122 H. (1710-11), it is quite possible that she may have died in that very year. The book may have been finished early in the year, she may have died before the year ended, and the author, though he lived for fourteen years longer, may have left his work as it stood originally.

The usual statement that Zînat-un-nissâ died in 1122 H. (1710-11) seems to have been arrived at in the following manner. In the city of **Dihlî**, in the quarter known as **Daryâganj**, stands near the Jamna a mosque called the **Zînat-ul-masâjid**, which was used at one time as the government store-house for commissariat bread.[2] In the court of this mosque is a tomb with an inscription. The words of this inscription are given both in Sayyad Aḥmad Khân's *Aṣâr-us-ṣanâdîd*, edition of 1854, p. 78, and Supplement, p. 44, and in T. W. Beale's *Miftâḥ-ut-tawârîkh*, Lucknow edition of 1867, p. 297. The words on it are (omitting four lines of Arabic):—

Mûnis-i-mâ dar laḥd fazl-i-khudâ tanhâ bas ast,
Sâyah az abr-i-raḥmat kabrposh-i-mâ bas ast,
Umedwar-i-ḥusn-i-Fâṭimah-i-khâtimah Zînat-un-nissâ Begam
Bint-i-Bâdshâh Muḥi-ud-dîn Muḥammad 'Âlamgîr Ghâzî
Anâr-ullah burhâna hu
Sanah 1122.

"My sufficient solace in the solitary grave is the grace of God,
"The shade of the clouds of Mercy is grave-cover enough for me;
"One awaiting the favour of the perfect Fâṭimah,
"Zînat-un-nissâ, daughter of the emperor,
"Supporter of the Faith, Muḥammad
"Âlamgîr, the Champion, (may God
"Enlighten her understanding), year 1122."

Upon this inscription Beale founds his entry, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 288, that she "died in 1710 A. D., 1122 H." The statement that the lady died in 1122 (1710) is also made by Francklin, *Shah Aulum*, p. 207, and Major W. Thorn, *Memoirs of the War in India* (4to, London 1818), both apparently on the same data. On the other hand, **Mr. S. Lane-Poole** in the table on p. 21 of his *Aurangzib* (Rulers of India series),

[1] *Ma,âsir*, printed text, p. 539.

[2] See J.S. Manuel's *Rahnumâe Dihlî*, p. 222, a modern guide-book to Dihli in Urdu, and Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 261-3.

places her death in 1708 A. D., which corresponds with part of 1119 H. and part of 1120 H. This latest authority thus agrees neither with the inscription nor with the *Ma,âṣir-i-'Âlamgîrî*, nor with what I believe to be the true date of death.

Zînat-un-nissâ was in the emperor's camp at Aḥmadnagar when 'Âlamgîr died there on the 28th Ẕû,l Ḥijjah 1118 H., 2nd March 1707 N. S. She took an active interest in the cause of her full brother, A'ẕam Shâh, the deceased emperor's second surviving son, and accompanied him in his march from the Dakhin to Hindûstân. She was left behind at Gwâliyâr when A'ẕam Shâh went on to fight their eldest brother, Muḥammad Mu'aẕẕam Shâh, afterwards Bahâdur Shâh. The battle took place on the 18th Rabî' I. 1119 H. (18th June 1707 N. S.) near Jâjau, a place between Dholpûr and Âgrah After the battle, the victor, Bahâdur Shâh, sent for the baggage and those adherents and relations of A'ẕam Shâh who had been left at Gwâliyâr. Zînat-un-nissâ, among the rest, reached Âgrah about the end of Rabi' II. (July 1707), and on the excuse of her mourning for A'ẕam Shâh, declined to send any congratulations to Bahâdur Shâh. The latter, in spite of his vexation at this slight, doubled his sister's allowances and created her Pâdshâh Begam. In a short time the Begam was despatched to Dihlî under the charge of Asad Khân, 'Âlamgîr's *wazîr*, the new minister, Mun'im Khân, escorting her for some miles on her way.

As good proof as can be wished that a person did not die in a particular year, is to show that he or she was alive in a subsequent year. This we can easily do in the case of Zînat-un-nissâ. Accordingly we find[3] that in Jahândâr Shâh's reign, which lasted from 21st Ṣafar to 13th Ẕû,l Ḥijjah 1124 H. (29th March 1712 to 10th January 1713), the emperor quarrelled with his aunt Pâdshâh Begam (*i. e.*, Zînat-un-nissâ) and refused to visit her, because no invitation had been sent to his concubine, Lâl Kunwar. Again in the following year, after Farrukhsîyar had succeeded, we find that he visited Pâdshâh Begam The date was the 21st Muḥarram 1125 H. (16th February 1713) and the authority is Kâmwar Khân's *Tazkirah-i-salâṭîn-i-chaghtaiyah* under that date. Her former intendant Sa'îdullah Khân, first of all styled Hîdâyatullah Khân then Wazârat Khân, lost his life as a consequence of this visit. The lady upbraided the young monarch for having taken the life of Ẕû,lfiqâr Khân, Jahândâr Shâh's *wazîr*. Farrukhsîyar retorted that he had her letter advising him to take that step. She protested that she had written quite the contrary. It was then discovered that Sa'îdullah Khân (a personal enemy of Ẕû,lfiqâr Khân's) had substituted another letter for the one prepared by Zînat-un-nissâ's orders.

Strangely enough, we find evidence of the Begam's existence subsequent to 1122 H., in the correspondence of the East India Company's embassy to the Delhî Court under John Surman.[4] The Armenian Khwâjah Sarhad in July 1713 (equivalent to Jamâdî II or Rajab 1125 H.) procured the intercession of Nâẓirkhâna eunuch whose " present office is to attend Pâdshâh Begam, daughter of Aurangzîb."

Then in Shawwâl 1133 H. (August 1721) in the 3rd year of Muḥammad Shâh, we have a statement as to the disposal of Zînat-un-nissâ's property, which Muḥammad Shâh had as usual taken possession of upon her death. Shiû Dâs, *Manavvar-i-Kalâm*, British Museum, Oriental MS. No. 26, fol. 73*b*, says :— "An elephant canopy (*'imârî*) with gold spike (*kalas*) and a *chandol* (kind of litter), belonging to the estate of the deceased Begam, daughter of His Majesty resting in Paradise (*i. e.*, 'Alamgîr), with a pearl coverlet, were granted as a gift to Mihr-un-nissâ, known as Mihr Parwar" (she was one of the widows of Shâh 'Âlam, Bahâdur Shâh). Of course, this entry does not prove the exact date of Zînat-un-nissâ's death, but it raises a presumption that she had not died in 1122 H., that is, eleven years before the disposal of her movable property. But to make the matter certain we have the direct statement of a very accurate man, Mîrzâ Muḥammad, in his *Târîkh-i-Muḥammadî*. **Under the year 1133 H. he has the entry, "Zînat-un-nissâ Begam, daughter of 'Âlamgîr, died 22nd Rajab in Dihlî, age 80 years." This is equivalent to the 18th May 1721.** As Zînat-un-nissâ was born on the 1st Sha'bân 1053 H. ('Abd-ul-ḥamîd, *Bâdshâhnâmah*, Vol. II. p. 343), the age of 80 years given in this entry corresponds exactly to her true age in the year 1133 H. After this can there be any doubt left that she did *not* die in 1122 H., but did die eleven years afterwards, in 1133 H. ?

With reference to the figures (1122) on the bomb of Zînat-un-nissâ I would suggest two explanations, the first of which seems the most probable. First, then, the figures 1122 may stand for the date of making the tomb and not for that of the princess' death; or secondly, the second stroke of the last twofigures may have been obliterated by the wearing away of the stone, leaving them to be read as ۲ instead of ۳, thus turning ۱۱۳۳ into ۱۱۲۲.

WILLIAM IRVINE.

[3] *Memoirs of Irâdat Khân* in Jonathan Scott's *History of Dekkan*, Vol. II. p. 83.

[4] C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II., Part I., p. 143, quoting the Bengal Consultations under the date of October 19th, 1713, O. S.

NOTES ON AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR IN SOUTH BIHĀR AND HAZĀRIBĀGH.

BY M A. STEIN, PH.D.

(Continued from p. 63.)

ON the 16th October I moved my camp to Jethian in order to continue my examination of the sites described by Hiuen Tsiang in connection with Yashtivana. In detailing the result of my search I shall for convenience of reference follow the topographical order indicated in the ilgrim's account.

Stūpa at Sahudrasthān.— Hiuen Tsiang mentions to the east of Yashṭivana, at a distance of about 6 or 7 *li*, a great mountain and, before a transverse pass[30] of it, a *stūpa* marking the spot where Buddha had explained the law. The position here indicated corresponds exactly to that of a modern place of worship, called **Sahudrasthān,** first mentioned to me in the course of the enquiries I made at Jeṭhian village as to sites of local pilgrimage in the neighbourhood.

At a distance of about 1½ miles east-south-east of Jethian and ¾ of a mile south-east of Jeshṭiban, there is a gap in the main hill-range known as **Saffī Ghāṭ.** Through it leads a bridle path used by people proceeding towards Haswa and the villages to the south-east. Almost due north of the pass there ends the south-western off-shoot of the Haṇḍia Range, which we have noticed above in connection with the position of Jeshṭiban and Phal-Jethian. Just opposite to this point a small spur descends from the main range of hills in the south, flanking the approach to the Saffī Ghāṭ on the west and leaving only a narrow gorge between itself and the off-shoot of Haṇḍia.[31]

At the end of this small spur and at a height of about 150 feet above the **Harhar stream,** which flows westwards through the gorge just mentioned, is the place of worship known as **Sahudrasthān,** apparently Sanskritized by Purōhitas as **Sahōdarāsthāna.** It consists of a small brick enclosure containing three broken Vishṇu images of an ancient appearance. The shrine rests on a square platform of old bricks, which measures, as far as exposed, 15 feet from north to south and 20 feet from west to east. The structure to which this platform originally belonged must have been far larger. For the slopes below on all sides of the projecting end of the spur are covered with fragments of ancient bricks, which undoubtedly have been removed from the structure just noticed.

Nowhere else in the vicinity of Jeṭhian are similar remains now visible above the ground and in view of the close agreement of position, bearing and distance, I think the identity of the Sahudrasthān structure with the *stūpa* which stood 6-7 *li* (*i. e*, about 1¼ miles) to the south-east of Yashṭivana cannot reasonably be doubted.

The position of Sahudrasthān commands an extensive view on all sides, except the south. The *stūpa*, which once occupied it, must hence have been a very conspicuous object. A little below the Sahudrasthān, on a small shoulder of the spur to the north-east, stands now a Liṅga of uncertain age worshipped as **Harharnāth.**

Further striking evidence for this identification is supplied by an ancient paved road, carried over a walled foundation, which begins immediately below the Sahudrasthān and can be traced very clearly for a distance of about 600 yards along the hill-side to the west. Owing to the earth carried down from the hill-side and the thick undergrowth, the original width of this road cannot be estimated with any certainty. In some places it is still 4-5 yards broad, and along the whole distance the level terrace formed by it is distinctly noticeable. The wall of old rough masonry which supports this road is in places still 10-12 feet high and partly borders on a large tank situated to the north and known as Līlāban.

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30 This translation given in Beal's footnote for the "cross-ridge" of the text, is the one adopted by Julien, *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 13) and preferable in sense.

31 The position indicated can be easily fixed on the Revenue Survey Map, Bihar Sheet, No. 18, one mile to one inch.

There are no traditions about the origin and object of this ancient road or terrace. But we cannot fail to recognize that it is the same structure which Hiuen Tsiang intended to describe in his notice of the *stūpa* now identified. "Then King Bimbisāra wished to come to hear the law. He cut away the mountain, and piled up the stones to make steps in order to ascend. The width is about twenty paces and the length 3-4 *li*."

Rock-Dwelling of Vyāsa. — "Three or four *li* to the north of the great mountain," mentioned in connection with the now identified *stūpa*, Hiuen Tsiang notices "a solitary hill. Formerly Rishi Vyāsa lived here in solitude. By excavating the side of the mountain he formed a house. Some portions of the foundations are still visible."

The direction here given points clearly to the hill which forms the south-western end of the Haṇḍia Range. It just faces Saffī Ghāṭ from the north and is separated by a deep gap from the spur running up towards Haṇḍia. The name of this isolated hill is **Bhaluāhī**. Its distance from Saffī Ghāṭ is about half a mile, which corresponds accurately enough to Hiuen Tsiang's "3 or 4 *li*." One old Āhīr, living below Sahudrasthān, knew of an excavation at the south foot of this hill. Reaching the spot with some trouble through the thick jungle I found a natural recess formed by the rocks of the hill-side over-hanging their base at a height of about 15 yards. This recess, known as **Pansabda**, is probably just deep enough to afford sufficient shelter against rain and heat. I could hear of no other excavation, natural or artificial, on this hill or further up the valley of the Harhar stream, and I think that, in the absence of information regarding any other likely locality, the rock recess just described has a good claim to being considered the rock-dwelling of Rishi Vyāsa.

Rājpiṇḍ Cave. — "To the north-east of the solitary hill 4 or 5 *li*," Hiuen Tsiang tells us, "there is a small hill also standing alone." In the side of this hill he describes a stone chamber, large enough to seat a thousand persons, where once Tathāgata for three months had explained the law. At the south-west angle of the cave the pilgrim noticed a lofty cavern, which a popular legend supposed to lead to the "city of the Asuras." By the side of the cave he mentions a remarkable road made of wood. It was apparently ascribed to King Bimbisāra who, in order to reach the spot where Buddha was, had cut out a passage through the rocks, opened up the valleys, levelled the precipices, and led a way across the river-courses, built up walls of stone, and bored through the opposing crags."

The large cave of **Rājpiṇḍ**, to which my attention had been called already on my first visit to Jeṭhian, by its relative bearing and distance as well as its natural features, accurately answers this description. It is situated on the north face of a rocky hill called **Caṇḍu**, which rises in the Haṇḍia Range about 1½ miles south-east of the village of Kīrī. The distance of Caṇḍu, from the "solitary hill" in which the range ends opposite to Saffī Ghāt, is about one mile, and the bearing is to the north-east, which corresponds exactly to Hiuen Tsiang's statement

Coming from Kīrī I ascended the rubble-covered natural slope of the hill for about ten minutes before I reached the old road leading to the cave, of which I had already heard at the village. As soon as we struck it, my guide pointed out this road which, supported by walls of massive masonry, runs along the hill-side westwards in the direction of the cave. It is between 2 and 4 yards broad and rises with a very gentle gradient, until after about 500 yards it reaches a platform, partly walled up, which gives a very fine view over the valley. The supporting walls of the road near this platform measure about 18 feet in height. The road, cut out in places from the rocky hill-side, then descends towards the cave, the entrance of which is reached at about 150 yards from the platform. In front of the cave the road widens out to a terrace, 16 feet broad, resting on a massive wall.

The cave of Rājpiṇḍ is about 91 feet deep in its open part and 20 to 25 feet high. Its breadth, about 20 feet near the entrance, increases to 37 feet at its inner end. The ground in the interior is deeply covered with animal refuse. From the south-west corner of the cave a high fissure runs upwards, which could only imperfectly be lit up with the materials I had at hand, but which evidently extends much further.

The people believe that this fissure reaches far into the mountain, just as in the days of Hiuen Tsiang, who was told of adventurous youths having travelled in it for 30 or 40 *li* before they reached the silver and golden walls of the magic city of the Asuras. The cave is popularly supposed to have been used by the king, whose palace was at Phal-Jethian, for holding his nautches. Dr. Grierson, who describes the cave in his very instructive account of the Gayā District, mentions a Mēlā which is annually held at the cave and a legend related of it.

Above the entrance of the cave there is a large perpendicular mass of solid rock, which, in the days of Hiuen Tsiang, received the notice of the pious. The gods Śakra and Brahman were supposed to have pounded sandal-wood on "the great and remarkable rock above the stone-house" and to have sprinkled the body of Tathāgata with it. The surface of the stone still emits the scent of the perfume, — an observation as to the correctness of which at the present day, I regret, I am unable to offer an opinion.

The above details will show how closely the **Rājpiṇḍ** cave corresponds to Hiuen Tsiang's description. It is true we can no longer find "the wooden way, about 10 paces wide and about 4 or 5 *li*," which he saw "by the side of the stone house." But on the other hand the actually extant road with its walls and platforms on the precipitous hill-side fully bears out the more general points in Hiuen Tsiang's account of Bimbisāra's road-making already quoted. It is possible that the walls still extant once bore a wooden superstructure widening the road to the dimensions which the pilgrim indicates, but I was unable to find any proof of this. On the other hand the statements of the villagers seem to show that there are traces of the old road extending beyond the easternmost point at which the path now used strikes it. But a clearing of the thick jungle would be necessary in order to follow up this part of the road, which may, perhaps, have led down into the valley with an easier gradient.

Buddhavana. — Hiuen Tsiang distinctly tells us that he reached Yashṭivana, *i. e.*, Jethian-Jeshṭiban, by going 30 *li* to the east through the wild valleys of the Buddhavana mountains. This makes it quite clear that General Cunningham's proposed **identification of Buddhavana with Buddhain is untenable,** as the pass (or hill) designated by the latter name lies fully 6 miles to the **north-east** of Jethian, *i. e.*, in the direction almost opposite to the one which the pilgrim indicates. It appears to me highly probable that the Buddhavana mountain, "with its peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous," must be looked for in that portion of the southern range which lies to the south-east of Jethian, near the point marked by the entry "Shahpoor," in the Revenue Survey Map. Here the hills rise once more to a fair height and project small transverse spurs all covered with jungle. The central and apparently highest point of this portion of the range is at a direct distance of about 5 miles from Jeṭhian.

My enquiries in the neighbourhood did not bring to my notice any local name that could be connected with **Buddhavana**, nor could I hear anything of the cave which Hiuen Tsiang mentions on this mountain. All the pilgrim tells us of it is that there was "among the steep mountain cliffs a stone chamber where Buddha once descending stayed; by its side is a large stone where Śakra and Brahmarāja pounded some oxhead-sandalwood and anointed Tathāgata with the same." In view of the vagueness of topographical information here furnished a personal search for this cave offered little hope of success within the limited time available. I accordingly decided to proceed from Jeṭhian direct to Kurkihār, where a far more important question concerning the position of Hiuen Tsiang's "Cock's-foot Mountain" required close examination.

On the 17th October I crossed once more the southern range of hills by the Ghāṭ close to Jethian and marching along their foot to the south-west, past Tapoban, reached the large village of **Amaithi** at a distance of about 9 miles. A small modern shrine by the roadside at the latter place contains three old images, covered with red-lead, one among them apparently representing Avalokiteśvara. I found a similar collection, consisting mostly of ancient *liṅgas*, of small size from 3 feet downwards, at a modern temple facing a large tank about one mile to the east of the village of **Orĕl.** One of these small *liṅgas* shows a much effaced head on one side, and another emblem is adorned with four heads,

evidently representing those of Brahman. My attention was attracted to these features, as, though apparently common in Ancient Liṅgas of Bihār and elsewhere in the east, they had never been noticed by me in the very large number of Liṅgas I have examined in the Panjāb and in Kaśmīr.

Kurkihār. — Kurkihār, which occupies rising ground amidst a wide expanse of well-irrigated rice fields, is a village of large size. It must evidently have been a place of considerable importance also in old days, judging from the extent of its ruined mounds and the remarkable amount of old sculpture, carved building stones and ancient bricks, which have been and are still being extracted from them.

General Cunningham, who examined the site twice, during his tours 1861-62 and 1879-80, has given sufficiently detailed accounts of its topography and of the sculptures which were then visible, in Vols. III. and XV. of the *Archæological Survey Reports*.[32] Referring to these accounts for a general description of the place, I may turn at once to the question which my visit to Kurkihār was mainly intended to elucidate.

Hiuen Tsiang, in his itinerary of the Buddhist places of worship situated between Gayā and Rājagṛha, mentions the **Kukkuṭapādagiri** or "Cock's-foot Mountain" immediately before Buddhavana and the sites around Yashṭivana, and gives us a lengthy account of the religious interest attaching to it. On the top of the three-peaked mountain Kāśyapa, the chief of Buddha's disciples, was believed to have removed himself from mortal eyes to await the coming of Maitreya, the future Buddha. The sides of the mountain are described to us as "high and rugged, the valleys and gorges as impenetrable. Soaring up into the air are three sharp peaks; their tops are surrounded by the vapours of heaven and their shapes are lost in the clouds."[33]

Supposed Site of Kukkuṭapādagiri. — This sacred mountain, from which Buddhavana lay about 100 *li* to the north-east, was supposed by General Cunningham to be identical with the site of Kurkihār. He based this identification mainly on the modern name **Kurkihār,** which he believed was to be derived from an assumed earlier form ***Kukkuṭavihāra** representing a contraction for ***Kukkṭapāda[giri]vihāra.** There seemed, indeed, a very serious obstacle to this identification, *viz.*, the fact which General Cunningham himself felt obliged to acknowledge, that no three-peaked mountain is to be found in the neighbourhood of Kurkihār. He believed, however, that Hiuen Tsiang's description could fairly apply to the "three large and rugged hills which rise boldly out of the plain about half a mile to the north of the village, and touch each other at their bases."

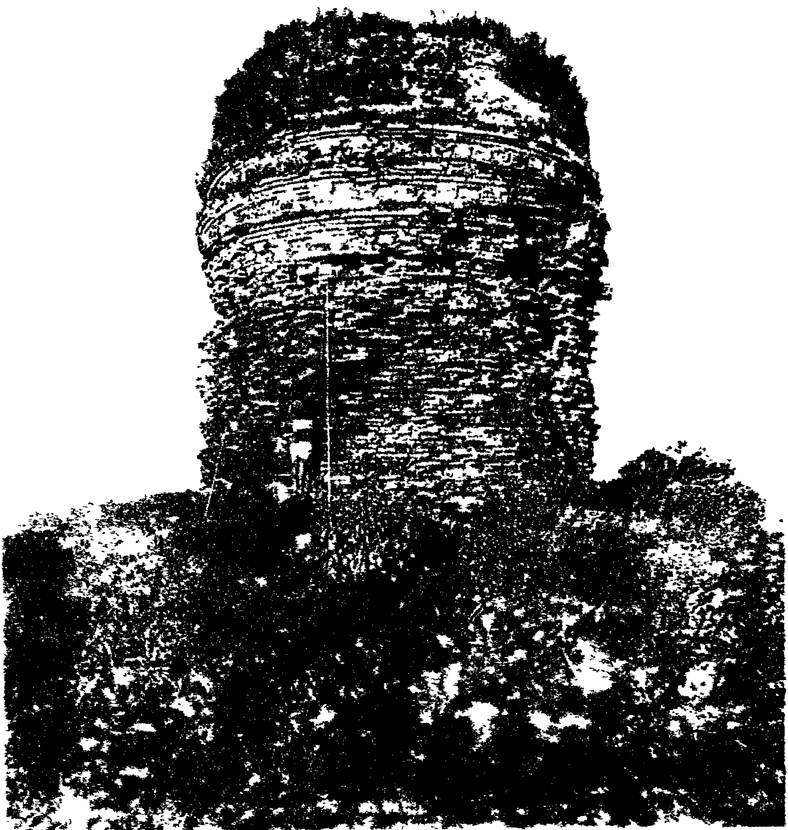
General Cunningham, though he reproduced this identification also in his *Ancient Geography*,[34] seems yet to have felt not altogether assured of it. In 1879-80 he, therefore, paid a fresh visit to Kurkihār, chiefly with the object of exploring the hill to the north of the village. On this occasion he specially looked for remains of the *stūpa*, which, according to Hiuen Tsiang's account, was built on the top of the mountain where the peaks had closed at Kāśyapa. These remains he believed to have found "in a square basement which still exists on the highest or middle peak of the **Murali Hill** surrounded by quantities of broken bricks."[35]

The difficulty involved by the proposed identification of Kukkuṭapādagiri with Kurkihār had struck me already before, when searching in vain on the available maps for any indications of hills in the immediate vicinity of Kurkihār, which could possibly be supposed to correspond to Hiuen Tsiang's description of the three-peaked mountain. My doubts had increased after I had ascertained the exact position of Yashṭivana and thereby indirectly also that of Buddhavana. For though the portion of the hill-range south-west of Jethian, where Buddhavana must be located, lies indeed to the north-east

[32] See Vol. III., pp. 14-16, with plate XII.; Vol. XV., pp. 4-6. [33] See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 142. [34] See p. 460.

[35] See *Arch. Survey Rep.*, xv. p. 5. The name *Murali* here used must be due to some confusion. It is unknown to the people of Kurkihār as a designation of the low ridge meant by Gen. Cunningham. *Maraḍe* is the name of a large village about three miles due north of Kurkihār and at the foot of the high hills of the Southern "Rājgir range" trending from the north-east. Is it possible that this name, spelt Murali, got mixed up somehow with Gen. Cunningham's notes about the Kurkihār ridge?

I. STŪPA AT GIRYEK



Scale ⅝ in. to 5 ft. 6 in.



Scale 3⅞ in. to 3 ft.

of Kurkihār, yet the distance, in a direct line only 5-6 miles, could not possibly be represented by 100 *li* in Hiuen Tsiang's itinerary, unless we assume a serious mistake in the pilgrim's reckoning.

The visit, which I paid on the morning of the 18th October to the three hills mentioned by General Cunningham north of Kurkihār, confirmed my misgivings. I found that those "hills" were in reality only low rocky ridges, such as we find cropping out "Kopje"-like through a great part of the Gayā District. They are situated a little over a mile to the N.-N.-E. of Kurkihār and are so insignificant in height and extent as to make their omission even from the large scale Revenue Survey Map easily intelligible. The middle hillock, on which General Cunningham looked for the hiding place of Kāśyapa, rises about 150 feet above the level of the rice fields. Its top forms a small plateau 125 feet long from S.-E. to N.-W. and 55 feet broad. On it there is a small platform with a dozen old sculptures of small size, among them a figure about 1½ feet high representing perhaps Māyā or a Śakti, and another of a Bodhisattva, one foot high. The rest of the collection is made up of small Lingas and broken Bhadrapīṭhas. Near the centre of the little plateau stands a black Līṅga, of old appearance, about 1½ feet in height, and worshipped by the people of the neighbouring hamlet of Pathraura under the name of Rāmnāth. All these sculptured remains are said to have been found on the spot and within the recollection of the people.

. The ridge which adjoins the middle one on the south-west is even smaller, rising only to 80 feet; the third to the north-east is only 20-30 feet higher than the middle one and equally insignificant in its other dimensions. All are almost completely bare of vegetation, the hard rock of the slopes being easily washed clear of detritus by the rainfall, and thus retaining no soil for the growth of jungle. Actually in view of these rocky hillocks, it was indeed impossible to believe that they could be meant in Hiuen Tsiang's description of the **Kukkuṭapādagiri**, of which we are told: "Tumultuous torrents rush down its sides, thick forests envelope the valley, whilst tangled shrubs grow along its cavernous height."

My visit to the supposed site of Kāśyapa's mountain finally convinced me that **the identification of Kurkihār with the "Cock's-foot Mountain" was impossible.** But its result was not purely negative From the elevated position of the **Paṭhraura ridge** I could not fail to notice the high hills rising above the plains further away to the south-west, and culminating in **the peaks of Tāṇḍwa and Mahēr.** Their direction and distance seemed to agree singularly with Hiuen Tsiang's indications regarding the relative positions of Buddhavana and the "Cock's-foot Mountain," and the following pages will show that this observation had guided me rightly.

Sculptures at Kurkihār.—Though Kurkihār must be denied all claim to the distinction of marking the site of Kāśyapa's legendary resting place, it still deserves a special notice on account of the remarkable abundance of ancient remains which it contains. Carved slabs of large size and architectural fragments of all kinds can be found in plenty, walled into the houses of the village. Votive Stūpas of varying sizes, carved in granite, are seen in great number on the edge of the large tank adjoining the village on the south, where they now serve as washerman's stones, as well as in other places. From the ruined mound marked *A* on General Cunnigham's plan great quantities of large bricks of ancient-make are still being extracted, and an inspection of the houses of Kurkihār shows that probably most of them have been built with similarly obtained materials.

In the course of these excavations sculptures are frequently discovered. Some well-preserved ones have been removed, through the care of Rai Lakshmī Nārāyan, the local Zamīndār, to his adjoining Bungalow. The most interesting of these is reproduced from a photograph in Fig. II. The relievo, which is 3½ feet high with a greatest breadth of 3 feet, represents a teaching Bodhisattva seated within a trefoil-shaped niche of rocks between two female attendants. The frieze above the main image represents worshippers approaching a *stūpa* with offerings. The top of the relievo shows five Bodhisattvas in different attitudes, each in a small niche. Below the three middle ones are seen couples of grotesque figures. The composition of the whole relievo shows a curious resemblance

to that of many later products of Græco-Buddhist art in Gandhāra, though in respect of the modelling of figures and other details the difference is sufficiently marked.

The flat moulding just below the lotus-seat of the principal figure shows the usual Buddhist formula *Ye dharmahetuprabhavā, etc.*, **in characters** which appear to me to belong **approximately to the 9-10th century of our era.** The lower band of the moulding is inscribed with characters which have become much effaced, and which have not allowed me to take an impression sufficiently clear to be made out completely. It appears to contain a dedication. This sculpture is said to have been discovered in 1898 during excavations on the mound close by.

Another relievo measuring 2 feet 9 inches in height represents a female divinity, apparently a Śakti. The characters of the formula *Ye dharma, etc.*, which is engraved round the head, and those of a short dedicatory inscription below the proper left foot, show close resemblance to those of the Aphsaḍ inscription *(circ.* 675 A. D.) reproduced in Professor Bühler's *Indian Palæography*.[36] The dedicatory inscription *Deyadharmo' yaṁ Sākyabhikṣuṇī sraṇamataḥ (sic)* marks the statue as the gift of a Buddhist nun *(bhikṣuṇī)*, but does not furnish further information. A third relievo, also excavated not very long ago from the neighbouring mound, 2 feet 3 inches high, shows a six-armed male figure, holding lotus, rosary, *cakra*, conch, and what looks like a bowl. It is supported on either side by a female attendant.

Apart from these sculptures, which are well-preserved and ought without difficulty to be secured for the Imperial Museum at Calcutta, there is an older collection of similar spoils in the open courtyard of the temple of Bhagavatī at the north-eastern corner of the village. This has already been described by General Cunninghan.[37] Fig. III. shows the principal relievo representing a Buddha in meditation. Its height is nearly 4½ feet. The characters of the formula engraved on the halo seem to belong to about the 10th century of our era. The word *Akṣobhyavajra* engraved to the proper right of the head seems to indicate that the Buddha intended is **Akṣobhya,** one of the five eternal Buddhas of the Mahāyāna creed.

The conviction, which I arrived at after my examination of Kurkihār, was that Hiuen Tsiang's Kukkuṭapādagiri had to be looked for further to the south-west in the direction of the hills mentioned. On the 19th October I accordingly moved my camp to the large village of Wazīrganj, situated about 3 miles to the south-west of Kurkihār and conveniently near to the site of **Hasra,** which I had already before singled out for closer inspection. **Hasra** is the name given to a low ridge extending at the northern extremity of a higher range of hills, which rise boldly from the plain at a distance of about 4 miles S.-S.-W. of Wazīrganj (marked "Hasra" on Atlas of India Sheet, No. 104). The maximum elevation of the ridge to the north is about 200 feet above the plain. In the little defile, which separates the ridge from the hill to the south, and which is known as **Kōl,** Mr. Beglar had already noticed a considerable number of mounds, from which ancient sculptures of superior workmanship had been extracted at various times. He had given a brief description of these, accompanied by a plan, but had not been able to trace any tradition or other evidence that might throw light on the original character and name of the site.[38]

The Hasra Site. — Proceeding to Hasra on the afternoon of the same day I found the conclusion I had drawn from Mr. Beglar's account as to the importance of the site fully confirmed. The whole of the little valley, which measures about a quarter of a mile in length, is strewn with ancient building materials extracted from numerous ruined mounds. Referring to Mr. Beglar's plan for an indication of the approximate position of these mounds, I may mention that the one near the western entrance of the valley, marked *D* on his plan, measures fully 133 feet in length by 56 feet in breadth and thus evidently marks the position of a building of some dimensions. Again, close to the south foot of the lower ridge and near the centre of it, I came upon a large circular brick-mound, corresponding apparently to the structure marked *H* in Mr. Beglar's plan, but not described in his text. Though

[36] Table IV., columns xvii, xviii.

[37] See *Arch. Survey Rep.*, i. p. 15.

[38] See *Arch. Survey Rep.*, viii. p. 104 with plate II.

evidently used as a quarry by the villagers even quite recently, it still rises to a height of about 25 feet above the level-ground of the valley. The appearance of the mound distinctly suggests its having been a *stūpa*, and as it measures on the top 92 feet from north to the south and 75 feet from east to west, the dimensions of the original structure must have been very considerable. The bricks found on the surface are mostly broken, but appear originally to have measured about 10 inches in length with a thickness of 2 inches.

Much ancient sculpture is said to have been found in the course of the excavation for bricks which the poorer inhabitants of the neighbouring villages are in the habit of carying on here. But those in fair preservation have apparently all been removed to the rustic shrines of the vicinity. Small broken pieces of relievos and ornamented bases of statues are found on rubbish heaps at several places, particularly near the narrow eastern end of the valley. Among these there are several showing rows of small Bodhisattva figures, and thus indicating plainly the Buddhist character of the buildings from which they had been extracted. On the mound marked *K* by Mr. Beglar I could no longer trace the pedestal of a statue inscribed with the Buddhist formula. But close to the circular mound *A* at the western entrance of the defile there lies a broken relievo of very good workmanship, about 2 feet high, showing a Buddha (now headless) seated in meditation and on its pannelled base (broken) four small images of Buddhas in varying attitudes. The formula engraved on the leaves of the lotus-seat occupied by the principal figure is in **characters of about the 10th century.** The sculpture deserves preservation.

Even a cursory inspection of the site proved that it must have been once occupied by an important Buddhist religious establishment. But a point of special interest was revealed by a closer view of the hill rising with rugged jungle covered slopes immediately to the south of the **Hasra-Kōl.** When approaching Hasra from the north-east, I had already noticed that the hill behind it was connected at its highest point on the east with two other spurs of about equal height, all three radiating from one central eminence covered like the rest with dense jungle. The view, supported as it was by the contours of the hill shown on the Survey map, and in conjunction with the extensive remains at the foot of the hill, naturally suggested to me that I had really found in the latter the "**Cock's-foot Mountain**" of Hiuen Tsiang.

In order to arrive at a definite opinion regarding this identification it was necessary to proceed to a closer examination of the hill itself, and this I was able to effect on the following morning. Before, however, detailing its results it will be useful here to review briefly the statement furnished regarding the sacred hill by Hiuen Tsiang, as well as by the earlier pilgrim Fa-hian.

Chinese accounts of Kukkuṭapādagiri. — Hiuen Tsiang, whose account is far the most detailed and accurate, starts in his description from the immediate vicinity of Bōdhgayā :[39] "To the east of the Mahī river (the present Mohaṇa Nadi) we enter a great wild forest and going 100 *li* or so we come to the **Kukkuṭapādagiri** ('the Cock's-foot Mountain') or **Gurupādagiri** ('the mountain of the venerable teacher'). The sides of this mountain are high and rugged, the valleys and gorges impenetrable." After referring, in the words already quoted, to the thick forests in the valleys and the tangled shrubs, which grow along the heights of the three sharp peaks of the mountain, Hiuen Tsiang informs us that "behind these hills the venerable **Mahā-Kāśyapa** dwells wrapped in a condition of Nirvāṇa. People do not dare to utter his name, and therefore they speak of the '**Gurupādāh.**' "

Kāśyapa, as Buddha's chief disciple had, when the master was on the point of attaining Nirvāṇa, received from him the commission to preserve the law. For this purpose he summoned the great convocation we have already referred to in connection with the Sattapaṇṇi Cave, "and then continued for twenty years. Then in disgust at the impermanence of the world, and desiring to die, he went towards the Cock's-foot Mountain. Ascending the north side of the mountain he proceeded along the winding path, and came to the south-west ridge. Here the crags and precipices prevented him from going on. Forcing his way through the tangled brushwood he struck the rock with his staff and

[39] See Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, ii. pp. 142 *sqq*.

thus opened a way. He then passed on, having divided the rock, and ascended till he was again stopped by the rocks interlacing one another. He again opened a passage through and came out on the mountain peak on the north-east side. Then having emerged from the defiles, he proceeded to the middle point of the three peaks. There he took the Kashāya garment of Buddha and expressed an ardent vow. On this the three peaks covered him over: this is the reason why now these three peaks rise up into the air." The pilgrim next relates the legend how, in future times, on the coming of Maitreya, the next Buddha, Kāśyapa will issue forth from the mountain and, delivering to him the garment of Buddha, enter Nirvāṇa. "Now, therefore, on the top of the mountain is a *stūpa* built. On quiet evenings those looking from a distance see sometimes a bright light as it were of a torch; but if they ascend the mountain there is nothing to be observed."

Two and a half centuries before Hiuen Tsiang's visit Fa-hian had already described the "Cock's-foot Mountain," which was then a pilgrimage place for Buddhists from many countries. Kāśyapa, he tells us, "divided the mountain at its base so as to open a passage. This entrance is now closed up. At a considerable distance from this spot there is a side chasm; it is in this the entire body of Kāśyapa is now preserved." Arhats were supposed to take their abode on the hill after the setting of the sun and to favour pilgrims who were in spiritual difficulties with their advice. "The thickets about this hill are dense and tangled. There are moreover lions, tigers, and wolves prowling about, so that it is not possible to travel without great care."[40] Fa-hian places the mountains 3 *li* to the south of Bōdhgayā, which implies a manifest error of record, such as unfortunately is not uncommon in this pilgrim's itinerary.

Kukkuṭapādagiri identified with Sōbhnāth Hill. — On the morning of the 20th October I approached the hill, in which I think we must thereafter recognize the legendary resting place of Kāśyapa, once more from the side of Hasra. Crossing the débris-strewn Kōl valley, I ascended the north slope of the spur immediately overhanging the latter by a rugged track leading through thick jungle. On the ridge, which was reached after a brisk climb of about 20 minutes, all traces of a path disappeared, and further progess to the east, where the spur culminates, was much impeded by a tangled mass of jungle trees, brushwood and high grass. The northern spur, from its middle part where I struck its ridge, rises towards the east in three distinct shoulders formed by massive rocks and in places difficult to climb. When approaching the highest portion, it became quite clear that it forms also the radiating point for two other spurs trending to the south-west and north-east. After climbing up a steep slope of rugged rocks I found that the central summit of the three spurs is surmounted by a square parapet, 9 to 10 feet high, built of rough walls, but sufficiently solid to prevent its being overgrown by the luxuriant jungle. The platform or terrace thus formed measures 75 feet on each side and is correctly orientated.

On its top I found a mound about 10 feet high, apparently circular at one time, but much dilapidated. Its present diameter is about 20 feet. It is composed of large bricks which, according to my guide's statement, were quarried by villagers at the time of a famine within his recollection. From the appearance of this mound it is clear that it represents the remains of the *stūpa* which Hiuen Tsiang mentions on the summit of the Cock's-foot Mountain. One of the bricks exposed measured 10 × 9 × 2 inches. The centre of the mound had been dug into a depth of 4-5 feet. In the cavity thus formed, which is about 10 feet broad, lie five large granite pillars, 9 inches in square thickness, half buried by débris.

From the top of the mound the relative position of the three spurs radiating from this central eminence could be seen most distinctly. Besides the spur, by which I had ascended and which runs almost due west, there is a lower but equally rugged spur descending to the south-west and also showing a number of shoulders. This is continued in the same direction by a series of detached rocky hills, which connect it with the **Mahēr** group of hills about five miles to the south-west. The third spur, which is far shorter, trends in the direction of north-north-east and is soon lost in the plain.

[40] See *Fo-kwo-ki* in Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. lxvi.

I had no means of ascertaining the exact height of the central peak, but judging from the time occupied in climbing it and the comparison of the highest point of the Mahēr Hill, marked 1,616 feet above sea level in the Survey Map, I came to the conclusion that its relative elevation above the plain may be about a thousand feet or a little more. The hill top is known to the people by the name **Sōbhnāth,** and the fact of its bearing an ancient mound is also generally known. But no definite tradition attaches to it, and all I could ascertain was that the well in the centre of the mound had been seen in this condition for the last twenty years.

The natural features of the hill strikingly illustrate the origin of the legend related by Hiuen Tsiang as to Kāśyapa's ascent. The position of the spurs corresponds closely to his account, which mentions, besides the northern side of the mountain, ranges to the south-west and north-east. In the confused masses of rocks heaped up all along the crest lines of the three spurs we can look for the passages which Kāśyapa was supposed to have opened with his staff. The tangled brushwood, which surrounded the hill in the days of both pilgrims, still covers it in remarkable thickness and in the narrow gorges which lead down between the spurs, the rainy season must indeed produce tumultuous torrents. That the name "Cock's-foot Mountain" **(Kukkuṭapādagiri)** is likely to have been derived from the three spurs resembling in relative position the foot of a cock has already been noticed by Hieun Tsiang's translators. It is impossible to look down from the top of the central peak[41] or even to examine the shape of the hill on the map without being struck with the appropriateness of the simile.

It only remains to point out that the distances and bearings given by Hiuen Tsiang with reference to the "Cock's-foot Mountain" are in full agreement with the position now ascertained for it. From east bank of the Mahī opposite Bōdhgayā to the Kukkuṭapādagiri the pilgrim reckoned 100 *li* or so, the direction being to the east "through a great wild forest." Measuring on the map the direct distance from the Sōbnāth Hill to the bank of the Mōhana Nadī opposite Bōdhgayā we find it to be close on 14 miles. This distance, with the addition of one-fourth required to compensate for the excess measurement on ordinary roads from village to village[42] and taking the *li* at its ordinary value of about ⅕ mile, brings us as near as we can expect to the 100 *li* of the Chinese pilgrim. The true direct bearing, it is true, is to the north-east, not to the east. But then a glance at the map will show that a traveller from Bōdhgayā would have to proceed at first nearly due east to Mahēr in order to avoid crossing on his route the hills called after the latter place, which lie in the direct line between Sōbnāth and Bōdhgayā.

Again after leaving the "Cock's-foot Mountain" Hiuen Tsiang counts about 100 *li* in a north-easterly direction to Buddhavana. Accepting the position I have above approximately marked for the latter locality and measuring the direct distance on the map, we find it a little over 11 miles and the bearing north-east. The slight difference here noticed in the two map-values of Hiuen Tsiang's "100 *li* is easily accounted for by the fact that in proceeding to Buddhavana the pilgrim had to cross the southern Rājgir range at a point where it is comparatively high and rugged, as his own reference to "peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous" clearly indicates.

After I had completed my tour and returned to Calcutta, I learned from my friend Lt.-Colonel L. A. Waddell, I. M. S., that he, too, had on a visit paid several years ago to Hasra arrived at the same conclusion as to the identity of the "Cock's-foot Mountain." In view of Col. Waddell's keen power of observation, testified by the important results of his researches into other points connected with Hiuen Tsiang's itinerary, it is a source of special assurance to me to know that the above identification had been arrived at by us both independently.

Sculptures at Bishanpūr. — I descended from the Sōbnāth peak by the steep gorge which leads down between the south-western and western spurs to the village of **Bishanpūr** in order to see the sculptures mentioned by Mr. Beglar at this place.[43] It lies about 1½ miles to the west of the

[41] Its position may be fixed on the Atlas of India map just below the letter *d* of the name "Tundwa."

[42] Compare Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 564.

[43] See *Arch. Survey Rep*, viii. p. 105.

peak and contains, in a half decayed modern shrine designated as the "Bhairavasthān," a series of fine sculptures said to have been excavated in the Kōl valley some 25 or 30 years ago.

The largest and best preserved among them are a large-sized Buddha-statue with an attendant figure on each side (see Fig. IV.), the whole having evidently formed one group. The height of the central statue is 5 feet from the base and that of the attendants 3½ feet. **The characters** of the Buddhist formula inscribed on the pedestal point to the **9-10th century** as the probable date of these fine sculptures. The attendant figure on the proper right is clearly marked as Pādmanābhi. The relievos now lying behind the principal statue evidently formed a panel for it and show like the rest of these sculptures highly-finished workmanship.

Fig. V. reproduces three detached relievos, which must have belonged to pedestals for smaller statues. Their execution is equally good. There are two smaller statues of inferior value in niches of the tumbled-down walls, representing Buddha and a four-armed god, probably Vishṇu. I was, however, unable to trace the small bas-relief, which is mentioned by Mr. Beglar as bearing a short inscription with the name of **Mahākāśyapa.** In the view of the identification of the Kōl site now arrived at, this name as possibly indicating reference to the local saint would have been of special interest.

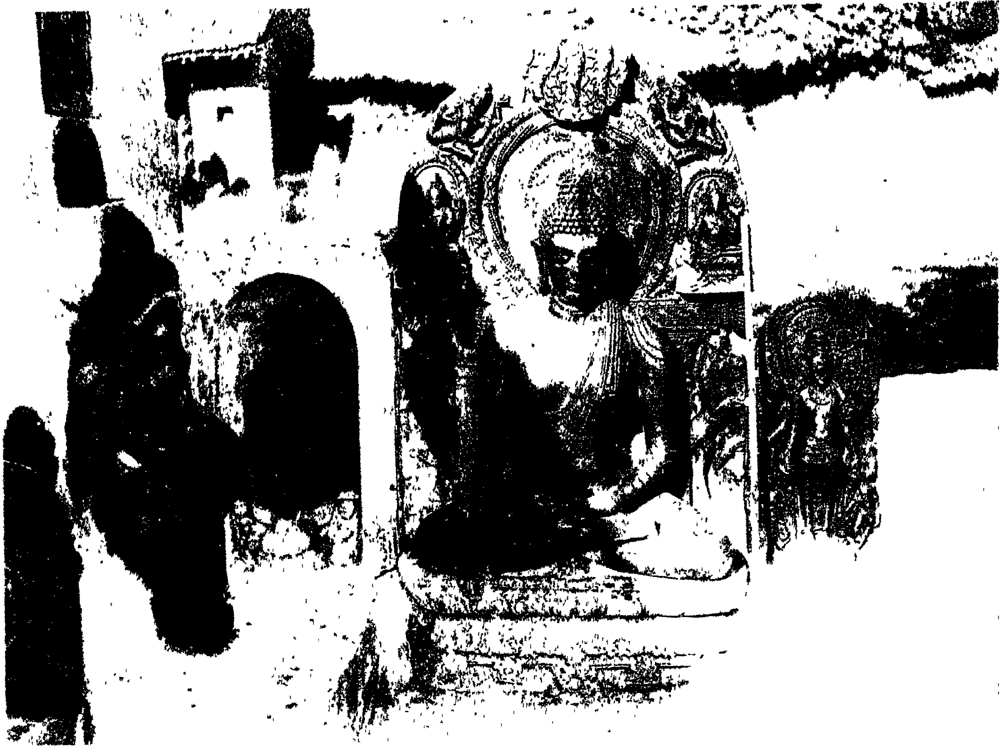
I consider that the removal of the Bishanpūr sculptures to a place where their preservation could be assured, probably to the Imperial Museum, is distinctly desirable. Judging from the impression I gained by my enquiries, this removal, if accompanied by the offer of some gratuity to the local Purōhitas, could be effected without difficulty. Or, the grant of a small sum might assure the necessary repairs to the shrine, which could then serve as a shelter for the sculptures now placed there. Still more desirable it seems to me that early steps be taken to prevent unauthorized excavations and consequent destruction in the ruined mounds of the Kōl valley, which, by the identification of their site, have now acquired a special interest.

From Warzīrganj I proceeded on the 20th October to Gayā in order to arrange from there for my visit to the **Kuluha Hill**, situated close to the southern border of the Gayā District, but within the limits of Hazāribāgh. The ancient remains on this hill, previously unsurveyed, had formed the subject of a detailed report submitted to Government in June 1899 by Bābū Nand Lāl Dey, Munsif-Magistrate of Chatra, Hazāribāgh, and I had been asked to examine them in connection with my tour. After a short stay at Gayā, required in order to allow my camp to move ahead, I marched on the 22nd October *viâ* Shērghāṭī to Hunterganj village, situated about 32 miles by road south of Gayā on the left bank of the Līlājan River and not far from the northern border of the Hazāribāgh District. On the following day I proceeded to the Kuluha Hill, which rises about 6 miles to the south-west of Hunterganj, and placed my camp at **Haṭwaria,** the nearest inhabited place on the west side of the hill.

Position of Kuluha Hill.—The hill known locally as the **Kuluha Pahār** is formed by a projecting spur of the great range which runs along the northern edge of the plateau of Hazāribāgh. It consists of a series of steep basaltic ridges, running in the general direction of north to south and culminating in a pinnacle of bold crags, which reach to a height of 1,575 feet above sea level, as fixed by the Trigonometrical Survey. Owing to its height and bold form the hill is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as seen from the plains of the Shērghāṭī Sub-Division.

The fact of the hill being the object of a local pilgrimage is mentioned is Sir W. Hunter's *Gazetteer* (Hazāribāgh District) and is also recorded in the *List of Ancient Monuments of Bengal.* But the merit of having first given a full account of it belongs to Bābū Nand Lāl Dey, the local officer already mentioned, whose *Report,* dated 7th June 1899, was forwarded to Government with a letter from the Commissioner of the Chōṭā Nagpūr Division and duly communicated to me in print. Bābū Nand Lāl Dey deserves every commendation for the zeal and trouble with which he has endeavoured, during his short stay on the hill, to note down all those objects which his state of health permitted him to visit, and which he thought might be of antiquarian interest. As, however, his examination of the remains of the place was necessarily rapid and does not profess to have been made with special

III. SCULPTURES IN TEMPLE-COURT, KURKIHĀR.



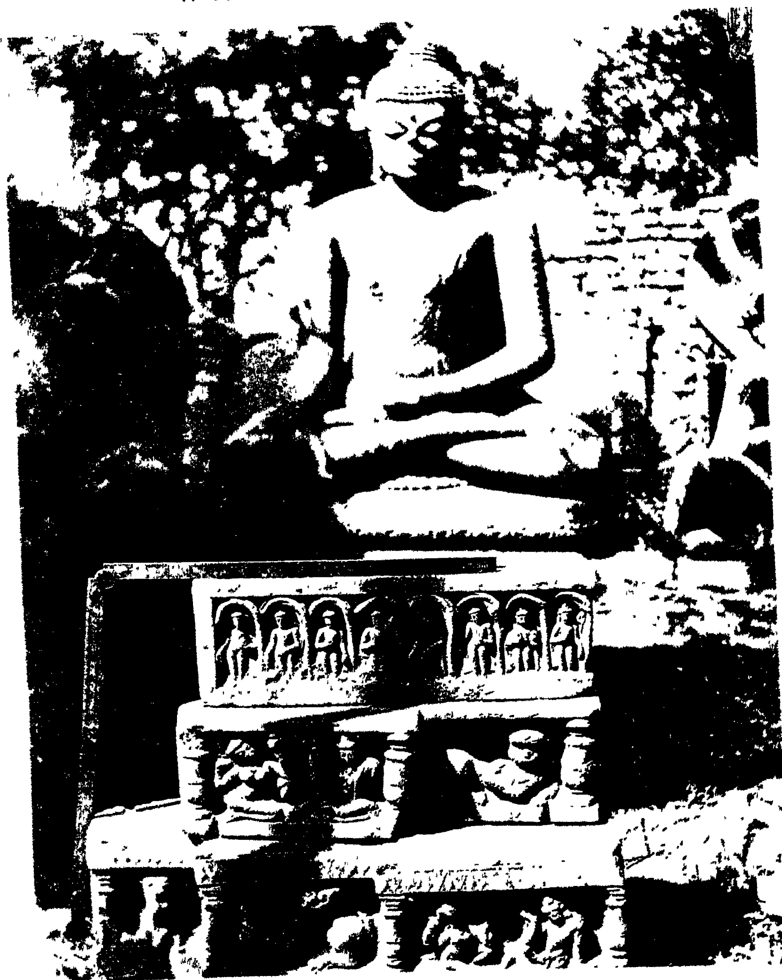
Scale 2⅛ in. to 3 ft.

IV. SCULPTURES AT BISHANPŪR.



Scale 2¼ in. to 3 ft.

V. SCULPTURED PEDESTALS, BISHANPŪR.



Scale 4⅜ in. to 3 ft.

VI. VIEW OF AKĀŚALOCANA PEAK, KULUHA HILL.



archæological knowledge, it would serve no useful purpose to reproduce it here or to discuss particular statements contained in it. It may, however, be mentioned that Bābū Nand Lāl Dey believed the ancient remains on the hill to be exclusively Buddhistic, and that he was prepared to identify it, on the basis of a supposed etymology of the name, with "the Makula Parvata of the Burmese Annals of Buddhism" where Buddha is said to have passed his sixth rainy season.[44]

The top of the Kuluha Hill is approached by two paths only, one leading up from Haṭwaria village on the west, and the other from a valley which skirts the hill on the east. Following the former, which I used on my ascents to the hill, traces of the pilgrims' route are soon met in the auspicious *sindūra* (read-lead) marks applied to all larger rocks and trees. About half a mile south of Hatwaria, where the path leaves a wooded plateau at the foot of the hill, there is a small mound of stones, and on its top an old relievo, measuring 1 foot 8 inches in height by eleven in breadth, which represents the Jina Pārśvanātha under the usual snake-hood. The Hindu pilgrims and their Purōhitas know the sculpture by the name of **Dvārapāla**, "the Guardian of the Gate." For about half a mile further the path crosses an outlying ridge, which is fairly wooded. Then the proper ascent begins over bare basaltic rocks of remarkably large size, which face the whole west side of the hill. They are so steep and and so bare of vegetation that for one not barefooted it is a matter of some difficulty to scramble up. After an ascent of about four hundred feet a wall of even steeper, but smaller, cliffs is met. Here a regular path is formed by broad steps cut into the rock. This path leads at a point about 200 feet higher up through the gateway of an ancient wall to the plateau near the hill top.

Plateau of Kuluha Hill-top.—This plateau or rock basin — for this name would be equally applicable for a part of the area—is formed by two massive ridges of rock, more or less parallel, which ascend from the south. Before converging towards the bold pinnacle of rock which, as already mentioned, forms the summit of the hill, these ridges are joined by a transverse ridge which runs in the direction from south-east to north-west and at a distance of about half a mile to the south of the summit. The bare rocks, forming the north face of the transverse ridge, slope gradually down towards a natural basin, which contains a small lake about 300 yards long with a greatest width of about 70 yards. The longitudinal direction of the lake follows the dip of the transverse ridge from N.-W. to S.-E. It is said to be fed by springs and always retains its water, the overflow from the monsoon rains being carried off by a small channel at the south-east corner. The presence of this unfailing supply of water in a locality otherwise made so forbidding by Nature had probably much to do with turning the plateau of the Kuluha Hill into a popular place of pilgrimage.

Immediately above the little lake, with its plentiful growth of lotuses, waterlilies and other aquatic planks, the bare rock rises with steep wall-like slopes up towards the summit. The main ridge on the east ascends to this highest point in a series of bare cliffs, which form a kind of *crête* and fall off almost precipitously towards the valley below. The ridge on the west is less steep and rocky and is covered in the part nearer to the rock basin with thick jungle growth. Higher up it, too, assumes the form of a precipitous wall of cliffs. The summit itself, which forms the final object of the pilgrimage, consists of a series of enormous boulders heaped up one above the other and frowning down boldly into the valleys.

I have attempted to illustrate the main topographical features of the hill by a site-plan prepared from my rough survey (see Fig. VII.). This, I hope, together with the photograph reproduced

[44] "It will be remarked that, excepting the image of Kuleswari, I did not come across the image of a single deity belonging to the Hindu Pantheon: the place is entirely Buddhistic. It is my strong conviction that Koluha Pahar is the *makula* Parvata of the Burmese annals of Buddhism. Buddha is said to have passed his sixth wasso (or rainy season retirement) on the Makula mountain (see Bigandet's *Life* or the Legend of Gaudhama). Koluha is simply a contraction and corruption of *Makula* (*ma*) of (makula) having dropped by lapse of time, and the word *kula* changed into Kulaha according to the guttural pronunciation of the people of the district. The word *kula*, however, still exists in the name of the goddess Kuleswari (Kula + Iswari) which means, as I have stated, the Lady of the Mountain Kula."

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the derivation of the name *Kūlūha* here suggested is impossible on phonetic grounds, and that the connection of the site with the Makula Parvata cannot be maintained in the absence of any direct historical or topographical evidence.

in Fig. VI., showing the summit as seen from Bhīmbhār, will help in following the description of the objects of antiquarian interest to which I now proceed.

Sacred Sites on Kuluha Hill. — Reaching the plateau on the west by the path previously described, we notice first the ancient wall which lines the crest line of the ridge on this side. It is there 9 feet thick and shows rows of well-cut slabs of stone on the outer faces, while its interior is apparently built of large undressed stones. The gateway, five feet broad, is much decayed, but beyond it to the N.-E. I was able to follow the wall ascending the ridge for a distance of about 750 feet, notwithstanding the thick jungle by which it is surrounded. Immediately to the north of the gate, where there is a natura dip in the ground, the wall is fully 15 feet high. The wall extends to the N.-E. up to the point where the ridge falls off in almost perpendicular cliffs and where thus Nature itself has provided a rampart. The same observation applies to the wall south of the gate, which, adapting itself to the contours of the plateau, extends in a fair state of preservation for about 700 feet, up to a point on the above-mentioned transverse ridge, where the latter becomes quite unscaleable.

About 130 feet to the S.-E. of the gate by which we have entered, stands a temple sacred to Durgā-Bhagavatī. The name under which the goddess is worshipped here, **Kuleśvarī**, is supposed to be connected with the designation of the hill Kuluha. The temple, which consists of a cella about 12 feet square inside and an outer chamber 10 feet deep and 9 feet broad, is up to a height of five feet from the ground built mainly with stone materials removed evidently from some old structure. Among these large ornamented slabs are found in considerable number. The rest of the extant temple is built with bricks which seem also of old make, and is covered outside with a thick layer of *chunam*.

A broad platform in front of the temple, which faces south, as well as a large dilapidated shed to the west of it, are similarly constructed with ancient carved slabs, while more of the latter lies in front of the building. The present temple is said to have been built by a Rājā Candraketu of Dāntār, as to whose date no information was forthcoming. Judging from its appearance, it can scarcely be older than a couple of centuries. On the other hand the materials used in its construction show that it has probably replaced an earlier structure of more imposing dimensions. One old slab in the wall measures 4½ feet in length and one foot in height.

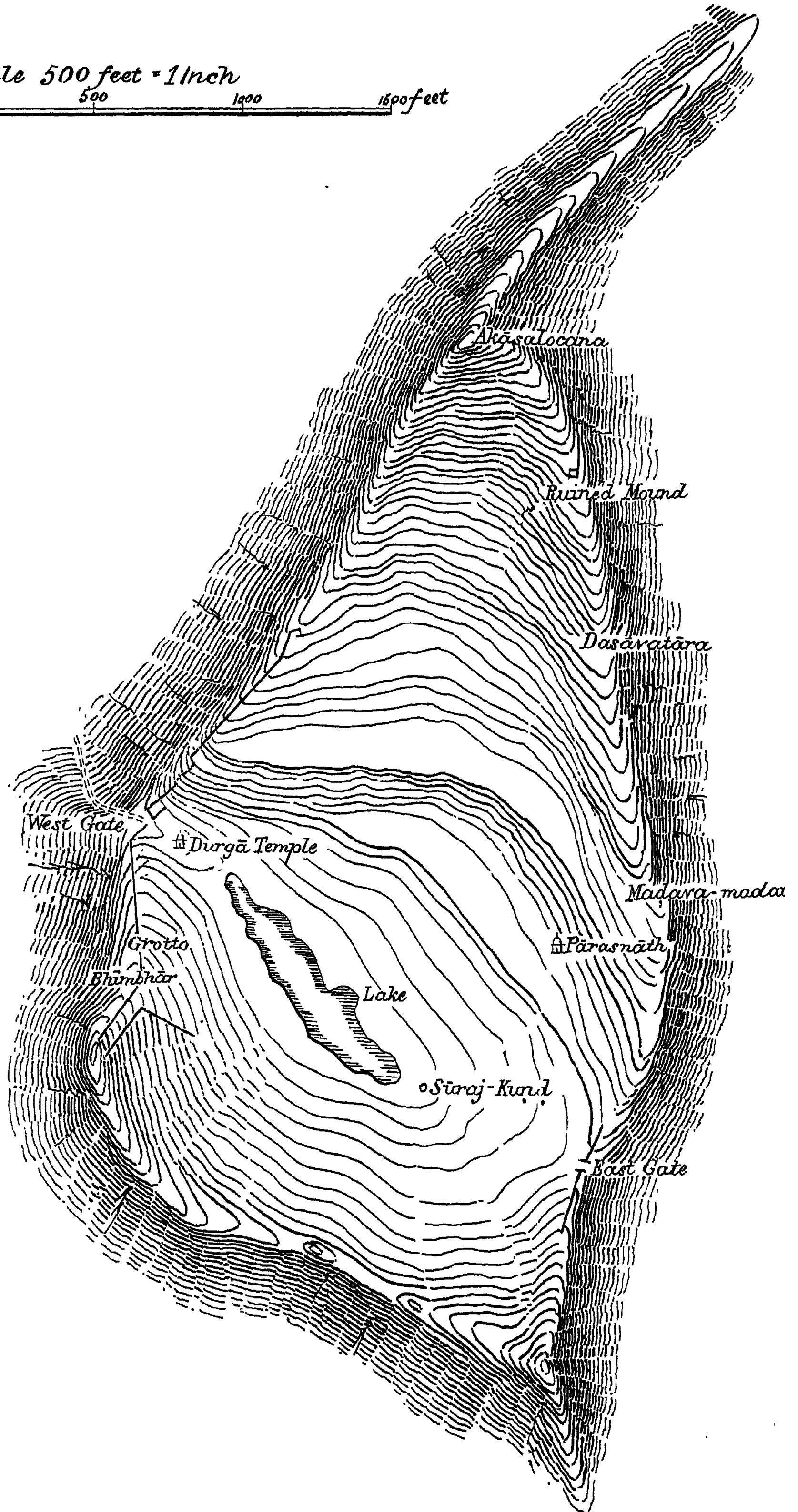
The Purōhitas or, as they are locally called, Paṇḍas of the shrine reside at Dāntār and ordinarily take their turn of worship for half a week. The pilgrims, by whose *dakṣiṇās* they mainly subsist, visit the hill at particular days auspicious for the 'Yātrā.' Such are the 9th day of the bright half of Caitra, when about 5,000 people are said to assemble, and the day of Māgha known as Śrīpañcamī. There is no *Māhātmya* or legendary in use, but the priests are in the habit of relating to the pilgrims the stories of the *Mahābhārata*, which local belief connects with particular sites of the hill.

About 125 yards to the south of the temple and on the rocky crest of the transverse ridge a large isolated boulder known as **Bhīmbhār** is visited by the pilgrims. Bhīma, the epic hero, is believed to have put it there to take rest in its shade. About 40 feet to the N.-E. of it is a platform 21 feet long and 14 feet broad built of large dressed slabs. The place which is called the "wall of King Virāṭ" offers a splendid view over the Līlājan valley westwards.

About 18 yards to the north of 'Bhīmbhār' is a small grotto about 4 feet high and 3 feet broad, formed by a boulder overlying a fissure in the rock. Inside is a well-preserved image of the Jina Pārśvanātha, seated and surmounted by the usual snake-hood. The little sculpture, which is about 2 feet high, is carved in a black basaltic stone and seems distinctly old. The interstices between the rocks serving as sidewalls and the boulders are filled with bricks 9 inches square and 2½ inches thick. Close to the west of this is another small grotto containing a seated Jina in the conventional posture. As the Cihna engraved on the pedestals is effaced the Jina intended cannot be ascertained. Judging from the red-lead marks on these sculptures they seem to enjoy the orthodox attention of the pilgrims.

Descending from Bhīmbhār towards the temple a small rock-ground tank is passed, and near it two small images placed below a tree. They measure 1½ feet in height, and though damaged by exposure

SITE-PLAN OF KULUHA TĪRTHA.



are yet clearly recognized as representations of Jinas. The pedestal of one of them bears a short inscription of which, however, only **the date Saṁvat 1443** can be made out with any certainty.

A path skirting the western side of the little lake above described leads to the East Gate of the hill plateau. It opens a passage through a wall of similar construction to that on the west and is of identical dimensions. The outside facing of the wall consists of well-carved slabs, several of which measure above 5 feet in length. The eastern gate occupies a depression in the ridge, and as the latter soon rises both on the south and the north into cliffs presenting a precipitous face to the east, the wall which was intended to guard it, does not extend very far.

Retracing our steps from the east gate to the eastern end of the lake we strike the path leading to the sacred sites which the pilgrims visit on the higher portion of the east ridge. Here, close to the lake, is a small well-like fissure in the smooth rock, where rain water accumulates. It is worshipped under the name of **Suraj Kuṇḍ**. By the side of it lies the fragment of an image broken above the knees, which must have undoubtedly represented a Buddha or Bodhisattva. It measures 11 inches across the knees. The pedestal attached is 16 inches broad and represents a group of worshippers, bringing offerings. The outside panels are occupied by crouching lions. The interest of this little sculpture lies in the fact that it is the only trace of Buddhist worship I could find on the hill. That it is Buddhist is proved by the few words of the Buddhist formula still legible above the base.

Pārasnāth Temple. — Ascending then over an absolutely bare shoulder of rock for about 180 yards a small modern temple is reached called "Pārasnāth." It consists of a square cella, enclosed by *chunam*-covered walls which measure 14 feet outside, and is raised on a platform about 3 feet above the ground. On the south wall of the interior, which faces the entrance, is a small raised platform, which is covered with small bricks and stones. Above these can be seen fragments of a small Jina statue, which seems to have measured about 9 inches across the knees. According to the information supplied by the Purōhitas who accompanied me, common folk from the jungle villages of the neighbouring hills are in the habit of depositing stones at this shrine on their pilgrimage with a view to removing them again, if the object of their pilgrimage is attained.[45] Customs of a similar purport prevail at other Indian pilgrimage places known to me.

The little temple is said to derive its name from an image of Pārśvanātha, which was once placed in it. The high bulb-shaped dome which surmounts the shrine, shows so modern a form and the *chunam* with which it is covered is also in such good condition, that I do not think we can assign to the whole structure, as it now exists, a greater age than about a century. Yet the Purōhitas were unanimous in asserting that the builder or date of the temple were quite unknown to them, and that in their recollection it has always been in its present deserted condition. The name and style of the building afford clear proof that it was erected by Jainas, which agrees entirely with the facts to be recorded thereafter.

About 80 yards to the N.-E. of this deserted Jaina shrine there is a large boulder, the top of which forms a comparatively smooth and only slightly rounded platform. It is known by the name **Maḍava-Maḍai or Maṇḍava-Maṇḍai.** Here is shown a hollow about 3 feet square cut into the rock to a depth of about 4 inches, which is supposed to have been used as a **Vedi** or altar at a sacrifice of the epic king Virāṭa. Around it can be seen 9 round holes, each $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; they are explained as having been made to serve as sockets for the staffs which supported the "Maṇḍapa" required at

[45] I mention this point, specially because Babu Nand Lal Dey, who here as elsewhere took the Jina image for one of Buddha, has been led to give to the custom a signification which is quite foreign to it, and to base upon this further communications.

"I was given to understand," he says, "that whoever visits this temple throws a stone at the image [of Buddha]. This is very significant. If it ever be proved that the temples and other buildings of the Buddhist period of this place have been destroyed, ... it was certainly owing to Hindu hatred, and not to Moslem bigotry." Assumptions of this kind will not readily disappear as long as the historical text books ordinarily accessible to educated Indians continue to find room for theories about the forcible *extermination* of Buddhism unsupported by historical evidence.

the Pratiṣṭhā ceremony. Close to this spot there is a line of very shallow and now almost completely effaced Devanāgari characters engraved in the rock, of which only the letters संव (*saṁvat*) can be made out with any certainty. We have here evidently a mere *sgraffitto* of so e visitor. To the east of this spot is an oblong platform, supported by walls on which King Virāt is said to have celebrated the marriage of his daughter Uttarā.

The Daśāvatāra Rock-sculptures. — A steep ascent over boulders for about 250 yards in the direction of N.-N.-E. brings the pilgrim to a series of rock-sculptures known as the **Daśāvatāra.** They are carved on the perpendicular west side of a large fissured rock, in two groups. The one first approached shows in a deep continuous niche five seated relievo figures of Jinas, each $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 11 inches broad at the knees. Their modelling and carving is comparatively rude and affords no certain clue to their age. Below each figure is carved a relievo representation of a *siṁhāsana*, showing in the centre the *cihna* or characteristic emblem of the Jina intended. These lower relievos are cut very shallow and as they have in consequence much suffered by exposure only two *cihnas*, horse and elephant, are now recognizable. Above the third, fourth and fifth figures, from the left, there is seen a faintly incised *sgraffitto* in Devanāgarī characters, of which only the syllables *dra* . . . . *pu* can, however, be read.

A few yards to the north, and on a slightly lower level, the rock-face shows ten more relievo representations of Jinas of similar style and execution. Five, on the left, are seated and of the same dimensions as those described before ; those to the right are standing and measure $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet in height. All the figures have on their breast the usual diamond-shaped mark and are accompanied by small attendants holding chowrees. The Cihnas below these figures have either not been engraved, though there is room for them, or have completely worn away. Only crouching lions can be made out in the shallow relievos intended to mark pedestals.

From the rock of the Daśāvatāra the path leads up very steeply towards the summit of the hill. Before reaching the latter, and at a height of about 100 feet above rock-carvings just described, there are noticed foundations of ancient walls which must have originally formed a square of about 18 feet inside. The walls are exposed on the north, east and south, and consist of carefully placed ancient bricks measuring 11 × 8 × 2 inches. In the inside of the square a hollow has been dug out, apparently in a mound of loose stones. The west side is occupied by a flat mound of small stones, which is evidently artificial and rises fully 5 feet above the present level of the wall on the east. I was unable to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the object of this structure. It is certainly of ancient date, and cannot have had any defensive character, as the east scarp of the ridge at this point is quite inaccessible.

The Ākāśalocana Rock.— About 80 feet higher up the summit is reached over a series of large crags heaped up by Nature as if to form stairs. One large rock can be scaled only by means of shallow footholds cut into the smooth rounded surface. On the top of the highest crag, which is known as **Ākāśalocana,** there is seen a pair of footprints or *pādukās* cut into the rock to a depth of about half an inch. The toes, which are but slightly marked, face to the north ; the length of the footprints is 8 inches. There is no inscription or trace of ornamentation near these marks, and this fact, together with the simplicity of design, suggest that the carving dates from an early time. The footprints are described by the Purōhitas as those of Vishṇu, but in view of what we shall have to note thereafter, they are likely to have been originally worshipped as those of a **Jaina Tīrthaṁkara.**

That the hill must have in earlier days been a prominent Tīrtha for Jainas is made abundantly clear by the fact that apart, from an apparently modern image of Durgā in the temple first mentioned, which I could not see closely, and the Buddhist fragment already noticed, all sculptures on the hill, whether detached or rock-carved, represent **Tīrthaṁkaras.** Yet local information was unanimous as to the absence of Jainas among the present visitors of the Tīrtha.

Jaina tradition about Kuluha Tīrtha. — I should have been obliged to leave this interesting question unsolved had not the enquiries I subsequently made among the small Jaina community of

Patna helped me to a clue. The Jainas consulted, though otherwise well-informed of places of sacred interest for their sect, had never heard of Kuluha. But on going through a handbook for Jaina pilgrims which they showed to me, I came upon a notice, which showed that until recent times a tradition regarding this Tīrtha must have survived in some quaters. The little publication referred to bears the title of *Śr ītīrthamālā Amolakaratna*, and was printed in 1893 by Rana Narayan Pal, Tulapatti, Calcutta, from which place I was, however, subsequently, notwithstanding repeated efforts, unable to obtain a copy.

The handbook, which is written in Hindī and provided with a curiously primitive map, describes correctly enough the route from Gayā to Kuluha and mentions that the name of this place is given "in the *Śastras*" as "**Bhaddalapuranagara.**" "There the tenth Tīrthaṁkara, **Sītalasvāmin,** was conceived, born, received initiation, and obtained his enlightenment." The author refers to a temple which "was once adorned by an image," but states that the Tīrtha is now deserted.

I regret that other labours and my inability to consult competent Jaina ecclesiastics in Calcutta have prevented me from following up, in older Jaina texts, the indication here furnished. I have little doubt that those specially acquainted with medieval Jaina literature bearing on the subject of Tīrthas may be able to trace earlier references to the sacred site above described.

But even without awaiting the result of such enquiries, **the identification of Kuluha as a Jaina place of worship** is of considerable interest. We have here a distinct instance how, even with a sect so remarkably tenacious in its traditions and customs, a once well-known sacred site has become completely forgotten within comparatively recent times. In the course of my studies regarding the ancient topography of Kaśmīr it has been more than once necessary for me to re-discover, once famous but now entirely forgotten, places of pilgrimage solely by the means of antiquarian research. The instance of Kuluha shows that, even in parts of India proper, where the religious conditions of the population have undergone no marked change, we must reckon with such alterations of the *topographia sacra.*

I may add, in conclusion, that though everything points to Kuluha having been a place of special interest and attraction to the Jaina community, yet the worship of the site was probably always shared also by the mass of the Hindu population in the neighbourhood, just as we find indubitable evidence of the same peaceful condominium from early times at Rājgir, Girnār and many other well-known Tīrthas.

I returned to Gayā on the 28th October and used a short halt for visits to the most prominent of the shrines at this ancient Tīrtha. Descriptions of them have been given by General Cunningham, whose identifications of the sites mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims at and around Gayā seem in full agreement with the topographical indications. At Bōdhgayā I revisited the remains of the most famous shrine of Buddhism still extant in India, amply described in the publications of General Cunningham and others.

The Remains of Bakraur. — Crossing from Bōdhgayā the Lilājan River to the east I inspected at **Bakraur** the remains of a large *stūpa* which Gen. Cunningham had already correctly identified with the "*stūpa* of the perfume elephant" described by Hiuen Tsiang "to the east of the Bodhi Tree, crossing the Nairañjanā."[46] It forms the starting point for that portion of Hiuen Tsiang's itinerary, which we had followed above in the reverse direction from Giryek to the "Cock's-foot Mountain." The top of the mound, which rises to a height of 25 feet above the level ground, measures fully 153 feet from north to south, and thus shows the large dimensions of the original structure. The pool which the pilgrim mentions to the north of the "**Gandhahastī Stūpa**" I was unable to trace, but at a distance of about 500 yards to the south-east of the *stūpa* there are the remains of a large tank marked by ancient embankments. On the north bank of this tank stands now the temple of **Mataṅga,** one of the numerous Tīrthas visited by the Gayā pilgrims.

The remaining few days of my vacation were devoted to an examination of the famous caves of Aśoka and Daśaratha in the Barābar hills, north of Gayā, and the ancient remains in their neigh-

[46] *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 138.

bourhood, as well as to a brief visit to Patna, the ancient Pāṭaliputra. In regard to the former sites, which have also been fully dealt with in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, I can restrict myself to a few observations concerning their ancient topography.

It has been duly noticed before that the **Caves of Barābar,** notwithstanding their connection with a family famous in Buddhist annals, have not been mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. This circumstance is easily accounted for by the fact that the site possessed no special interest for Buddhists. An illustration of this is afforded by the dedicatory inscriptions of Aśoka's Caves, which, as we now know, specially record the offer of these cave-dwellings to mendicants of a non-Buddhistic sect (Ājīvikas).

Siddheśvara Hill. — A further indication may be found in the fact that the highest of the Barābar hills is occupied by a shrine sacred to **Siva Siddheśvara,** which has a distinct claim to considerable antiquity. This temple, to which General Cunningham only briefly refers,[47] is still the object of an extensive pilgrimage from the neighbouring tracts. The present structure, which seems to have undergone numerous changes, rests on an ancient basement measuring 17 feet on the east side, where it is still well preserved. It there reaches to a height of 5 feet 2 inches from the ground, and is constructed of only three courses of large granite slabs, some of them over five feet in length and 1½ feet thick. This basement projects in the centre by 6 inches for one-third of its length and is decorated with a remarkably bold moulding which indicates its antiquity. The upper portion of the temple contains also numerous carved slabs, which must have been taken from some earlier structure, but the greatest part is so thickly covered with *chunam* that a close examination is impossible. It appears, however, that the original building consisted of a square cella of the dimensions indicated by the well-preserved east basement.

It has been suggested by Mr. Beglar that the hill occupied by the Siddheśvara temple is identical with the great mountain of dark-coloured rocks, on which a small *stūpa* about ten feet high marked the place where Buddha had entered into meditation.[48] No trace of the *stūpa* can now be found on the hill of Siddheśvara. Yet its relative position to another site mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang in the neighbourhood, which I believe Mr. Beglar to have quite correctly identified, favours the above suggestion. Hiuen Tsiang describes a monastery "to the north-west of the mountain 30 *li* or so, on a declivity of the mountain; it is flanked by a high precipice, and the lofty walls and towers stand up in intervals of the rocks." The position here ascribed to the monastery, with which Budddhist tradition connected a legend of the Buddhisattva **Guṇamati,** agrees most accurately with that of the ruins near the village of **Dharāvat,** about 4 miles by road to the north-west of the Siddheśvara Peak. The ruins which occupy the steep slope of a rocky ridge facing a great tank to the north, had been described already by General Cunningham, whom, however, their identity with Guṇamati's monastery had escaped.[49] His and Mr. Beglar's accounts make it unnecessary to notice this interesting site in detail. It may, however, be mentioned that the destruction of the remains by the villagers excavating for old bricks has since proceeded considerably and is likely to efface soon the last traces of the lofty terraces and buildings, which once occupied the picturesque hill-side down to the edge of the water.

My two days' visit to Patna was mainly devoted to a rapid inspection of the sites which Col. Waddell's highly successful researches have shown to be of special importance for the study of the topography of ancient **Pāṭaliputra,** the capital of Aśoka. In view of the fact that the results of Col. Waddell's prolonged explorations and of the excavations begun on his initiative is about to be published in a full report, it would be presumption to detail here the observations which my short visit permitted me to make. They entirly confirmed the opinion first advanced by that scholar as to the remains of the old city being preserved in all probability deep down in the alluvial ground south of the old river-bed known as **Gunsar.** The excavations which have already yielded some very interesting results, if carried on under the supervision of a competent archæologist on the spot, are likely to bring

[47] *Arch. Survey Rep.*, i. p. 42.

[48] *Arch. Survey Report*, viii. p. 36. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 103.

[49] *Arch. Survey Rep.* i. p. 53 *sq.* A brief marginal note from General Cunningham's hand in the copy of Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, which I obtained on the sale of his library, shows that the veteran scholar had accepted this identification.

to light conclusive evidence as to the exact position of the various structures and sites described by the Chinese pilgrims. In the meantime, I hope, the impressions gathered by a personal inspection of the great Gangetic site will assist me when dealing with the ancient topography of Magadha in the publication which my Introductory remarks referred to. * * *

In concluding this account of my short tour in Magadha I feel it a pleasant duty to record my sincere obligation for the manifold assistance I received from the local authorities. I owe the advantages thus accorded to me mainly to the kind offices of Mr. E. W. Oldham, I. C. S., Collector and Magistrate of Gayā, who, himself deeply interested in the history and antiquities of South Bihār, spared no effort to facilitate my movements and enquiries within the short time at my disposal.

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX. p. 387.)

Hand. — A bright open brass hand tops the saddle of many Neapolitan cab-horses and a small hand in gold, coral or silver open, or with horned and figged fingers, guards many a Neapolitan girdle and watch chain.

The hand wards the evil glance not because it is a symbol of the Almighty or an emblem of justice[12] or a type of the Prophet Muhammad and his first four successors in the post of calipha or viceroy. But because the hand is one of the greatest guardians, the hand is the chief of weapons and of tools, the great bread-winner, a sign-centre among early tribes more useful than the tongue. Open brass hands with a hanging eyelet were amulets against the Evil Eye in use among Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks and Romans.[13] Perhaps the oldest sign of luck is the open red hand on the wall of the Dordogne cave in Central France. American Indian chiefs had the mark of an open red hand woven into their robes. In India, a red right hand may be seen stamped on the festive shoulders of both Hindus and Musalmâns. In Europe, the red hand has been raised to honour as the sign of the British baronet, of the Province of Ulster, and of the Sultan of Constantinople. Among Hindus the carved hand is worshipped as the sign of the *sati* or pure widow [14] Both Musalmâns and Christians have been able to continue hand worship, Musalmâns by, among Sunnis, treating the thumb as the Prophet and the four fingers as his four successors; and among Shiahs as the Prophet, his daughter the Lady Fatimah, her husband Ali, and her two sons Husein and Hasan. Christians have continued the worship of the hand either by making the open hand the sign of power and justice and so of the Almighty or by considering the hand with three stretched fingers a symbol of the Trinity.[15] The guarding power of the hand is increased by making it take certain shapes. Of these shapes the Italians recognise and employ three. The fig-hand, *manu fica* (supposed to be of phallic significance), that is, the thumb tip pointing down and grasped between the first and middle fingers. Among the Romans and western Latin nations this gesture was known as

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[12] The Egyptian hand of Justice was the left hand. According to Apuleius (A. D. 150) in the procession of Isis the fourth noble carried the emblem of Justice, the left hand, with the palm open, which on account of its natural inactivity and its being endowed with neither skill nor cunning has been judged a more fitting emblem of Justice than the right hand.

[13] Examples are figured in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 241.

[14] According to King (*The Gnostics*, p. 222 and note 1) the Brâhmans considered the open hand an emblem of the *argha* or *yoni*.

[15] Compare the sixth century mosaic from Ravenna in north-east Italy figured as No. 107 in Mr. Elworthy's *Evil Eye*, p. 243, and the hand raised in ecclesiastical blessing with the thumb, first and second fingers outstretched. The Gipsies say :— "When the Golden Hand shines out of the clouds over two lovers it means good luck." See

the fig-hand because the fig is phallic. The name fig-hand is in use in Italian, Spanish and French, and, though the name is not used in Germany and England, the gesture is understood.[16] Like other evil-scaring gestures to thrust forward the fig-hand against any one was a gesture of abuse since it implied that the person against whom the sign was made was, or was haunted by, an evil spirit.[17] A second guardian hand in south Italy is the horn-hand, *manu cornuta,* witd the first and fourth fingers straight, and the thumb, middle and third fingers bent to the palm and clasped by the thumb.[18] A third guardian hand, the priest's blessing hand, has the thumb and the first and middle fingers straight and the third and little fingers doubled. This hand which is worn at watch chains is a pre-Christian amulet.[19] It is called *manu pantea* or combine hand because on it are collected many guards against the Evil Eye. The interest of this combine hand, like the south Italian earthen-ware discs covered with close-packed guardian shapes, is that the figure of each guardian, whether painted, carved or embossed, adds his share to the virtue of the whole. The rude but clear focusing of virtues on these hands and discs shows how, under more elaborate management, the greater deities have gathered to themselves local guardians and inheriting the fame of the local guardians have continued them as symbols. Like the pantea or all-focusing hand, rural guardian influences leaving their homes in stream, stone, tree and beast centred in one human shape which gathering to itself every influence became Pan or All.[20] Another guardian use of the hand was to shoot out the middle finger, doubling the others back into the palm. The middle finger so shot out was either a phallus or a horn. It came to be called the *infamis*, that is, the ill-famed, or the *impudicus*, that is, immodest finger, because shooting it against any one implied that the person shot against was a devil or was possessed.[21]

Honey. — As the early man's food, as a source of liquor, and as a healer, honey has a virtue which secured it an early place among the protectors against the Evil Eye.[22]

Theodore Watts' "The Dukkeripen" in Myer's *Poets of the Century*, p. 270. The Moors carved an open hand over the great gate of the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra in Spain. Figured in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 246. According to Bassett (*Legends and Superstitions of the Sea*, p. 14, and Frontispiece) the Arabs did not always think of the hand as a guardian influence. They said any ship venturing on the Atlantic was stopped by the huge hand of Satan rising out of the water to seize them.

[16] Compare Dean Ramsay's *Reminiscence*, quoted below. The Talmud (Jewish) variety of the fig-hand is to place the thumb of the right hand in the left hand and the thumb of the left hand in the right hand. Compare (Schwab's *Talmud de Jerusalem*, p. 456) : — "If in entering a city you fear the Evil Eye place the thumb of the right hand in the left hand and the thumb of the left hand in the right hand and say, 'I am of the race of Joseph on which the Evil Eye has no effect.'" Here the phallic thumb seems to be considered as a spirit-home rather than as a spirit-scare, and so the thumb was veiled to prevent evil spirits entering through it.

[17] The practice and the meaning of 'shewing the fig' among the Italians of Greater Greece suggests an explanation of the Greek *sukophantes* literally fig-shower but meaning sycophant or tale-bearer. The ordinary explanation that the hateful character got its name from informing on persons who evaded the duty on figs is admitted to be a maning-making of little more value than a pun (compare Liddell and Scott's *Greek Dictionary s. v.*). The South Italian practice of shewing the fig — that is, the fig-hand — to keep off an evil influence, suggests that the sense of the word *sukophantes* or fig shower is the man who forces one to show the fig, that is, either a *phallus* of fig-wood or the fig-hand.

[18] In a Ravenna sixth century mosaic the Almighty is shewn as a hand piercing the clouds, the first and fourth fingers pointed as in the *manu cornuta.* See Fig. 113. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 265. Fig. 115 (*op. cit.* p. 267) shews a Hindu goddess with the right hand in the *manu cornuta* attitude.

[19] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 300.

[20] These details illustrate two laws: (*a*) that the virtue of charms grows by massing them: (*b*) that the local guardian, losing his individuality as a healer and saver, merges into the younger wider-ruling deity and thus, under the title of symbol, secures a dim and doubtful continuance of worship. In connection with these two laws it may be suggested that such merged local guardians are called symbols, that is, things thrown together, because by those who have the spread of the religion at heart as many as possible of the earlier local guardians are merged in the new guardian, so that together they may supply the attributes and draw the worshippers required to secure steadiness to the newly established throne.

[21] Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 11, says: — "The most popular antidote to the Evil Eye in Italy is a little coral hand with one finger stretched out, the hand of Saint Jennaro, with which the shops at Naples are full. These charms are specially in request whenever Vesuvius is in a state of eruption."

[22] Compare Story's *Castle of St. Angleo*, p. 206.

Horn. — The horn, the glory and the guardian of so many of the nobler animals, would raise in men an early feeling of worship. To this respect experience added the healing virtue of horn in cases of spirit-possession, burnt, soaked into hartshorn or drunk in fine scrapings to drive out a witch-sent spirit.[23] These two sources of worship have combined to make horn a leading scarer of evil spirits all the world over. Among the Romans a horn was the symbol of good luck, *bonus eventus*. Macrobius (A. D. 350) says:— "Nothing is so powerful to avert evil as horn."[24] The horn of plenty is a widespread amulet among the peoples both of northern and of southern Europe.[25] Perhaps from its value as a sudorific and therefore an antidote to the feverishness caused by the breathless and parching Scirocco wind horn has gained and kept in South Italy the highest place among guardians.[26] A hand grasping a horn forms one of the nine elements in the compound Neapolitan amulet the *cima-ruta* or ruespray.[27] In South Italy, the word horn of itself drives off or prisons the evil glance. The name horn is given not only to the ox horns that guard crofts, fields, dwellings and vegetable shops[28]; to the ram and goat horns that save the stock of the wine-seller; to the stag or if possible elk horns that guard the stores of the grocer and druggist; and to the natural horns miniatured in coral, gold, silver, mother-of-pearl and lava and worn at the girdle or watch chain. The name horn is extended to crab and lobster nippers, to cock spurs, to the claws of birds and to the teeth of animals including tigers' teeth and boars' tushes. Even horse-shoes, half moons, and shapes probably originally phallic are known as horns. Finally the favourite Neapolitan guardian hand, the first and the little finger stiff and the middle and third bent to the palm and clasped by the thumb is known as *manu cornuta*, the horn hand.[29]

As in the case of the Hand and the Horse-shoe the virtue of horn amulets and charms has been traced to their being symbols of the horns of the Moon and so connected with the worship of Diana perhaps with the worship of Isis. But as has been noticed above the virtue of horn passes behind the symbol stage and has an unborrowed guardian power as the protector of animals and as the healer of sickness. Horn is honoured in countries where neither the name of Diana nor the name of Isis has ever been known. It may not be safe to say that the belief in the guardian virtue of animal horns is older than the belief in the guardian virtue of the moon's horns. Still it seems safe to say that the origin of the two beliefs is distinct and that the iron horns and crescents found among the Ashantees in West Africa are in origin unconnected with moon worship and represent the brow and horns of an ox, a favourite and widespread crop-guard and scare.[30] That in the high religion of Egypt

[23] Compare Murray's "Handbook of Spain" in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 23, note 43.

[24] Neville Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*, p. 58. In Ladakh, in Central Asia, ram's horns are fastened to fruit-trees. Trees so guarded yield wonderful crops of fruit. In North India, pieces of jackal and antelope horn are worn to keep off the Evil Eye. Crooke's *Popular Religion of Northern India*, Vol. II. p. 36.

[25] Compare Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 872. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 263.

[26] The scrapings and raspings of the horns of the common male deer are used in decoctions: hartshorn jelly is nutritive and is given in diarrhœas, the white earth made from calcined hartshorn is used in dysenteries: and to lighten labour pains. the salt of hartshorn is a great sudorific and is given in fevers with success. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Hartshorn." Horn is largely used as a medicine in India, New Guinea, Madagascar, and South Africa.

[27] Neville Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*, p. 54 Mr. Rolfe compares (*op. cit.*) Zedekiah (2 Chronicles, xviii. 10) presenting the king of Israel with horns of iron in token he would win if he went to battle to Ramoth Gilead.

[28] Is the horn of an ox of the homestead which Homer's fisher casts into the sea as he lets down with a long rod his baits for a snare to the little fishes below, merely a bob or float or does the floating horn keep off the evil influences which might hinder the fishes taking the baits? Butcher and Lang's *Odyssey*, Book XII.

[29] The horn hand keeps off the risk that attends the mention, even the thought, of an ill-omened person. Compare Crawford's *Saracinesca*, p. 210: — "The old Marquis made the sign of the horns with his forefinger and little finger as though to protect himself against the sinister influence invoked by the mention of the hated Count Spicca." The sense of the widespread saying, that an injured husband should wear horns, seems to be the husband's special need of protection against the Evil Eye. Its glance would naturally effect a lodging in one so faint-hearted as the nature of his misfortune shows the husband to be.

[30] The Ashantee field crescents are figured (No. 88) in Elworthy, *The Eye, Evil*, p. 215. The tribes of the West Nile keep the Evil Eye from their crops by sticking the bleached skull of an ox on the end of a pole. Berghoff, *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1st, 1899, p. 2. The same practice prevails among the wilder tribes of Western India.

early local crop-guarding animal horns may be assimilated as moon-horns and symbols of Isis illustrates the special interest of the study of the Evil Eye, namely, that the charms and amulets are worn from their personal and original virtue against evil influences and not from the dim and reflex honour of being symbols of some elaborate far-reaching faith.[31]

Horse. — Three experiences combine to make the horse a leading guard against the Evil Eye. To horse-owning peoples his willing strength, intelligence, spirit and devotion make the horse a guardian of the higher or self-sacrificing type. Among tribes to whom the horse is strange his size, power and fury make him a fiend requiring and rewarding the process of squaring. To all who have dealings with the horse his nervousness, his delicacy, his liability to strange sweatings and other sudden sicknesses shew that the horse is a favourite home for spirit-influences and that against such influences he requires special protection. In most countries of Europe a horse-head is a favourite scarf pin or other personal decoration.[32] A brass rearing horse is a common guardian on a Neopolitan saddlebow. The sense is, the horse is a favourite Evil-Eye house and this shining, capering collar-horse draws the Evil Eye and saves from its influence the horse on whose collar it gleams. Again, the horse is a scare because the horse is a guardian. Horse-heads and stuffed horses ornamented the approaches to early German places of worship and to Tartar tombs.[33] Besides his value as a servant and instrument the horse, to the tribes who knew him well, was a healer. Among the Romans a horse-tooth kept evil influences from a teething child, his foam cured itch, earache, galls and women's diseases, the ashes of his dung staunched blood and healed sores, and horse urine mixed with the water of a forge cured madness.[34] In England, to pass a child under the belly of a piebald horse cures whooping cough.[35] In Ireland, a wound heals if the wounded part is put in a horse's mouth.[36] In India, one sickness or form of possession the horse is believed to cure is barrenness.[37] Of the class of horse-worshippers who reverence the horse because he is strange to them the early tribes of India, the American Indians, and the people of the Solomon Islands are examples.[38] To those who are familiar with the horse, its nervousness and liability to sudden sickness and sweating make the horse seem a specially favourite spirit-home and therefore to require particular protection. It is perhaps because climatic influences affect their horses with sudden sickness, like the stroke of the land wind so harmful to horses in some parts of India, that the Neapolitans are specially careful to guard and adorn their horses.

Horse-shoe. — The horse-shoe combining the guardian virtues of iron, of the horse, and of the hoof of the horse whose parings burnt or soaked are not less sovran against spirit-possession than hartshorn, is an universal guard against the Evil Eye.[39] In England (1660), it was common to nail

[31] Similarly the corner brass-plated wooden horns of the Jewish altar (Exodus, xxvii. 2) and the stone corner horns in classic altars seem to have their origin in such animal horns as adorn and guard local shrines in India, Afghanistan, Beluchistan and Persia. Compare Crooke's *Popular Religion of Northern India*, Vol. II. p. 255.

[32] King, *The Gnostics*, p. 158. (Among Greeks and Romans) the horse's head was a favourite device for signets. King considers the horse-head as a *memento mori*, and compares the death head so much in fashion in Cinque-cento jewellery. The value of both horse and death heads seems to be neither symbolic nor moral but as spirit-homes.

[33] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 630, notices how ruling a belief was the worship of the horse among Celts, Teutons and Slavs. The respect continued in the practice of hanging horse-heads about stables to keep off night hags and cattle plagues. It remains in the carved horse-heads on the roofs of dwellings in Saxony.

[34] Pliny, *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chaps. 11, 16, 17, 19: Book xxx. Chap. 16.

[35] Henderson's *Folklore*, p. 143.

[36] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 430.

[37] Compare Crooke's *Popular Religions of Northern India*, Vol. II. p. 207. The horse's power to cure barrenness seems connected with the belief held by Indian Musalmâns that the horse is the pure male, *pakha marad*, that is, that the horse is the only male animal who has no bodily signs of the union in him of the two sexes.

[38] Horse worship is notable among the hill tribes of Gujarât and the early tribes of the Central Provinces who own no horses. Compare Hislop's *Tribes of the Central Provinces*, pp. 3, 7, and 21. The American Indians to whom the horse was a stranger at once worshipped Cortez' horse as the god of thunder (Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 483). In 1898 the first horse was brought to the Solomon Islands. The horse was towed ashore over a coral reef with immense difficulty. The Natives shewed the greatest dread of the gigantic creature and could not be induced to go near it. Soon the horse became unmanageable and wandered at will, a terror to the neighbourhood. A month or two after arrival, to the intense relief of the Natives, the horse died. *Solomon Island Report*, 1898-99, in Scotsman, 9th November 1899.

[39] In Ireland the hoofs of a dead horse were held sacred. Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 305.

horse-shoes on the thresholds of doors to prevent witches entering the house.[40] In Somerset, horse-shoes are still fastened over house doors to prevent a witch overlooking a house.[41] In Italy, a horse-shoe is worn on the watch chain along with a coral or metal horn to guard against the Evil Eye.[42] In the case of the horse-shoe as in the case of horn the value of the study of the Evil Eye is that the articles which control the influence of the Evil Eye owe their worship to their antique and personal virtue as guardians and not to any borrowed lustre which their crescent shape may seem to draw from being a symbol of the Moon. The value of the horse-shoe passes behind the late stage of religion when all crescent shaped guardians are grouped under the crescent spirit which again is made a symbol of some later and more general deity. Such shapes as the horse-shoe, even when absorbed as symbols, bring their guardian virtue with them : they do not draw their guardian virtue from the deity to which they are attached as symbols or attributes. It follows that in his relation to earlier local guardians the younger deity is a compound amulet which, under the name of symbols, emblems and attiibutes, draws to itself the virtues as well as the worshippers of earlier and more local guardians.

Hunchback. — The hunchback or gobo is a popular protector against the Evil Eye in South Italy, either as a four-inch brass figure on cab or cart horse saddles or as a minute image in silver, coral, mother-of-pearl or lava fastened to the watch chain or girdle. Hunchback figures were worn as amulets in Egypt and Phœnicia and are now worn in Constantinople.[43] The Indian belief, probably an early belief, is that the cause of a child having a hunchback is that some spirit has taken a fancy to the child before or after birth and making his abode in the child disfigures it so that no human may be tempted to fall in love with the child and rob the spirit of the child's affections. In return for the possession of his loved dwelling the spirit in the hunchback sees that no ill-luck befalls the child's home. Some rich families in Bombay believe they owe their success to the luck of having a hunchback child. The hunchback *Punch* has a spirit-lodger who supplies his special stores of wit and wisdom. The gambler before entering the gaming house loves to touch the hump of a hunchback that any ill-luck in the gambler may pass into the hump. It is because the hunchback is a favourite spirit-home that a small image at the watch chain or girdle turns the evil glance from the wearer to itself. The image supplies the wearer with the protection which in former times the company of his dwarf secured to the king.

Hyæna. —The skin from a hyæna's brow is worn in Italy to keep off the Evil Eye.[44] His mad laughter, his fondness for graveyards, his odd appearance, his dislike of the light combine to make the hyæna seem possessed. The Buda blacksmiths of Abyssinia were supposed to turn into hyænas.[45] The natives of the Egyptian Soudan fear to shoot a hyæna lest they should commit a murder.[46]

Incense. — In Italy, the fumes of incense are used to cure the Evil Eye.[47]

Iron. — The importance of iron as a charm has been noted in a previous paper. The unique spirit-scaring power of iron is shewn by the dread and dislike of iron attributed to even the highest guardians.[48]

Key. — The key is an old amulet shewn in miniature in the Bologna Etruscan museum.[49] In Scotland, a key is still applied to the back of a child's neck to stop bleeding at the nose. The root of the key's virtue is probably its guardian power as a tool and as the protector of what is closed. Its shape would add a phallic virtue. In the higher religions the key became a symbol of the greater guardians to whom belong the openings of life and death. Isis, Diana, Ianus, and St. Peter hold keys. One of the nine elements in the Neapolitan child's charm, the rue-sprig or *cima ruta*, is a key.[50]

40 Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, p. 140. 41 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 218. 42 *Op. cit.* p. 220.
43 *Op. cit.* p. 331. 44 *Op. cit.* p. 21. 45 *Op. cit.* p. 28.
46 Berghoff in *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1st, 1899. 47 Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 206.
48 Useful notes on the spirit fear (including the guardian fear) of iron are given in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 222.
49 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 353. 50 Neville Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*, p. 54.

Mask. — The Romans hung little masks, *oscilla*, of Bacchus on trees to keep off the Evil Eye.[51] Some Etruscan vases are studded with grinning masks.[52] The favourite mask of the ancient Romans and Greeks was the Gorgon or Medusa face, at first terrible, dripping gore, with snake tresses, a nightmare of hate and pain; then through the glamour of the sixth and fifth century smile, passing to a face of sadness and beauty, the tresses sometimes snaked, sometimes plain, sometimes twisted in horns.[53] That the meaning of the Medusa's face on Athene's buckler was neither ornament nor to turn enemies into stone, but to house or prison influences that might annoy or damage the deity, is shewn by the ever-recurring Medusa head in Etruscan (B. C. 1200-200) funeral monuments and over Etruscan house doors to keep away evil spirits.[54] The beautiful Medusa faces carved on the bucklers and graves of many of the imperial statues (A. D. 300) in Rome and Naples were likewise to guard the wearers against evil influences, as were the Sunface and other badges that marked and guarded the Roman legions.[55] With the history and interest of the Medusa face in Western Asia and in East and South Europe the history and interest of a guardian human face in India closely corresponds. These guardian faces are found all over India and their use extends in time from the earliest rock-cave or part Greek remain (B. C. 250) to the latest Brâhmanic, Jain or other Hindu temple or public building. The guardian face has many names: *Kirtimukh*, that is, Rumour or Fameface; *Singhmukh*, Hornface; *Sinhmukh*, Lionface; *Suryamukh*, Sunface. These faces vary in character. The Rumour a round fierce human face and the Sun a round kindly human face may owe some of their character to Greek or Roman influence. But the Lion and Horn faces with horns, goggle-eyes and fierce open mouth and tushes that curving sideways mix with whiskers and pass into flowing festoons of spray and leaf seems a local fancy rising from the tree through the animal to the human. These faces look out coarse and ugly from the roof-tree and eave ends of modern Hindu temples. But they gain interest and refinement in the Jain temples of the seventh to the eleventh century A.D., filling the ceiling corners, which unguarded are so apt to become a haunt of evil spirits, embellishing the flat keystones of the cross-cornered domes, and grinning or frowning from belts round the richly carved temple shafts, from the paved floor at the entrance doors, and from the slab in front of the shrine door. In all these positions, though the usual answer is that the Horned Head is for show, an occasional priest or worshipper more intelligent or more outspoken will furnish the true explanation, namely, that the horned head is carved in those places to keep off evil spirits or to keep off the

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[51] Virgil Georgics, Book II. v. 389 :—"To thee, Bacchus, soft (that is, waxen) masks hang from the lofty pine." The phallus was similarly hung to guard fruit-trees. Elworthy (*The Evil Eye*, p. 148) suggests that *masca* may be *basca* or phallus with the general sense of amulet. According to Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1045) :—"In the old German laws the notion of a sorceress and a mask meet. *Striga quod est masca*, a witch which is a mask.' Grimm (*op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1082) would refer the word mask to the Italian *maschera*, masticate, because the witch devours children.

[52] Compare the Anubis Vase figured in Dennis, *Cities of Etruria*, Vol. II. p. 318.

[53] Valuable information and figures of the different Medusas are given in Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*. Compare the tusked lolling-tongued Etruscan Gorgoneion. Dennis, *Cities of Etruria*, Vol. II. p. 221; also Vol. II. pp. 441-443.

[54] Miss Margaret Symonds, *The Story of Perugia*, pp. 271, 273, 275. Miss Symonds says (p. 273) — "The Etruscans commonly used the Medusa to keep away evil spirits. Her face is usually calm and often lovely." In one instance it is calculated to strike terror as well as admiration. Dennis (*Cities of Etruria*, Vol. II. p. 343) notes in the inner chamber of a tomb near Chiusi a wall painting of a hideous mask or Gorgon's face with tongue hanging out. In the case of the Medusa as in other instances the scare was also the house. Both in the European Medusa and in the Indian Fame Face the open mouths and staring squint eyes of certain of the masks are to house rather than to scare. Compare Figs. 39 and 40 in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 148.

[55] According to Mr. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 178, these badges were to defeat the glances of the enemy. In addition the brilliant badges of the legions would draw to themselves and so imprison not only the evil glances of the foe but the crowd of ancestral spirits that came to help the hostile army and also the spirits of the spells which the enemy's sorcerers had woven against the legions. King (*The Gnostics*, Plate X. cut 5, and p. 223) figures a Gorgon's Head with the legend "I protect Rhoro mandares" (some Persian or Armenian). He adds :—"This inscription is most important as it explains why the Gorgoneion is so frequent a personal decoration, being reputed the most efficacious of amulets."

Evil Eye.[56] In addition to the Horn heads and other building protectors, the mask figures in two important branches of Hindu worship in their temples and in their homes. In most temples the leading image is of stone, and on certain great days over the stone face is drawn a metal mask of brass, silver or gold according to the sanctity of the day or the wealth of the shrine. Metal masks are also common among Hindu household gods, some kindly and smiling to represent the leading guardians, others savage and fierce night-mares in brass to house some dead and hostile member of the family who causes them terror and sickness.[57]

Milk. — Story mentions milk first among articles used in Italy to overcome the Evil Eye.[58]

Mirror. — It has been said above that the shadows in mirrors caused fear to those to whom mirrors were strange but that mirror-shadows ceased to cause fear when they were seen to be mere surface reflections. This view is correct in drawing a contrast between the mirror and the eye. Still, even after its newness ceases to cause dread, the mirror has an interest and a virtue as a spirit-home. Spirits go into the mirror, the home of reflections and shadows, and are housed and contented. Again, the mirror may be filled with the guardian sunlight and flash like a search-light and scare evil influences. In Northern and Western India, fragments of mirror are worked into women's robes, and by flashing the blessed sun scare evil influences. Thumb rings have a piece of mirror set in them to house and to scare. In Scotland, mirrors are veiled after a death: in Bombay, among both Hindus and Musalmâns, mirrors are veiled at night. In both practices the sense is to prevent evil spirits passing into the mirror. The interest of these practices is their earliness, the feeling that even if housed the influence does not become guardian but remains hostile and dangerous.

Monkey. — In China, monkeys are kept at the entrance to cattle sheds to keep off the Evil Eye.[59]

Mouth. — The mouth as the chief entrance is a leading home and prison for evil influences. Among the Classic Greeks and Latins masks with open mouths, with or without lolling tongues, were leading evil traps. The importance attached to the open mouth appears in the Italian stones carved into front human faces and with an open mouth the whole known as *boca* or mouth. Holed stones which are hung near windows to keep off the Evil Eye in the villages near Amalfi in South Italy are called *pietro bocata* or mouthed stones. It is the same belief that evil influences are drawn to them and do not come out again that makes holed stones lucky in India, in England, and over most of the world.[60]

Nail. — From its material which gives its control over spirits and from its imprisoning the evil spirit which has been passed into it when it is driven into some sacred tree or building an iron nail, even the word *defigere*, drive (a nail) home, is a leading guardian against the Evil Eye.[61]

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56 With the Indian foliage-tushed and leafy-whiskered Horn Face compare in Taormina, a Greek (B. C. 600-200), a Roman (A. D. 100-400), and later (1000-1400) a Saracenic-Norman town, about thirty miles south of Messina in Sicily some curious carved heads. One of these in a palace in the south-west corner of, the cathedral square probably of the early seventeenth century a puff-cheeked goggle-eyed face with open grinning mouth. And from each corner of the mouth a tusk circling into horn-like points with other tushes stretching sideways and passing into festoons of sprays and roses. Also bearing the balcony of a handsome perhaps fifteenth century dwelling on the south side of the Corso Umberto caryated human heads with blown cheeks and goggle eyes and horns with open, mouth and lolling tongues all notably like Indian heads. A remarkable flowing whisker and leaf head is carved over the entrance to a mediæval palace in Girgenti in South Sicily.

57 With the mask as a home of the Hindu dead compare in Chiusi in Etruria (Tuscany) in Italia the ashjars or canopi with a human head as a lid which according to Dennis (*Cities of Etruria*, Vol. II. p. 308) were rough likenesses of the dead.

58 Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 206.

59 Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 58.

60 Compare Aubrey, England (1630) (*Miscellanies*, p. 140):— "A flint with a hole in it hung from the manger keeps the night hag from riding horses."

61 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 329. Compare the scraping of a witch above the breath and the scraping of the gum in toothache by a nail as a means to get into the nail the familiar of the witch and the gnawing tooth-worm.

Numbers. — In South Italy, the lucky numbers 3, 7, 8 and 9, even if spoken, keep away the Evil Eye.[62] Besides the guardian powers of certain numbers, cards with combinations of numbers are worn because like patterns they puzzle and hold the Evil Eye.

Onion. — The onion is one of the charms worn in Italy to keep off the Evil Eye.[63]

Palm. — In Southern Italy, palm leaves blessed at Easter are burnt to keep off the Evil Eye.[64]

Phallus. — The phallus shares with the eye the first place among guardians against evil glances. Like the little masks of Bacchus phalluses made of fig wood were hung from fruit-trees to keep off the Evil Eye. Among the Romans and Greeks one favourite form of amulet, hung from the necks of children, was a phallus or the phallic hand, that is, the thumb tip caught between the first and the middle finger.[65] A phallus was hung from the triumphal car to guard the conqueror. In Italy, Sicily, Greece and Egypt, the phallus was carved on walls to keep off the Evil Eye.[66] It was a favourite scare and symbol among the Egyptians, the Phœnikians, and the Etruscans. In India, the phallus or *liṅgam* is perhaps the widest worshipped and most important of guardians, whether as a temple, a shrine or a family god, or worn round the neck or upper arm as an amulet. In the form of the Satirica Sigua it is shown over blacksmiths' shops in Pompei.[67] The high importance of the phallus as a guard against the Evil Eye among the Greeks and Romans is shewn by its name *baskauos* or *fascinum*, that is phallus, meaning evil-scarer, as if the phallus was the fascinator that outfascinates the Evil Eye. Among the Romans evil effects were prevented by merely saying the word *fascinum* or *præfiscine*. In a play of Plautus a young man who praises a girl's beauty is reminded that to his praise he should have added the word *præfiscine*.[68] The sense seems to be that the word *fascinum* or the phrase *præfiscine*, beware of the *fascinum*, is addressed to any evil influences that may have been tempted to seek a lodging in the beautiful girl. In a somewhat similar way Germans avert from themselves the ill effects of selfboasting by the phrase *unberufen*, you (spirits) are not wanted. The difference between the force of the words *præfiscine* and *unberufen* is that the Roman *præfiscine* is of itself enough to scare evil influences since it embodies the word *fascinum* before which no spirit can stand, while to be effective the German suggestion, you are not wanted, must be backed by a table-rapping accompaniment, an early music from

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The nail with the evil influence in it should then be driven into an oak. Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, p. 138. Compare also the value of the nail into which as into the cross the spirit of the crucified was believed to have passed. In Republican Rome at the close of each year the spirit of the dead year was nailed into the wall of the temple of Janus. In India, nails are driven into the threshold to prevent the return of the angry dead.

[62] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 404.

[63] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 21.

[64] Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 10. The use of palms to keep off danger is noted by Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XIII. 9, 2. It is because the palm is a guard against the Evil Eye that winners in games and warriors in triumphs were given a palm, since the time of triumph is the time of special danger from the Evil Eye. Greek ladies in the dangerous time of child-birth guarded themselves from evil influences by holding a palm branch. Starke's *Travellers' Guide*, 1833, p. 78, note 1.

[65] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 150. The shape of the babies' coral keeps the shape of the old classic fascinum, the Priapic symbol. *Op. cit.* p. 429.

[66] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 155. In Pompei, an occasional phallus indicates the superstition of the Evil Eye. A tavern has a large phallus towards the street to avert the Evil Eye. Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy*, pp. 208, 212. Dennis (*Cities and Countries of Etruria*, Vol. II. p. 119, and footnotes) holds that the object of carving the phallus on city walls was probably to guard against the Evil Eye. The old Etruscan city walls give numerous examples, also tombs in Etruria, Naples and Sicily. The Pelasgians worshipped the phallic Hermes and introduced his worship into Greece.

[67] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 154.

[68] Andrew's *Latin Dictionary*. Præfiscine; Ainsworth, *Op. cit* Ainsworth's reference is Plautus' Rud. 2, 5, 4, and Plautus' Asin. 2, 4, 84. He translates *præfiscine*, "give me leave to say" or "I may say it in a good hour." He quotes from a Latin author. Before praising our forefathers said *præfiscine*. This word warded envy or fascination. It was an old opinion that one who praised himself over freely or being present was overpraised ran a certain risk of fascination *(fascinum)*.

whose sounds fiends flee.[69] The origin of the power of the phallus to turn aside the Evil Eye has been traced to the mirth-provoking element in the indecent. Plutarch[70] (Greece, A. D. 150) says the efficacy of objects that keeps off witchcraft depends on their strangeness and ridiculousness which fixes the mischief-working eye on themselves.[71] That the strange and the ridiculous attract spirits may be admitted. At the same time many of the articles which to the philosophic and modern-minded Plutarch seemed strange and ridiculous were early guardians and spirit-prisons, whose early worshipfulness was forgotten. Elworthy refers to the phallus as a comic amulet and quotes Dodwell in support of the view that its oddness is what makes the indecent useful.[72] Still, like the eye, the horn and the horse the original connection of the phallus with the Evil Eye belongs not to the time when the indecent was considered comic but to the early stage of thought when the phallus was considered a great guardian home.[73] That there is nothing indecent or mirth-provoking in the early worship of the *phallus* is shewn by the solemn and decent ritual connected with the accepted worship of the Indian *liṅgam*.[74]

Prayers. — A chief safeguard in Naples against the Evil Eye is to invoke the aid of Nemesis, that is, vengeance, whose earlier characteristic was envy.[75] Other prayers which help to turn the evil glance are the good prayers of those who do not gaze with admiration on or bepraise others: and the blessing of those who wish to inspire courage.[76]

Rites. — Under the head of rites for turning aside the Evil Eye may conveniently be brought the rule of doing something unpleasant so as to dissemble good fortune. In Greece and Rome and in Modern Italy, to do something unpleasant saved from the Evil Eye.[77] The doing of something unpleasant is a form of the device of belittling, which is so useful a counteractive to the poison of admiration. To avoid the risk caused by admiration the Hindu mother calls a boy who is born after several children have died Stone or Dirt-heap or Girl, so that the hostile spirit who has slain his brothers may think it not worth his while to attack the new child. In England, in caressing children, scamp, rascal, witch and devil are used in the tenderest tones. Mr. Story[78] suggests that this abuse has its origin in an old faery dread. He compares the abuse with the Corsican practice of applying to children the word rascal and outcast. The Corsicans explain the abuse by saying that children are open to fascination if they are blessed or praised. Indian parents who mark their infants' faces with lamp-black when they take them out of doors and Egyptian Muslim parents who dress their children meanly or smear their faces with dirt to lessen the risk of the Evil Eye conform to the same rule.[79] Other cases of belittling are at Roman funerals the practice of mixing satire and ridicule with the praises of the dead,[80] and at triumphs of seating a slave beside the conqueror reminding him of death. Also among northern nations the fool making fun of the king.

(To be continued.)

69 Rapping on wood is a spirit-scaring music. In Italy, before A. D. 550, when bells were first set in Christian Churches, the sacred or scaring noise was made by beating wood. In Thibet, the spirit-scaring instrument at Buddhist monasteries is a wooden gong.

70 Symposium, V. 7, in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 143.

71 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 148.

72 *Op. cit.* note 247. King (*The Gnostics*, p. 116) adopts the view that the diverting is the best guard. He adds: — "For such an end could anything serve better than the strange absence and unlikely to be exposed phallus?"

73 Among Hindus one of the family dead lives in the house *liṅg*; some warrior or murdered man or woman live in the shrine *liṅg*; some ruler or high priest and his hosts of followers live in the temple *liṅg*.

74 Elworthy (*The Evil Eye*, p. 137) figures a man squatting and shewing his bare back; this he notes as an instance of the comic indecent being useful against the Evil Eye. The more correct explanation of such figures seems to be that the back parts, the *os sacrum* or holy bone, like other private parts, were held to have a guardian virtue and so scared the Evil Eye. The Italian sailor shews his bare back to stop a contrary wind (Bassett, *Legends of the Sea*, p. 142). The insult attaching to the exposure of the back or other private part, like the sense of other abusive words and attributes, is that the person, before whom the parts are exposed, is considered as an evil spirit or as haunted by an evil spirit.

75 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 21.

76 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 21.

77 Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*.

78 *Op. cit.* p. 160.

79 *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 193.

80 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. III. p. 53.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

Raktapura.

THIS town is mentioned in some inscriptions on stone at the Jain temple called Śaṅkhabasti at Lakshmêshwar, — the head-quarters of the outlying tâluka of the same name of the Senior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâr district, — which purport to register charters issued by the Western Chalukya kings Vikramâditya II. in A. D. 735, and Vijayâditya in A. D. 730, and Vinayâditya in A. D. 687.[1] And I have said that **Raktapura** appeared to be another early name of Lakshmêshwar itself.[2]

But the first two passages both assert that Vikramâditya II. and Vijayâditya, respectively, made certain grants of land (at Lakshmêshwar) for the benefit of the Jain temple, — called Śaṅkhatîrthavasati in one passage and Śaṅkhajinêndra in the other, — of the city of **Pulikaranagara,** when **their victorious camps were at the town of Raktapura.** Here, we have **Lakshmêshwar** mentioned by its usual ancient name **Puligeṛe or Purigeṛe,** in the Sanskṛitised form of **Pulikaranagara.**[3] It would be somewhat unusual that it should be mentioned by a second name also in the same passages. It is not necessary that, for the kings to grant lands situated at Lakshmêshwar, their camps should be either at that town or anywhere in that neighbourhood.[4] And Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary gives *raktâ* as equivalent to *lâkshâ,* with the same meaning as *alaktaka.* My opinion, therefore, now is that **Raktapura** is simply another form of **Alaktakapura,** equivalent to **Alaktakanagarî** ; that is to say, that it was another name for the modern **Aḷtêṁ,** about twelve miles east-north-east from Kôlhâpur.[5]

The Kôgaḷi country.

The earliest mention that we have of this territory is in the Nîlgund inscription of the time of the Western Châlukya king Taila II., dated in **A. D. 982.**[6] The record speaks of a certain Kannapa or Kennapa, who, by the favour of Taila II., had been ruling parts of the Banavâsi province, namely, the Beḷvola three-hundred and the Purigere three-hundred,[7] and **"the land (that had the name) commencing with Kôgaḷi."** And, in editing it, Prof. Kielhorn quoted a suggestion, made by me, that the word Kôgaḷi might perhaps be a mistake for the Keṅgaḷi of other records, the chief town of a five-hundred district. At

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[1] Vol. VII. above, p. 110, the third part of the record, lines 61 to 82, and p. 112, the second part, lines 28 to 53, and the fourth part, lines 69 to 87.

[2] *E. g., Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 304, note 6.

[3] The Sanskṛitised forms Purikarapura and Purikaranagara — (with *r* in the second syllable) — occur, the former in the spurious Sûḍi grant (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 180, text line 67), and the latter in a Baḷagâmi record of A. D. 1098 (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 243, note 3). It seems worth mentioning that, while the older form of the name occurs, indifferently, as Puligeṛe or Purigeṛe, and while — (with the usual change from *p* to *h*) — Huligere occurs freely in the later records, I cannot quote a single case in which we have Hurigeṛe, with the *r* in the second syllable combined with *h* in the first.

[4] For instance, the Vakkalêri plates of A. D. 757 record the grant by Kîrtivarman II. of a village in the Hângal tâluka, Dhârwâr district ; but, when he made the grant, his camp was at Bhaṇḍâragavittage on the river Bhîmarathî, which is the 'Bhundarkowteh' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), on the Bhîmâ, in the Shôlâpur tâluka of the Shôlâpur district, in lat. 17° 27′, long. 75° 44′, about twenty miles south-west from Shôlâpur. And again, when, in A. D. 915, the Râshtrakûta king Indra III. granted the villages of Tenna and Umbarâ in Gujarât, he was at Kurundaka (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc* Vol. XVIII. p. 268) ; and Kurundaka is the modern Kurundwâḍ near Kôlhâpur.

[5] See Vol. XXIX. above, pp. 274, 277.

[6] *Ep. Ind* Vol. IV p. 204.

[7] These two districts are spoken of in this record as "the two three-hundreds," — in a verse, in Sanskrit. The more customary expression of this kind, in Kanarese prose at any rate, was "the two-six-hundred," meaning "the two three-hundreds which together made up a six-hundred ;" see, for instance, Vol. XII. above, p. 271, text lines 7, 8.

that time, however, I was not aware of the other references to the Kôgaḷi country which I now give.

One of them is in an inscription of **A. D. 1071** at Baḷagâmi in Mysore.[8] Here, we have (line 33 ff.) a verse in the somewhat unusual Akkara metre, which runs :—

Eseva **Kôgaḷi-nâḍ**=oḷagaṇa **Tumbigeṟeya** mûḍaṇa sîmey=oḷage
Mosalemaḍuvina paḍuvaṇa sîmeyo[ḷ=N]âgêśvaraṁ Svayaṁbhû-niḷe(ḷa)yaṁ ।
jasada **Balipuravaradoḷ** Yôgêśvaraṁ Hariharâdityaṁ Vâssayanan=emba
pesara dêvaraṁ dêvâleyaṁgaḷaṁm=mâḍisidar[9]=Ggunagalla-dêvar ॥

Translation : — "Guṇagaḷḷadêva founded (a temple of) Nâgêśvara (?) and an abode of Svayaṁbhû within the eastern boundary of **Tumbigeṟe** in the beautiful **Kôgaḷi country** and in the western boundary of **Mosalemaḍu,** and temples of the gods named Yôgêśvara and Hariharâditya and Vâssayana (*i. e.* Vâḥśayana, Vishṇu) at the famous **Balipura** (Baḷagâmi) the best of towns."

The other is in an inscription of **A. D. 1108** at Dâvaṇgere in Mysore.[10] Here, we have (line 21 ff.) a verse in the Utpalamâlikâ metre, which runs :—

Kôgaḷi-nâḍoḷ=aggada **Kadaṁba**-disâyarad=âgaraṁgaḷoḷ
dêgulakaṁ Jinâyalayakav=âravegaṁ keṟe bâvi satrakaṁ ।
râgade tanna pannayada suṁkadoḷaṁ daśavannav=ittan=i-
nt=â garam=uḷḷinaṁ negaṟḷda(ḷda) Bamm-arasaṁ guṇa-ratnad=âgaraṁ ॥

Translation:— "In **the Kôgaḷi country**, in (*various*) places or abodes of the pre-eminent region, the best of regions,[11] of **the Kadambas,** the famous Bammarasa joyfully gave the *daśavanna*[12] on the whole of his own customs-duty of the *pannaya,*— to continue as long as that tax[13] should last, — for a temple and a shrine of Jina and a garden, and for a tank, a well and an alms-house."

The fact that **the Kôgaḷi nâḍ** is thus mentioned in these two records at Baḷagâmi and Dâvaṇgere without any indication that it was a distant country, is a hint that it was somewhere not far from those two places; and the second record perhaps locates it, at that time, in **the Noḷambavâḍi province,** since it describes Bammarasa or Barmarasa as a *Mahâmâtya* and *Achchupannâyadadhishṭhâyaka* or superintendent of the customs-duty called *achchupannâya,*

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[8] My *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,* No. 159; and see Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions,* p. 145. — The name of the metre, Akkara, is specified in the original. For some schemes of the Akkara metres, see the Rev. F. Kittel's edition of *Nâgavarman's Kanarese Prosody,* p. 102 ff. The present verse appears to be a Piriy-Akkara, or "great Akkara," though it seems not to answer quite exactly to the scheme there disclosed.

[9] Read *dêvara dêvâlayaṁgaḷaṁ mâḍisidar.*

[10] *P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 137; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 18. The metre here distinctly marks the vowel of the first syllable of the name Kôgali as long.

[11] *Disâyara* is plainly equivalent to *diśâvara.*

[12] *Daśavanna* seems to be the same as the modern *dasavanda* or *daśavanda,* which has been explained by Mr. Rice as meaning "land granted to a person for repairing or building a tank, on condition of paying in money or kind one-tenth or some small share of the produce" (*Mysore,* revised edition, Vol. II. p. 547), or "land granted at one-tenth of the usual rates to a person in consideration of his constructing or repairing a tank" (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12). But here it seems to have more the meaning of one-tenth of the proceeds of the *pannâya*-customs. — In the word *pannayada,* the vowel of the second syllable seems to be only shortened by metrical license. Lines 15, 17, and 33 of the same record use, in prose, the usual form *pannâya,* with the long *â.*

[13] The word *âgara,* or that combination of *aksharas,* occurs three times in this passage. In the first place, it is the *tadbhava*-corruption of *âgâra,* 'a house, a dwelling, a place.' In the third place, it is the *tadbhava*-corruption of *âkara,* 'a mine.' Here, in the second place, we must find a third meaning; and we must evidently divide, and take *gara* as used more or less justifiably (to suit the *prâsa*) for *kara,* 'tax,' — *â garam,* = *â karam,* "that tax:" the grant could, of course, only last as long as Bammarasa himself should continue to manage and receive a share of the *pannâya.*

who was "governing" or managing the *pannâya*-customs of the Nolambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand by the command of the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, *Mahâpradhâna*, *Bhâṇasavergaḍe*, and *Daṇḍanâyaka* Anantapâlayya, a high official of Vikramâditya VI. And, with that hint as to the neighbourhood in which to look, coupled with the actual occurrence of the name **Kôgaḷa** within a reasonable distance, it is easy to identify **Mosalemaḍu** with the modern **Râgî-Mosalawâḍ**,—the 'Raggy Mosalwaud' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 59 (1828), in lat. 14° 36′, long. 75° 57′, — a town or large village in the Harpanhaḷḷi tâluka of the Bellary district, about ten miles almost due north from Dâvaṅgere (the 'Dâvankaira' of the map), and **Tumbigeṟe** with the **modern village of the same name**, — the 'Toombegerry' of the map, — two miles on the west of Râgî-Mosalawâḍ.

Kôgaḷa, a large town or village in the Hûvina-Haḍagalli tâluka of the same district, is shewn in the same map in lat. 14° 56′, long. 76° 13′, twenty-eight miles to the north-by-east from Râgî-Mosalawâḍ. If it does not actually represent **the ancient capital** of the Kôgaḷi *nâḍ*, it at any rate preserves the name of the ancient district.[14] And **the Kôgaḷi country** may now be identified with the Hûvina-Haḍagalli and Harpanhaḷḷi tâlukas of the Bellary district, with perhaps also the inclusion of some territory more to the east, as Kôgaḷa is on the east bank of the river Hagarı.[15] It lay immediately on the south-east of the Beḷvola and Purigeṟe districts. And the boundary-line was, doubtless, the river Tuṅgabhadrâ, as at present.

The Kaṇiyakal three-hundred district.

The **Kaṇiyakal three-hundred district** is mentioned in the inscriptions of A. D. 1064 and 1072 at the Jaṭiṅga-Râmêśvara hill in the Moḷakâlmuru tâluka of the Chitaldroog district, Mysore.[16] And the general purport of the first of these records places it **in the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand province.**

The records register grants that were made for the god Râmêśvara of the Balgôṭi *tîrtha*, meaning, of course, the place where there stand the two shrines near which the records are. By the first record, there was granted a village named **Kiṟiya-Ḍâkivaḍuvaṅgi** in the **Ḍâkivaḍuḷuṅke seventy** in the **Kaṇiyakal three-hundred.** And by the other there was granted the village of **Baṇṇekal** in the **Kaṇiyakal three-hundred.**

The Jaṭiṅga-Râmêśvara hill is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 59 (1828) as 'Jetting Ramishwar,' in lat. 14° 50′, long. 76° 48′.[17] **Kaṇiyakal**, the town from which the three-hundred district took its name, is evidently the '**Cunnacull**' of the same map, the '**Kaṇakallu**' of the Madras Manual of the Administration, Vol. III. p. 766, and the '**Kaṇêkallu**' of Mr. Sewell's *List of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 112; it is in lat. 14° 48′, long. 77° 8′, on the

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[14] Mr. Sewell tells us (*Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. pp. 107, 109), that there are remains and inscriptions at both Kôgala and Râgî-Mosalawâḍ. — He has written the first name with the ordinary *l*, Kôgala; but we are probably quite safe in substituting the *ḷ*, from the ancient spelling. — As regards the other name, he has written it Masalavâḍa, with the vowel *a* in the first syllable; but I think I am safe in substituting *o*, from the Indian Atlas, endorsed as it is by the ancient record. As to the components of the name, — *râgi*, 'the *raggy*-grain,' is of course a modern prefix, probably adopted to distinguish the place from another Mosalawâḍ, twenty-one miles almost due north of this one; *maḍu* is doubtless the Kanarese word, which means 'deep water, a deep place in a river, a pool,' — (the map shews a large tank at Râgî-Mosalawâḍ, with others on the stream that feeds it), — and why it should have passed into *vâḍa*, 'a town or village,' is not apparent; *mosale* is perhaps a variant of *mosale*, *masale*, 'an alligator, a crocodile.'

[15] I have not at hand any map that shews the eastern boundary-line of the two tâlukas in question, separating them from the Kûḍligi tâluka. — The Hagari river, mentioned here, is not to be confused with the Chinna-Hagari or 'Janagahully' river which skirts the south-east corner of the Kûḍligi tâluka, or with the large river Hagari or Vêdavatî which flows through the Bellary tâluka.

[16] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 212, 214.

[17] In the preliminary edition of the revised quarter-sheet of the same map, N. W. (1895), the name has been omitted.

west bank of the Hagari or Vêdavatî river, in the Râydurg tâluka of the Bellary district, Madras, — twenty-two miles east-half-south from the Jatiṅga-Râmêśvara hill. And Baṇṇekal is, no doubt, the '**Bennacul**' of the map, six miles on the north of 'Cunnacull.'

Of the other two place-names no traces can be found in the map, whether with or without the Dâki and Kiṟiya-Ḍâki, which seem to be prefixes representing the names of the founders of the villages.[18]

Taḍigaipâḍi; Daḍigavâḍi.

The Chôḷa records mention among the conquests of Râjakêsarivarma-Râjarâja I., whose reign commenced between the 25th June and the 25th July, A. D. 985,[19] a country the name of which is presented in them in the various forms of **Taḍiyavaḷi,** in a record of his fourteenth year,[20] — Taḍivaḷi, in a record of his sixteenth year,[21] — **Taḍigaipâḍi,** in a record of his seventeenth year,[22] — and **Taḍîgapâḍi,** in a record of his twenty-ninth year.[23] It is always mentioned in connection with the well known Gaṅgavâḍi and Noḷambavâḍi countries. And Dr. Hultzsch has told us that most of the inscriptions of Râjarâja I. give the name of it in the form of **Taḍigaipâḍi.**[24]

We can now identify this country with a territory named **Daḍigavâḍi,** which is mentioned in an inscription at Koppa, on the Śimshâ river, — brought to notice by Mr. Rice, and referred by him to "? about 1060 A. D.," — in the Nellikere or Nelligere hôbḷi of the Nâgamaṅgala tâluka in the Mysore district.[25]

The record, which is a short one in praise of an ascetic named Goheyabhaṭṭâraka, uses the expression "Noḷambavâḍi and **this Daḍigavâḍi.**" This plainly places **Koppa itself,** which is sixteen miles towards the east-south-east from Nâgamaṅgala, **in the Daḍigavâḍi country.** And we have another trace of the name of the country, with another village to be located in it, in the name of the modern **Daḍaga,** in the same hôbḷi, — the 'Dudga' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 60 (1828), — a village, with a fairly large tank, about ten miles towards the north-north-west from Nâgamaṅgala. There are records at this place. And one of them,[26] referred by Mr. Rice to "? 1400 A. D.," gives its original name as **Daḍiganakeṟe,** and claims antiquity for it by describing it as an *anâdiy-agrahâra,* "an *agrahâra* that never had any beginning, an *agrahâra* that had existed from time immemorial."

It seems, at first sight, rather curious that the Chôḷa records should mention the conquest of Daḍigavâḍi in addition to the conquest of Gaṅgavâḍi and Noḷambavâḍi; because, the Gaṅgavâḍi country being a ninety-six-thousand province, one would expect that it would include the whole of southern and eastern Mysore outside such portions of it as were included in the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand. We know, however, that the numerical components of the ancient territorial names greatly exaggerated the numbers of the cities, towns, and villages in the provinces and districts.[27] We must evidently accept **the Daḍigavâḍi country** as a **well** established division of Mysore, which is at least not necessarily included whenever mention is made of the Gaṅgavâḍi country. And, looking to the two villages which, as pointed out above, were plainly in the Dadigavâḍi country, and to the general topographical features, we may probably define it as a territory which was **bounded on the east** by the Śimshâ, — **on the south**

[18] We have Ḍâki in the form Ḍâkarasa in the illustration to Kêśirâja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa,* sûtra 62 (Mr. Kittel's edition, p. 75).

[19] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 24.

[20] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 6.

[21] *Ibid.* p. 105.

[22] *Ibid.* p. 11.

[23] *Ibid.* p. 24.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 5.

[25] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ng. 67; and see Introd. p. 13: for the proposed date, see the translation.

[26] *Ibid.* Ng. 35; and see Introd. p. 13: for the proposed date, see the translation.

[27] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 298, note 2; also, Vol. XXIX. above, p. 277, note 18.

by the Kâvêrî, from where the 'Simshâ joins it on the east to where the Hêmâvatî joins it on the west, — and on the west by the Hêmâvatî, up to about the point between Hoḷe-Narsîpur and Channarâyapaṭṇa where that river, flowing from the west, turns to the south. Probably the northern boundary left the Hêmâvatî there, and, following more or less the course of the northern boundaries of the present Krishṇarâjapêṭ and Nâgamaṅgala tâlukas, ran to the 'Simshâ in the neighbourhood of Nellikere. And this would make the territory consist of a well defined area, comprising the present Krishṇarâjapêt, Nâgamaṅgala, Maṇḍya, Seringapatam, and Maḷavaḷḷi tâlukas of the Mysore district. Whether it may be extended any further to the north, remains to be seen when the records of the Hassan and Tumkûr districts are available for examination.

There is, no doubt, a connection of some kind or another between the Daḍigavâḍi territory and the name of the fictitious Daḍiga, whom the legends, embodied in the eleventh century A. D. in the full Purâṇic and pseudo-historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakâd, would place in or about the second century A. D.[28] But we can hardly imagine that this territorial name, the existence of which is taken back to at any rate about A. D. 1000, was derived from the name of an imaginary person whose alleged existence is first put forward by a record dated three quarters of a century later. However, for the present we need only point out that, just as Gaṅgavâḍi means "the country of the Gaṅgas," and Noḷambavâḍi means "the country of the Noḷambas," and Raṭṭavâḍi means "the country of the Raṭṭas," so Daḍigavâḍi seems to clearly mean "the country of the Daḍigas," and that the word *daḍiga* has the meaning of 'a man who bears a club, staff, or cudgel.' We can carry the word back, as a personal name, to just after A. D. 794, in the case of a certain Daḍigarasa, who was governing a *nâḍ* or district, in which was Guḍigere (within the limits of the Dhârwâr district), under a Gaṅga named Mârassaḷba (and in Sanskrit Mârâśarva) who just at that time was claiming to exercise paramount sovereignty in that part of the country.[29] And it is possible that that Daḍigarasa may have been the original of the fictitious Daḍiga. This, however, is all that can be said at present on that point. For a later time, an inscription at Sûḍi, in the Rôṇ tâluka of the Dhârwâr district, mentions, with the date of A. D. 1113 or 1114, a certain *Mahâsâmanta* Daḍigarasa, son of Guṇḍarasa, who was descended from Lôkarasa, of the Bâlivaṁśa, lord of the Daḍigamaṇḍala country.

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.F.L.S., M.R.A.S.

No. 15. — The Too-punctilious Brahman.[1]

A MOST punctilious Brâhmaṇ once accidentally trod on a leaf that had been used as a plate. "Alas, alas, what have I done?" said the Brâhmaṇ, and proceeded at once to journey to Kâśi (Benares) to expiate the sin he had committed.

On the road he met a 'Sûdra, of whom he enquired his destination. "I am going to Kâśi," said the 'Sûdra. "So am I," said the Brâhmaṇ, and they began to journey together. At the first halting-place the 'Sûdra went to the *bâzâr* and purchased half a *sêr* of rice and two pice worth of *ghî*. He cooked his rice and fried some *rangapodi*[2] he had with him, and was soon in a deep and long sleep

[28] See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 309 ff.

[29] See an inscription at Gudigere, which will shortly be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI.

[1] [Stories against the Brâhmaṇs are as common in the South as in the North of India. Indeed, there would seem to be everywhere a silent under-current of exasperation against the tyranny of caste, of which the Brâhmaṇs are the impersonation. — ED.]

[2] To make *rangapodi*: take some dried prawns, chillies, garlic, and salt and reduce the whole to powder in a mortar.

after his customary bath and meal. The Brâhmaṇ also went to the *bâzâr*, where he purchased rice, pulse, *ghî*, chillies, salt and turmeric and set to work to cook. But his ceremonies were so many that when the Śûdra had awakened from his sleep he was still at his meal. At last, after much cogitation, the Brâhmaṇ asked the Śûdra how it was that he managed to get through his cooking and meals so rapidly. "O it's all on account of the *rangapodi* which my mother made for me," said the Śûdra. "What is *rangapodi*," said the Brâhmaṇ. "Well, you had better try it," said the Śûdra, and thereafter the Śûdra was careful to let the Brâhmaṇ have a ladleful of *rangapodi* at every meal. The Brâhmaṇ was delighted with so savoury an addition to his food, and by and by the *rangapodi* gave out. So the pair started off to the *bâzâr* to get some ingredients for more. The Śûdra led the way to the Bestîwâḍi,[3] where dried fish of all sorts were kept for sale. "What a stink!" said the Brâhmaṇ, "why have you come here?" "For prawns for the *rangapodi* of course," said the Śûdra. "Prawns for the *rangapodi*," exclaimed the Brâhmaṇ in great horror. "What have I been eating? For merely treading on a used dining-leaf I started to journey to Kâśi, and here have I been eating prawns! O fate, fate!" And he parted company with the Śûdra, with a vow to eat no food for three days as an expiation for his fresh sin.

On the third day he felt extremely thirsty, and begged a betel-nut from an old woman he saw working at a spinning-wheel. She took one from her wallet and threw it to him. The Brâhmaṇ put it into his mouth and broke it between his teeth. "Well, you must have teeth of iron," said the old woman, "I got that nut at my wedding. I and my husband, my six brothers-in-law and all their wives have tried our teeth on that nut and have never been able to break it." Here then was yet another sin, for which the Brâhmaṇ determined to go without food for a further day and a half.

Continuing his journey the Brâhmaṇ reached a city, and after buying some rice and pulse and his other necessaries, asked where the Bapanamma[4] resided. A house was pointed out to him and he went there and asked the woman to cook his purchases sharp, as he was very hungry. When the most welcome meal was finished he saw a barber's case of instruments in the house and at the same time quite unsuspectingly asked the Bapanamma where her husband was. "At the palace," she replied. Then it flashed upon him that he had been directed to the barber's house and had taken his meal at the hands of the barber's wife! "O what have I done now? Surely Sani[5] is pursuing me. This sin is greater than the others. I must make all the haste I can to reach Kâśi and wash them all away."

So the Brâhmaṇ put his best foot foremost and soon reached the holy city one morning very early. Now, he had no intention of paying the heavy fees demanded for purification in the usual form, and so he took his way to the opposite side of the river and began his dippings and devotions at an unfrequented spot. It happened that just at that hour and at that spot a large number of people were consigning to the holy river the ashes of a cremated Madiga.[6] At the same time his wife was to be formally made a widow. But out of the river arose the Brâhmaṇ. "Your husband come to life again," said the astonished people. "How fortunate!" "Nonsense," said the Brâhmaṇ, "I am not her husband." But it was of no use. The people were not to be robbed of the miracle, and the widow was not going to lose her chance of being restored to the comforts of life: and thus the poor Brâhmaṇ was carried off in triumph to the woman's house, where the marriage-booth was erected and before he

[3] Bestîwâḍi is the the street where the fishermen live.

[4] Bapanamma, a Brâhmaṇî: one who will look after stray Brâhmaṇs. The point in the tale is that he was not understood and the barber's house, because the owner's wife was named Bapannamma, was shown him.

[5] Sani, the god of ill-luck.

[6] Madiga, a shoe-maker: being workers in leather the caste is a very low one.

knew where he was the *mangalasûstra*[7] was tied round the woman's neck and they were man and wife. Thus the end of the Brâhmaṇ's scruples was that he had to become a Madiga.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 79.)

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[7] *Mangalasûtra.* A circular piece of gold *(tâli)* is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom, and this action completes the marriage ceremony, the marriage being thereafter indissoluble.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

DATE OF BUDDHA'S NIRVANA.

THE date of the *Parinibbana* or demise of Buddha has been long since fixed, with very considerable probability, by Prof. Max Müller His date for this event, on which much of the chronology of Buddhism depends, is 477 or 478 B. C. (*Hist. Sansk. Liter.* pp. 262-300).

In the *Mahavanso* we are told that Aśoka summoned the great Buddhist Council of Pâtaliputra in the 17th year of his reign. At the close of that Council the Thero Majjhantiko deputed two theras, Sona and Uttara, to the Sowanabhûmi country. In the Kalyâni inscriptions of Pegu—dating from 1476 A. D.— the arrival and success of these missionaries is related, as in the *Mahávañso*, adding —"Thus was religion established in this country of Râmaññadesa by the two Theras in the 236th year that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinibbana by the Sammasambuddha."[1]

Now Aśoka's reign is generally assumed to date frim B.C. 260, and his 18th year—when the missionaries might arrive in Burma, would coincide with 242 B C. If now we apply 236 years to this, we have 478 B. C. for the date of the Nirvâna, as derived by Prof Max Müller from the chronology of the Hindu rulers previous to Chandragupta. The Burmese date is probably derived from the Singalese chronology inthe *Mahávanso*, which place 236 years between the landing of Vijaya and the accession of Devanampiya Tishya, but it antidates the latter event by about 65 years as compared with Aśoka's council determined from Chandragupta's time. The interest of this is that it supports what has been derived from other date,—upsetting the Singalese date from Singalese sources.

The period between Buddha's Nirvâna and Aśoka with his contemporary Devanampiya Tishya, has been filled up with Vijaya and his successors in six reigns and an interregnum. this must be regarded as constructive chronology The period only has been derived from Indian sources.

Walagrambâhu was restored to the throne. and the doctrines of Buddhism first reduced to writing in Ceylon, in the 217th year after the mission from Aśoka. This date must have been about 25 B. C. and not, as has been assumed, 88 B. C. How much further the error in Singalese chronicle continues should be investigated.

JAS. BURGESS.

A SANSKRIT EPIC TEXT SOCIETY.

AT the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Rome, in October 1899, the proposal printed below was laid before the members of the Indian Section. At the instance of Col. Temple a Committee was formed which decided

[1] Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John, in *Acts du Congrès, Inter. Paris*, 1897, Sect. I. p. 226.

(i.) that it was desirable to found a **Sanskrit Epic Text Society,** (ii.) that its first work should be an edition of **the Mahâbhârata in the South-Indian recension,** (iii.) that a sub-committee be formed consisting of Col. Temple, Sir Raymond West, Profs. Bendall, Eggeling, Rhys Davids, Dr. Fleet, and Dr. Hoernle, who are to act in concert with Syed Ali Bilgrami, the representative for India, and with Dr. Winternitz of Prague, the author of the scheme. **It is in the hope that the scheme may find warm friends and supporters in India, especially in the South that we give below in extenso the 'Proposal' presented to the Congress in** No. 3 of its 'Bulletins.'

A Proposal for the Formation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society laid before the Indian Section of the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Rome, in October 1899.

At the last Congress of Orientalists in Paris, I read before the Indian Section of the Congress a paper on the **South-Indian Mahâbhârata MSS.** in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in which I tried to show that these MSS. represented a distinct recension of the *Mahâbhârata*, which students of the Hindu Epics could not afford to neglect.

I have since published, in the *Indian Antiquary* (March, April, May 1898), an analysis of some portions of the *Âdiparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*, contained in two of these South-Indian MSS. An Analysis of the *Sabhâparvan* according to one Malayalam MS of the Royal Asiatic Society's Collection, and one Telugu MS of the India Office will shortly be published in the same *Journal*. In my paper on **the Âdiparvan** I was able to point out **important omissions in the South-Indian MSS.**, which made it more than probable that certain passages at the beginning of the *Mahâbhârata*, found in our editions, are later interpolations. In the **Sabhâparvan**, on the other hand, **the Malayalam MS. offers a much fuller text than our editions,** containing a considerable number of chapters of which there is no trace in our texts. Many of these additions differ, as regards their style and language, so little from other parts of the text, that if they happened to be included in our Bombay or Calcutta editions, they would undoubtedly be considered to be as genuine and as old as the bulk of the accepted text of the *Mahâbhârata*. The Telugu MS. does not share all these additions; in fact, it represents a text which on the whole has more in common with that of the Northern editions than with that of the Malayalam MS.

But the materials, which have so far become accessible, are by no means sufficient to enable us to form a clear idea of the exact relations of the South-Indian recension to the Northern text. This much, however, is clear even from the few extracts from South-Indian MSS. hitherto published, that the text of the *Mahâbhârata*, as found in our Bombay and Calcutta editions, is an utterly insufficient basis for critical researches concerning the great Hindu Epic, and that **the text on which all Mahâbhârata studies have hitherto been founded, is not the text but only one of the texts of the Mahâbhârata.**

When Protap Chandra Roy published his popular edition of the *Mahâbhârata*, he was blamed by a Paṇḍit of Southern India for having published an edition which was "sadly defective in the text," and which was detrimental to the religious interests of the people of Southern India "as many portions supporting the Advaita and Vasishṭha-advaita doctrines, but unfavourable to the Śakti worshippers of the North, had been omitted." The Paṇḍit complained that "many verses quoted by the great philosophers of the South in support of their respective doctrines, are not to be found in Mr. Protap Chandra Roy's edition." These charges, which are extremely characteristic of the way in which native Hindu scholars look upon the text of such books as the *Mahâbhârata*, were answered by Mr. Protap Chandra Roy, who pointed out "that there could be no edition of the *Mahâbhârata*, howsoever carefully edited, that would please scholars of every part of India," He declares that he is quite willing "to consult any approved manuscript of Southern India," but concludes by saying: "The fact is, the divergences of manuscripts are so great that it is perfectly impossible to produce an edition that could at once satisfy both Âryavarta and Dakshiṇâtya."[1]

Now, **what we really need,** and what seems to me to be the *sine quâ non* for historical and critical researches regarding the text of the *Mahâbhârata*, is **a critical edition** which should neither satisfy the people of Northern India nor those of the Dekkhan, but which should satisfy the wants

[1] See the covers of Part XXIX (1887) of Protap Chandra Roy's Translation of the *Mahâbhârata*.

of Sanskrit scholarship. I repeat what I said at the last Congress in Paris, that "a critical edition of the *Mahâbhârata*, made by European scholars according to the principles followed in editing any other important text, is wanted as the only sound basis for all *Mahâbhârata* studies — nay, for all studies connected with the epic literature of India."

Yet such an edition must, for a long time to come, remain a pious wish. For there can be no doubt that an actual critical edition of the *Mahâbhârata* is at the present moment out of the question, inasmuch as the preliminary work necessary for such an edition has never yet been begun. Nay, it may even be doubted whether a critical edition, in the ordinary sense of the word, will ever be possible of such a work as the *Mahâbhârata*. But what is certainly possible, and what cannot be delayed much longer if *Mahâbhârata* criticism is to lead to any satisfactory results, is to collect **all the meterials necessary for textual criticism — to collect and collate any old and original MSS. of the Mahâbhârata found in different parts of India — to compare the text or texts offered by MSS. and editions with that used by the different commentators.** We should at least be able to say of any important passage whether it is found in all the different versions of the *Mahâbhârata*, or only in some of them. And where there are different versions of one and the same passage, if we cannot say which was the original one, we should at least be able to compare all the existing versions with one another. More especially, the text of the old Bengali MSS. (of which Dr. Soerensen has given us a specimen), and that of the South Indian MSS. ought to be made generally accessible.

Such a thorough investigation of all authentic MSS. of the *Mahâbhârata*, is a task far beyond the power of one single scholar, even if he devote ed to it all his time and energy. What is wanted in order to accomplish it, is a division of labour on a large scale. And this division must be a systematic one The work to be done must be clearly mapped out, and many workers must be enlisted, each of whom will have to choose his own portion of the work. It seems to me that there is only one way to bring about such a systematic division of labour, and that is the formation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society which should be the centre of all researches relating to the ancient Hindu Epics

If once such a centre were formed it would not limit itself to the work of which I just have spoken. The Society would also find ways and means for the publication of texts connected in any way with the history of the *Mahâbhârata*. **The numerous abstracts of and extracts from the Mahâbhârata existing in Sanskrit MSS., and the various translations into the vernaculars, even such works as the Persian and the Javanic versions** of the *Mahâbhârata*, if they were made generally accessible by authentic translations (into English or German or French), are likely to prove of considerable interest for the history of the *Mahâbhârata*.

Moreover, no student of the Hindu Epics can be unaware of the numerous points of contact existing between the Epic and the Puranic literatures. But as regards the *Purâṇas* — which apart from their intrinsic value for the religious history of ancient India, are of such great importance on account of their manifold relations to the epic literature — textual criticism has hardly yet begun to be applied to them, and of their chronology we know next to nothing. Here, too, many hands are wanted to accomplish all the work that has still to be done. And if a centre were formed for the systematic investigation of the Hindu epic literature, the critical work required for the *Purâṇas* might well fall within the range of the same centre.

It is hardly necessary to add that the proposed 'Society' would also promote the critical study of **the Râmâyana**, and I see no reason why the final restoration of the original text of Valmiki's poem, which Professor Jacobi has proved to be quite praticable,[2] should not become a fact.

On all these grounds, I beg to propose that the Indian Section of the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists sanction **the formation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society whose aims might be summed up as follows :—**

(1) To raise the funds necessary for the accomplishment of the Society's work.

(2) To inaugurate a systematic collection of MSS. of the *Mahâbhârata*, and other texts relating to the Hindu Epic poetry from all parts of India.

(3) To gather together and assist competent scholars who are willing to undertake the copying or collating of MSS the editing or translating of any epic texts, or to contribute any critical or historical researches relating to these texts.

[2] See *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. 51, pp. 605 *sqq.*

(4) To provide for and superintend the publication of texts, translations, or any treatises tending to further the objects of the Society.

I propose that the Indian Section of the Congress should (I.) appoint a Committee to take the necessary steps for the formation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society, and (II.) express its view of the desirability of such a Society meeting with every possible financial support on the part of Governments, Academies and Learned Societies both in Europe, America, and especially in India.

A learned Hindu has recently told us[8] that "It is no exaggeration to state that the two hundred millions of Hindus of the present day cherish in their hearts the story of their ancient Epics. The Hindu scarcely lives, man or woman, high or low, educated or ignorant, whose earliest recollections do not cling round the story and the characters of the great Epics . . . . Mothers in India know no better theme for imparting wisdom and instruction to their daughters, and elderly men know no richer storehouse for narrating tales to children, than these stories preserved in the Epics. No work in Europe, not Homer in Greece or Virgil in Italy, not Shakespeare nor Milton in English-speaking lands, is the national property of the nations to the same extent as the Epics of India are of the Hindus. No single work except the Bible has such influence in affording moral instruction in Christian lands, as the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Râmâyana* in India." If that is so, and if indeed (as the same author assures us) these poems "have been the cherished heritage of the Hindus for three thousand years," and "are to the present day interwoven with the thoughts and beliefs and moral ideas of a nation numbering two hundred millions" — then, surely, any studies devoted to the Epics of ancient India deserve the most serious attention and the most eager support of the rulers of India. Nor should the assistance of Learned Societies in Europe and America be wanting in furthering the critical and historical researches connected with a work which, apart from containing some of the most interesting specimens of ancient poetry, is an invaluable storehouse of information about the history, religion, philosophy, the laws and customs, and the civilization of ancient India.

M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

Prag (Austria), June 1899.
Deutsche Universitat.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HINDU SUPERSTITIONS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. **Nail-parings** are always thrown into some frequented place that they may be destroyed by the traffic. If they are thrown into a damp spot they will grow into a plant which will ruin the person from whose body they came. About twenty years ago there lived one Vîraswâmi in Nâgpur, who is said to have been ruined by the accidental growth of a finger nail-paring in a flower-pot in his house.

2. When a **new grindstone** is bought, a handful of wheat must be ground on it and the flour sprinkled in circles on a road-way, so that passers-by may destroy them. This makes the stone to grind well in the future.

M. R. PEDLOW.

SEPOY.

HERE are some good early MS. references to this word.

1746. — Their strength on shore I compute 2000 Europeans Seapiahs and 300 Coffrees. — *Letter* from Madras, 9th Oct., in *Bengal Consultations*.

1746. — They surprised the camp with about 200 Europeans and as many seapies. — *Letter* from Vizagapatam, 29th December, in *Bengal Consultations*.

1746. — Seapies 600. — *Op. cit.*

1746. — With some seapies and coffrees. — *Op. cit.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE TRADE IN ANDAMANESE SLAVES.

THERE is an old story of a systematic slave trade in Andamanese with the Malay Peninsula all through the 18th and early 19th Centuries. The following interesting extract from the *Bengal Dispatches*, dated 25th April, 1792, is evidence of the trade: —

"Concerning the Officer of a French Merchant Vessel offering several Inhabitants of the Andamans for Slaves.

"We have read Captain Light's Letter of the 1st of April 1791, concerning an offer of Monsr. St. Croix, an Officer of a French Merchant Vessel, to some Natives, or others, from the Andamans, for sale, and approve of your having caused Copies of it to be sent to Europe to Colonel Montigny."

R. C. TEMPLE.

[8] Romesh Dutt, *Maha-Bharata, The Epic of Ancient India, condensed into English Verse*, p. 185.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 53.)

CHAPTER VI.

The Descriptive Revelations.

DESCRIPTIVE elements in older addresses — Object and scope of description — Models imitated — Lectures on the "Signs" — Analysis of *Sûra* xvi.

In the first proclamation, as we have seen, only one item out of the Biblical narrative for **the Creation of the World** was made use of — the one item essential for Muhammed's immediate requirements, *viz.*, the Creation of Man. It was not Muhammed's intention, however, to omit the rest of the narrative; he only reserved it for reproduction on later occasions, as the opportunity or need should arise. He would have neglected an ethical factor of great importance, had he omitted to remind his hearers how much gratitude they owed their Maker for having given them the means of living a comfortable life. So far from making such a mistake, he took the earliest opportunity of touching on this subject, immediately after the first proclamation had been made, although at first only in slight reference.

The descriptive element in the *Qorân*, therefore, is nearly as old as the book itself, although it is not particularly noticeable till the latter part of the declamatory period. It becomes more prominent in the narrative period, when Muhammed's style had lost the charm of novelty. It is impossible to draw a line clearly separating the descriptive from the preceding classes of revelations, since many verses of a descriptive character are interspersed among the narrative lectures. Yet those sermons, in which descriptions of Nature and its bounties form the foremost topic, are distinctly of later date.

Although divergent in character the descriptive revelations agree with the narrative revelations in one important point, that is, in the endeavour to demonstrate the **"Signs of Allâh,"** and to form another substitute for miracles which the Prophet was unable to perform. It seems that Muhammed wished to convey to his hearers, that as so many "Signs" of the divine omnipotence already existed, new ones could be dispensed with. The scope of descriptions being rather limited, the number of revelations of this class is smaller than of any previous one, but they also follow Biblical models and abound in repetitions.

Apart from the brief allusion to the Creation contained in the first proclamation, **the oldest pieces of descriptive character** are found in a few verses in the declamatory *Sûra* lxxx.[16]

24. But let man look unto his foods,
25. Verily we have poured the water out in torrents,
26. Then we have cleft the earth asunder,
27. And made to grow therefrom the grain
28. And the grape and the hay,
29. And the olive and the palm,
30. And gardens closely planted,
31. And fruits and grass —
32. A provision for you and your cattle.

lxxvii. 25. Have we not made the earth to hold
26. The living and the dead
27. And set thereon firm mountains reared aloft, and given you to drink water in streams?

[16] See also *S.* lxxvii. 25 to 27.

I regard the last portion of *S.* lxxix.[17] which looks like a hasty recapitulation of Gen. Ch. I. as the first independent piece of this class. It speaks of heaven, night and dawn, the earth, water and pastures, man and beast.

Sûra lxxi. contains a rather original description of Nature ascribed by Muhammed to Noah. In spite of the narrative beginning, this chapter cannot be placed among the narrative revelations, because with the exception of the first few verses the rest of the *sûra* (the bulk of which is of descriptive character) reproduces a prayer[18] in which Noah tells of his unsuccessful endeavours to make his people believe in God.

The inner connection which exists between the first proclamation and the descriptive revelations of a much later period is unmistakeably illustrated by *S.* lv., which cannot be as old as Nöldeke believes it to be.[19] Now, for this new species of lectures Muhammed required new models. Having chosen for the preceding the form of prayer, he composed this *sûra* after the fashion of Ps. cxxxvi. with a refrain introduced gradually and repeated afterwards at the end of each verse. For a descriptive sermon Muhammed could only use few verses of the body of the Psalm, which I place in parallel columns with the corresponding verses of the *sûra*:

The Sûra.	*The Psalm.*
4. The sun and the moon have their appointed time. 5. And the stars and the trees adore.	8. The sun to rule by day : for, *etc.* 9. The moon and stars to rule by night.
6. And the heavens, He raised them and set the balance.	5. To Him that by wisdom made the heavens.
9. And the earth He has set it for living creatures.	6. To Him that stretches out the earth, *etc.*

The *sûra* gives a more comprehensive synopsis of the Biblical account of the Creation, and that is the reason, why the first proclamation is repeated, and, as a matter of course, placed at the beginning in the words: **AlRaḥmân** taught the *Qorân* (2) He **created** man, (3) **taught** him plain speech. — Another proof of the imitative character of the *sûra* is that the refrain does not speak of "Signs" but of "Bounties."[20] Part of the contents of the *sûra* are taken from another Psalm which will occupy our attention anon. When the material was quite exhausted,[21] Muhammed resorted again to pictures of hell and paradise.

The style adopted in *S.* l. is one of great contemplativeness on the Creation, interspersed with a narrative reminiscences,[22] which also afford an opportunity for the introduction of a fine metaphor.[23] Descriptions of Nature are adorned with pictures of the **Last Day** which, in this short *sûra*, is mentioned by not less than *five* different appellations.[24]

Another lecture on the "Signs" is *S.* xlv., discoursing on the earth and the animated beings that move on it, on the change of night and day, the food sent down from heaven (through rain), and the wind. Dry land as well as sea, the hosts of heaven and earth which serve men, are all subjects which lend themselves to treatment in the usual style.

Nearly contemporaneous with this one is *S.* xlii.,[25] in the rather long introduction of which the "Arabic *Qorân*" (v. 5) is alluded to, and **Divine Providence** appears several times

[17] Also Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 87, regards this piece as the later portion of the *sûra*,

[18] Nöldeke, p. 95, sees in this *sûra* a fragment of a larger sermon.

[19] *Ibid.* p. 83; *cf.* Sprenger, II. p. 219, with the tradition connected with it. Verse 1 = xcvi. 2, but *Rabbika* replaced by *AlRahmân*.

[20] The refrain is evidently nothing but the attempt of a rendition of כי לעולם חסדו. The dual تكذبان has no particular significance, and was only chosen on account of its yielding a rhyme to *Rahmân*. Verse 7 recalls Isaiah xi. 6.

[21] Verse 58 contains a fine metaphor; see Ch. VIII.

[22] Verses 1 to 11, 14 to 15, 37.

[23] V. 15, see Ch. VIII.

[24] See Ch IV.

[25] Verse 9, ليس كمثله, *cf.* Exod. viii. 6, ix. 14, *etc.* — Verses 11 to 12, legislative. Verses 28 (*cf.* xlv. 3) and 31 begin with ومن آياته. — Verses 52 to 53, see Ch. V.

(vv. 13, 20, 23) as *Kalima*.[26] Both the *Kalima* (v. 45) and "Arabic *Qorân*" (v. 2) also appear in *S.* xli., of which several portions (vv. 8 to 11, 37 to 40) are descriptive, and contain, besides, a sketch of hell and paradise. The introduction treating of the "Arabic *Qorân*" is, in the course of the lecture, supplemented by a verse (44),[27] which is intended to explain more clearly an idea expressed some time before,[28] but it only makes it more obscure. It runs thus :—

"And had we made it a 'foreign *Qorân*,' they would have said: 'unless its signs be detailed [we will not believe]; is it foreign *and* Arabic?' Say: 'It is, for those who believe, a guidance and a healing; but those who do not believe, in their ears is dullness, and it is blindness to them. Those are called to from a far off place.'"

The revelation seems to be an excuse for employing a certain number of foreign words in the "Arabic *Qorân*." Perplexity shuffles.

Sûra xxxv., being of a distinctly descriptive character, begins with the statement afterwards repeated, that Allâh makes the angels His messengers. This is nearly a literal translation of Ps. civ. 4. The same psalm is also re-echoed in other verses.[29] Similar topics, but in shorter form, are dicussed in *Ss.* xxxii.,[30] lxvii., and xxv.[31] I mention the last two together, because their common superscription marks them both as hymns to the Creator.[32] In *S.* xxv., Muhammed replies to a charge that he was but an ordinary mortal eating food and visiting the fairs.[33] This charge was not imaginary, but seems to have been made repeatedly, since it is refuted twice (vv. 8 and 22) in this sermon. A final answer is not given until *S.* xxiii. 53,[34] in which messengers in general are bidden to "eat good cheer." Of this *sûra* the first and last parts (vv. 1 to 22, 53 to 118) form one address, but vv. 27 and 34 show why the piece was insertéd after v. 22.[35] From the more elaborate arguments employed we gather that this *sûra* is later than xxv. The homily embodied in the last part (v. 93) consists only of repetitions, the most important of which is the attempt to demonstrate the Unity of Allâh by argument.[36]

Two verses of this part (99 and 100) contain expressions for exorcising ("I take refuge") Satanic influences, and give perhaps a clue to the placing of the *Ss.* cxiii. and cxiv.,[37] which are formulas of the same character and with the same commencement.

Sûra xvi. marks the apogee of the descriptive revelations. It not only unites all descriptive recitations scattered through other sermons, but places them before the reader in a really

26 See Ch. I., note II.

27 From Beidhâwi's remarks we infer that the reading ءَأَعْجَمِىٌّ is uncertain, as other authorities have أَعْجَمِىٌّ and أَعْجَمِىٌّ.

28 See *S.* xxvi. 198 and Ch. I. — The sense of the passage seems to be the following: Had we revealed the *Qorân* in a foreign tongue, their disbelief could not be greater than it is, *cf.* xvi. 105.

29 *E. g.* v. 10, 13, 14. The two, three and four pairs of wings ascribed to angels are evidently modelled after Is. vi 2 together with Ezech i, 6. As to the paraphrastic imitation of Ps. civ. see below.

30 The creation of the world in six days is also mentioned in xi. 9, l. 37, xxv. 60. As to v 4 see lxx. 4 and Ch. IV.

31 The expressions تبارك and فرقان (v. 1, *cf.* Geiger, *l. c.* p. 50) seem to be taken from the Jewish prayer called *Qaddîsh*.

32 Verse 1 · "Blessed be," *etc*, see lxvii. 1; *ibid.* v 5: With "lamps" *cf* Gen. i. 16.

33 The verses 8, 9 and 22 (*cf.* xxiii. 34) seem to be a justification directed against Exod. xxxiii. 28. Whether Muhammed was really expected to live for some time without food, is hard to say, but this seems to have been the case, and it is supported by a tradition of Bagh. (on v. 22) on the authority of AlDhaḥhâk and Ibn Abbâs, that the Qoreish reviled the prophetship of a man who consumed food. The matter is probably to be understood as follows: Some Meccan critic had a superficial knowledge of the statement that Moses had passed a certain time without food, and inferred from it that a prophet who could perform miracles, must also be able to dispense with eating and drinking.

34 There are also other points of connection between the two *sûras*; *cf* xxiii. 1 to 11, and xxv. 64 to 77.

35 Verse 21, تأكلون, *cf.* vv. 34, 35; v. 22, الفلك, *cf.* vv. 26 to 29.

36 *Cf.* verse 117, and Ch. II.

37 *Cf. S.* xxiii. 99 to 100, xvi. 100, vii. 199.

artistic form. Muhammed must have bestowed much care on its composition, as it is beautiful, although not quite original; it is in fact **an imitation** of Ps. civ. with the verses differently arranged. We must naturally expect to see Muhammed adapt his rendering of the Psalm to the conditions of life in Arabia, as also to his particular theological purposes.[38] The latter are represented by a strong Moslim tendency, and teachings are inserted which are not to be found in the original. Those verses of the Psalm are therefore omitted which describe animals and plants unknown to Meccans. I place the verses side by side :

The Sûra.	*The Psalm.*
2. He sends down the angels with the spirit[39] [which is part] of his *Amr* upon whom He will of His servants (to say): Give warning that there is no God but Me; Me therefore do ye fear!	4. He maketh His angels winds *(spirits)*; His ministers a flaming fire.
3. He has created the heavens and the earth in truth! Exalted be He above that which they join with Him.	2. Who covereth [Thyself] with light as with a garment, Who stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain. 5. Who laid the foundations of the earth, *etc.*
10. He it is Who sends down water from the sky, whence ye have drink, and whence the trees grow whereby you feed your flocks.	3. Who layeth the beams of His chambers in the waters; Who maketh the clouds His chariot; Who walketh upon the wings of the wind.
11. He maketh the corn to grow for you, and the olives, and the palms, and the grapes, and some of every fruit — *verily in that is a Sign unto a people who reflect.* 13. And what He has produced for you in the earth varying in hue, *verily in that is a Sign for a people who are mindful.* (See also vv. 69 to 71.)	14. He causes the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, that he may bring forth food out of the earth. 15. And wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make [his] face to shine, and bread which strengthens man's heart.
12. And He subjected to you the night and the day, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars are subjected to His bidding. *Verily in that are Signs to a people who have sense.* 16. . . . . and by the stars too are they guided.	19. He appointed the moon for seasons, the sun knoweth his going down. 20. Thou maketh darkness and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the Lord do creep forth.
14. He it is Who has subjected the sea, that ye may eat fresh flesh therefrom, and ye bring forth from it ornaments which ye wear; and thou mayest see the ships cleaving through it; and that ye may search after His grace, and haply ye may give thanks.	25. This great and wide sea wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts. 26. There go the ships, [there is] that Leviathan whom Thou hast made to play therein.

[38] *Cf. S.* xxxv. 1. — Verse 43 may serve to fix the date of the *sûra*, and probably refers to the isolation Muhammed's followers had to suffer for some time in Mecca, or to the emigration of a number of them to Abyssinia. As to the details see Sprenger, II. 128 *sqq.* — Verse 110 *sqq.* I regard (against Sprenger) as Medinian. الذين هاجروا refers to those who had shared the Hijra to Medina, but the piece was placed here on account of these two words. The verses 116 and 119 are nothing if not Medinian, since they were of no interest for a Meccan audience.

[39] Muhammed renders *rûhôth* by الروح, being unaware of the circumstance that רוח also means *wind.* Verse 1 being introduction, is Muhammed's own, the same is the case with vv. 6 to 8, bearing on the habits of travelling merchants.

15. And He has cast firm mountains on the earth lest it should move with you, and rivers and roads, haply ye may be guided. (See also v. 83)

8. They go up by the mountains, they go up by the valleys unto the place which Thou hast founded for them. 18. The high hills a refuge for the wild goats, and the rock for the conies.

40. They swear by their most strenuous oath: Allâh will not raise up him who dies, *etc.* . . . . 50. Do they not regard whatever thing Allâh has created, its shadow falls on the right or the left adoring God and shrinking up? 67. And Allâh sends down water from the sky and quickens therewith the earth after its death; *verily in that is a Sign to a people who can hear.* 72. God has created you, then He lets you die, *etc.*

29. Thou hidest Thy face they are troubled, Thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. 30. Thou sendest forth Thy spirit, they are created, and Thou renewest the face of the earth.

44. Those who are patient and upon their Lord rely.[40]

27. These wait all upon Thee, that Thou mayest give them their meat in due time.

51. Whatever is in the heavens and in the earth, beast or angel, adores Allâh, nor are they big with pride.

33. I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live: I will sing praise to my God while I have my being.

52. They fear their Lord above them, and do what they are bidden.

34. My meditation of Him shall be sweet, I will be glad in the Lord.

63. If Allâh were to punish men for their wrong-doing, He would not leave upon the earth a single beast, *etc.*

35. Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth and let the wicked be no more. Bless thou the Lord, O my soul; praise ye the Lord.

87. Do they not see the birds subjected in the vaults of the sky? none holds them in but Allâh, *verily in that is a Sign unto a people who believe.*

12. By them the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches.

17. Where the birds make their nest, [as for] the stork, the fir trees are her house.

Muhammed almost betrays the imitation in his own words; for he not only mentions the *Zubur* (Psalms) "that had been sent down before" (v. 46),[41] but at the end of the sermon (v. 105) he, apparently without necessity, defends himself against the charge of plagiarism. The traditionists give a number of names as possible sources of this accusation, but it is useless to repeat their extravagant and unreliable tales on the point.[42] To conclude from Muhammed's words ("*We know* that they say: only a mortal man teaches him"), the rumours were only circulated secretly, but he was a match for his foes, and turned his knowledge of their suspicions into a prophetic faculty which made him acquainted with their slanderous whispers.[43]

It is quite in accordance with Muhammed's methods of preaching, that so fine a rhetorical performance should be repeated. Thus some descriptive portions of *S.* xiii.[44] not only recall

[40] صبروا = ישברו in the original which allows a conclusion as to how the Arab Jews pronounced ש nd ס; another instance of the same kind is اصرهم, vii. 156 = אסור (*cf.* Ch. V.).

[41] Verse 46 is to be joined to نوحي اليهم (v. 45), whilst the words فاسالوا as far as تعلمون form a parenthesis.

[42] The tratidions are collected by Sprenger, II. 379 *sqq.* *Cf.* xxxvi. 76.

[43] See Ch. II.

[44] The *sûra* is one of those beginning with the "Signs." According to Fihrist, p 251, it is Medinian.

several imitations of verses of Ps. civ. quoted before, but supplement others which he had omitted. To the former belong the verses 2, 3, 4, 18.[45] Of the latter group are:

The Sûra.	*The Psalm.*
13. He it is who shows you the lightning for fear and hope, and He brings up the heavy clouds.	7. At Thy rebuke they flee, at the voice of Thy thunder they haste away.
14. And the thunder celebrates His praise, and the angels too for fear of Him, and He sends the thunder-clap and overtakes therewith whom He will.	32. He looketh on the earth and it trembles, He toucheth the hills and they smoke.

The first part of *S.* x. (vv. 1 to 57) belongs to those addresses which begin with a reference to the "Signs." A parable inserted here is also of descriptive character.[46] The piece next to it owes its place also to some descriptive verses, but seems to be of Medinian origin.[47]

The best sermon with text on the "Signs" is *S.* xxxi. (1 to 10, 19 to 34). The descriptions are of the usual style, but there is a piece inserted (vv. 11 to 18),[48] which interrupts the description and is altogether out of place. In v. 22 the speaker is advised not to take the unbelief of the infidels to heart, an advice repeated in the following sermon, *S.* xxxvi. (v. 76), which is thoroughly descriptive. The homiletic introduction includes a parable[49] of narrative character. After this follows a discourse on the "Signs" (vv. 33, 37, 41). New is the remark on the change of night and day as well as on the stations of the moon, and an observation on the eclipse of the sun.[50]

Now these three paragraphs (v. 33-36, 37-40, 41-44) greatly resemble strophes of four verses each though without metre. This lapse into old habits either revived the reproach that he was a poet, or Muhammed saw the danger in good time, and wished to prevent any misconception. He therefore declared (v. 69) that he had never learnt poetry, nor was it suitable for him. The verse mentioned above, advising him not to be grieved about disbelief, seems to stand in connection with this. Verse 78 has a historical background. Ubeyy b. Khalaf came to Muhammed with a decaying bone and asked who could quicken it. The affair seems to have caused some sensation, as several years later it was made the subject of an attack against the Qoreish by the Medinian poet Ḥassân b. Thâbit.[51]

The descriptive period further includes *S.* xxvii. 60 to 95 — an independent sermon;[52] further *S.* xxxix., the second part of which is a discourse on death. Some of these verses

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[45] Verses 22 and 24, صبروا, and صبرتم respectively; see above. [46] Verse 25, *cf.* Ch. VIII.

[47] Verse 58 [O ye men, now has come to you counsel from your Lord, *etc.*] is spoken in the style of an introduction to a sermon; *cf.* S ii. 1. — Verse 61, يفترون. *cf.* v 70.

[48] This is of legislative character and in the form of admonitions addressed by Loqmân to his son (see Ch. VII.). The *sûra* derived its name from this piece which seems to have been placed here on account of the rhyme. *Cf.* Nöldeke, p. 117, who only entertains doubt as to v. 13.

[49] V. 12 *sqq.*, see Ch. VIII.

[50] Verse 39, *cf.* Ch. I. Palmer's translation of the verse is hardly correct. I believe Muhammed wished to express the idea that the movements of the sun and the moon were so well regulated, that it is the latter which "reaches" the former, and not *vice versâ*. The commentators refer to the variety of the sphere Bagh. وقيل الشمس ينبغي لها ان تدرك القمر لا تجتمع معه في فلك واحد ولا الليل سابق النهار لا يتصل ليل بليل لا يكون بينهما نهار فاصل.

[51] Ḥassân b Shâbît, Diwan, ed. Tunis, p. 81:—

Ubeyy has acquired heresy from his father on the day when the Messenger detached himself from him.
Hast thou come to Muhammed with a rotten bone in order to give him the lie, being ignorant of his condition, *etc.*?

[52] Verse 64 = Ps. civ. 2; v. 72 = *S.* x. 66, xxxi. 22.

are regarded by Weil as interpolated.[53] The chronology of this *sûra* as well as *S.* xxx. is pretty distinctly fixed by two respective remarks on parables "struck" before (xxxix. 28, xxx. 58). The latter *sûra*, though commencing with an allusion to a defeat which the Byzantine army had suffered at the hand of Persians, is an elaborate homily on the "Sign," as seven verses commence with the words : To his Signs belong, *etc.*[54]

Sûra xxii. 1 to 13 and 62 to 71 are two fragments belonging to the descriptive group, whilst all the rest is Medinian. A certain connection between the two pieces is visible in vv. 3, 8, 67 respectively, where those who "wrangle about Allâh" are mentioned. Finally the verses ii. 158 to 162, although placed in a *sûra* commonly regarded as Medinian, has all the marks of the revelations of the descriptive Meccan period.[55]

CHAPTER VII.

The Legislative Revelations.

MEANING of the term — Relation of the legislative to previous periods — Loqmân — Laws given to mankind — Character of special laws promulgated in Mecca — Abrogation of Jewish ritual law.

The term "legislative" in this chapter applies to those passages in the Meccan portions of the *Qorân*, which are in any way admonitory, and are discussed chiefly with regard to the place they occupy in the book. In the same way as the Old Testament provided laws to meet all the requirements of the Israelites, so **the Qorân forms the principal source of the moral, ritual and juridical codes[56] of the Faithful.** The regulations dictated in Mecca are limited to such as could be given to a religious community which owed allegiance to temporal powers of a different kind. As it was impossible to foretell whether the Prophet would ever be in a position to wield a temporal sceptre, administrative ordinations are entirely excluded from Meccan revelations.[57] As regards ritual laws the Meccan period produced hardly any besides those relating to prayers and other forms of divine worship.

We have seen above that Moslim tradition itself places the descriptive revelations before those of legislative character, but this is not always rigidly adhered to. Some of the former, being mere recommendations, do not aspire to the authority of laws. The belief in Allâh and His Prophet is, of course, an injunction of the earliest date, but it appears in the nature of an axiom meant to carry conviction. Religious observance being of more practical character could not be expected until the former was firmly established in the minds of the believers.

The precepts which Muhammed thought fit to reveal in Mecca had long been under preparation, but it was impossible to promulgate them in anything like a systematic fashion as long as the struggle for the acceptance of the first maxims lasted. After all, the foregoing periods are nothing but a variety of endeavours to end this struggle. During this time the want of a religious code had to be supplied by the example set by the Prophet himself, or by his predecessors with whose stories believers were made acquainted. Nay, Allâh Himself serves as example by imposing mercy upon himself in the style of a commandment as it were (*S.* vi. 12).[58] In the same speech the Prophet is bidden to declare that he was *commanded* to be the first Moslim (v. 17). A second speech (v. 46 to 73) follows the same train of ideas. We

[53] Verses 31 to 32, 43, see Ch. XIII. Verse 31 is quite out of connection both with the preceding and following verses. The homily coming after it has no marked character, and is therefore difficult to fix. Perhaps vs 74 to 75, the concluding words in particular, may help to place the portion somewhat nearer to the narrative period.

[54] Verses 19 to 24, 45.

[55] Noldeke, p. 31, also regards the verses as Meccan.

[56] See Sachau, *Aelteste Quellen des muhamm., Rechts.* The original meaning of *fiqh* is "tenets of belief."

[57] The passage, vi. 118 to 121, is Medinian.

[58] The speech ends, v. 45, الحمد لله رب العالمين.

hear again "that Allâh has imposed mercy upon Himself."[59] The Prophet is ordered to state that he is forbidden to worship the idols of the Meccans,[60] but that he and his friends are commanded to be Moslims, to recite prayers, and fear Allâh (vv. 70 to 71).

An instance of how legislation was at first given in very small doses, is to be found in three verses attached to *S.* xciii.[61]

v. 9. But as for the orphan, oppress him not,

10. And as for the beggar, drive him not away,

11. And as for the favour of thy Lord, discourse thereof.

The last verse is a reminiscence of the descriptive revelations.

It is indeed most interesting to observe **how cautiously Muhammed proceeded to accustom his hearers to regular religious observance.** He knew the characters of his friends sufficiently to perceive how dangerous it would be to overwhelm them with religious duties, and the following are instances of his attempts to achieve his object in a somewhat circuitous manner. In one sermon he **describes the life of "the servants of Allâh,"** naturally in order to teach: —

S. xxv. 64. And the servants of the Merciful are those who walk upon the earth lowly and when the ignorant address them, say: Peace!

65. And those who pass the night [adoring] their Lord in prostration and standing.

66. And those who say: O our Lord, turn from us the torment of hell, *etc.*

67. And those who when they spend are neither extravagant nor miserly, but who ever take their stand between the two.

68. And those who call not upon another god with Allâh, and kill not the soul which Allâh has forbidden, save deservedly, and do not commit fornication; for he who does that shall meet with a penalty.

72. And those who do not testify falsely, and when they pass by frivolous discourse, pass by it honourably, *etc., etc.*

The admonition addressed by **Loqmân**[62] to his son is nothing but a variation of the same endeavour. Being first himself reminded of the gratitude he owed to Allâh, this legendary sage instructs his son — in the fashion of the author of Proverbs, ch. I. to VII. — to believe in the Unity of God, to honour his parents, to lead a virtuous life, and to recite prayers commandments which are all within the scope of religious prescriptions taught in Mecca. The piece which justifies reproduction runs thus: —

xxxi. 11. And we did give unto Loqmân wisdom saying: Be grateful to Allâh; for he who is grateful to Allâh, is duly grateful for his own soul, and he who disbelieves, verily Allâh is independent, worthy of praise.

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[59] *S.* vi. 54. *Cf.* the passage in the Talmud (Berakh. fol 7vo): God prays What prays He? R. Zutrâ b. Tôbiyyâh says on behalf of Râb: (He prays:) Be it my will that my mercy overcome mine anger; let my mercy prevail over my (other) attributes, that my conduct with my children be merciful and that I deal with them leniently.

[60] *Ibid.* 53, 67, 69; xvii. 80 to 87.

[61] These three verses do not belong to the preceding part of the *sûra* — from which they differ as to the rhyme — but are placed here on account of v. 6 to 8.

[62] Concerning the personality of Loqmân see Sprenger, I. 23 *sqq.* Besides Balaam, with whom he is identified on account of the synonymity of the names, also Job and a negro slave "with thick lips" serve to personate him in the opinion of various commentators. The name seems to me to be a corruption of *Soleimân*, the letter *s* being omitted. The introductory phrase, "we have given to Loqmân wisdom," is in favour of this suggestion as well as the resemblance of the whole speech to the first chapters of the Book of Proverbs. As to the fables ascribed to Loqmân see Derenbourg, *Fables arabe et français.* Berlin, 1850.

12. And when Loqmân said to his son while admonishing him: O my son, associate none with Allâh, for, verily, such association is a grave iniquity.

13. And we have commanded[63] man [to honour] his parents; his mother bore him with weakness upon weakness, and his weaning is in two years; be thankful to me and thy parents, for unto me [shall your] journey [be].

14. But if they strive with thee that thou shouldst associate with me that which thou hast no knowledge of, then obey them not, *etc.*[64]

15. O my son, verily if there were the weight of a grain or mustard seed and it were [hidden] in a rock, or in the heaven, or in the earth, Allâh would bring it [forth], *etc.*[65]

16. O my son, be steadfast in prayer, and bid what is proper, prevent what is objectionable,[66] be patient of what befals thee, for this is due of the determined affairs.

17. And twist not thy cheeks proudly, nor walk in the land haughtily: verily, Allâh does not love every arrogant boaster.

18. And be moderate in thy walk and lower thy voice: verily the most disagreeable of voices is the voice of asses.[67]

Another variation is to be found in a series of admonitions given to mankind in general, although there can be no doubt, that Muhammed only had his small Moslim community in view. The sermon in question forms a part of *S.* vii., v. 28 to 56, and contains rules to be observed in connection with the places of public worship (v. 28 to 30[68]). But fearful, as it were, lest Believers should be discouraged by laws which might only be the forerunners of more arduous ones, Muhammed deemed it expedient to assure his friends that no soul should be burdened with more than it could bear (v. 40).[69] Yet he does not conclude the sermon without a warning to "call on your Lord humbly and secretly, not to do evil on earth, and to invoke Allâh with fear and earnestness" (v. 53 to 54).

There is hardly any group of legislative revelations in which the respect due to parents does not find a place. This forms the nucleus of a short lecture which was placed at the beginning of *S.* xxix. 1 to 12, and xlvi. 1 to 19.

It is not in the least surprising that Muhammed endeavoured to imitate the *Decalogue*, or, rather to adapt it to the requirements of Islâm. This has not only been recognized by European scholars,[70] but also by Muhammedan commentators. Discussing the *Decalogue* in his *Kitâb AlArâis* AlTha'âlibi[71] concludes with the remark that Allâh had also given it to Muhammed, and quotes the two places in which it is reproduced in the *Qorân*.

Of these two recensions the earlier seems to be that inserted in *S.* xvii., of which it forms the whole middle portion. The following reproduction of the chief part shows that several verses are nearly literally translated from the *Pentateuch*:—[72]

v. 23. Put not with Allâh another god, or thou wilt sit despised and forsaken.

Muhammed was so well versed in the subject, that he altered it freely, substituting for commands which were out of place in Arabia others of more practical value. The prohibition of murder gave

[63] This is the only recommendation introduced here by ووصّينا. It is repeated in *S.* xlvi 14 to 16.

[64] *Cf.* Talmud Yebâm, fol. 5vo (with reference to Lev xix 3): It is the duty of *each of you* to honour me, *etc.*

[65] *Cf. S.* x. 62, xxxiv. 3.

[66] This phrase occurs here for the first time, but is very frequent later on, especially in Mediman *sûras*. *Cf.* Mewâqif, p. 331, and Al Ghazâli, *Ihyâ*, II. 207 *sqq.*

[67] See Ch. VIII.

[68] See Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 118.

[69] *Cf. S.* vi. 153, xxiii. 64.

[70] Sprenger, II. p. 484.

[71] Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 18,508 fol. 139.

[72] See *Beitraege*, p. 19 *sqq.*

him an opportunity of denouncing the burying of female infants alive (v. 33),[73] and it is due to him that that barbarous custom was abolished. He forbade the spoliation of orphans, and ordained that agreements must be kept, true weights and measures must be given (v. 36 to 37), *etc.*

The second and more elaborate reproduction[74] is given, *S.* vi. : —

> 152. Say, Come! I will recite what your Lord has made inviolable for you (1) that you may not associate with him anything; (2) kindness to your parents; (3) and do not kill your children through poverty; . . . . (4) and draw not nigh to hideous sins, either apparent or concealed; (5) and kill not the soul, which Allâh has made inviolable, save by right; that is what He has *ordained* you, haply you may understand.
>
> 153. (6) And draw not nigh unto the wealth of the orphan, save so as to better it, until he reaches full age! (7) and give weight and measure with justice . . . . ; (8) and when ye pronounce, then be just, though it be the case of a relative; (9) and Allâh's compact fufil ye; that is what he has *ordained* you, haply you may be mindful.
>
> 154. (10) That this is my right way, follow it thou and follow not various paths to separate ourselves from his way; that is what he has *ordained* you, haply you may fear.

The sentences are instructive not only for what they contain, but for what they omit. The omission of Exod. xx. 2 is not surprising, as it implies no commandment, and allusion to the exodus of Egypt is of still less use for Islâm. The contents of verse 7 are rather against the spirit of Islâm. Frequent enunciations of the name of Allâh formed and still form a powerful means of implanting belief in the hearts of the Faithful. Numerous traditions exist of the benefits derived from frequent repetition of the formula: There is no God beside Allâh. Finally, the law of Sabbath was not required.[75] It is not difficult to discover why Muhammed looked upon the Jewish Sabbath as a punishment for disobedience, and characterized it as being "laid upon those who disputed" (xvi. 125). The reason why a day of rest did not gain ground in Islâm seems to be a social rather than a religious one. Although the creation of the world in six days is frequently mentioned in the *Qorân*, the interruption of work on the seventh day is as regularly omitted. In a country where agriculture is of small account, and hard work altogether unknown, a day of rest has no *raison d'être.* It is possible that some vague notion had reached Muhammed that among Assyrians the seventh day was called an "evil day" on which no work should be done.[76] In a Medinian revelation[77] Muhammed calls those, who

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[73] *Cf. S.* vi. 138 (I. I. p. 58), vv. 118 and 119 containing regulations with respect to killing animals for food are Medinian.

[74] Seems to be an independent piece, and placed here on account of its beginning with قل, like many other paragraphs of the *sûra.*

[75] Al Beidh. on *S.* xvi. 125: The celebration of the Sabbath and giving oneself up entirely to worship was incumbent upon those who contended with him, *viz.*, their prophet. These are the Jews whom Moses had commanded to confine themselves (on this day) to worship, *etc.* Thus Al Beidh. refers فيه not to the Sabbath, but to Moses (see *S.* xli. 45 where فيه refers to الكتاب), and evidently had Exod. xv. 24 in his mind. Rabbinic interpretation, as is well known, refers, *ibid.* v. 25, to the command of the Sabbath, and the words *w'shâm nissâhû* reflect perfectly the idea which Muhammed had conceived on the celebration of that day. *Cf.* Bokh I. 224, a tradition according to Abu Hureira: فاختلفوا فيه فهدانا الله له فالناس لنا فيه تبع اليهود غدا والنصارى بعد غدا هذا يومهم الذى فرض عليهم. The puerile character of the tradition speaks for its value. The Moslims, while adopting Friday as a day of public worship, lead both Jews and Christians. On the name يوم الجمعة see Beidh. on *Qor.* lxii. 9 (Medin.). It appears that the day of *alârûba,* which is the ancient name for Friday, was kept as prayer-day before Islâm. According to Beidh., Ka'b b. Lu'eiyy gave the day that name, because people used *to congregate on it*, probably for mercantile purposes. Muhammed then retained both the ancient custom and the name. I regard *S.* xvi. 152 as Medinian, *cf.* ii. 61 and iv. 50.

[76] *Cf.* Schrader K. A. T. 2nd ed. p. 20.

[77] See *S.* iv. 50 and below.

celebrate the Sabbath, "cursed." He evidently formed his opinion from seeing that the Jews observed the Sabbath by abstaining from work on that day. While the spiritual side of the celebration remained hidden to him, he saw that it involved great inconvenience in domestic and public life, and impressed him as something very undesirable.[78] By singling out one day in the week, employed from time immemorial for gathering, as the day of public worship, he followed the Jewish and Christian customs to some extent. It is, however, very improbable that he chose Friday in order to eschew either the Saturday or the Sunday. Following the reproduction of the *Decalogue*, v. 155 seems to be a free rendering of Exod. xxxi. 18. The bounty attached to it formed evidently part of the same speech. V. 160 looks like a rebuke on the multitude of Christian sects, whilst v. 161 again returns to the *Decalogue*, being a kind of reflex of Exod. xx. 5 to 6.

(To be continued.)

THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

Some time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Kêsar-Myths of Western Tibet**. The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladâkhîs** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet.** I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences, are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by **the leader of the Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin,** who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan,** and of other Ladâkhîs, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that **the four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist literature (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

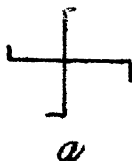
[78] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all those passages as Medinian.

is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, **the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship.** Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the **Bon Religion**, **yungdrung** . This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

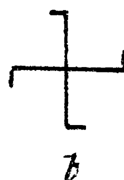
It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word **γyungdrung**, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths **an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima,** occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name **Khyung dkrung** may have degenerated to become *γyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation :— (1) a word *γyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin;* (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *γyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary : khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *γyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *γ* of *γyung* and *γyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *γyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *γyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables *sū* and *ti*, *suti* = *svasti.*



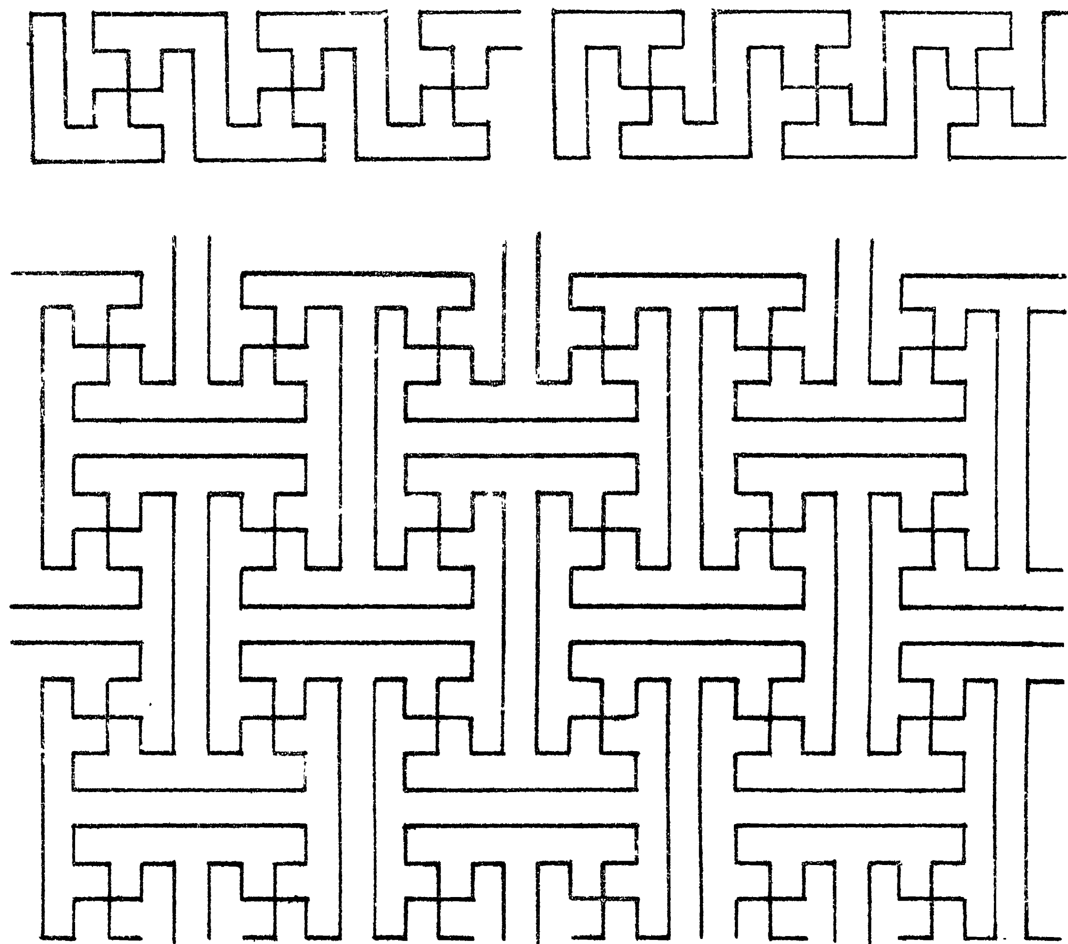
a



b

According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *γyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

In the drawings below showing the *γyundrung* as an ornament in Native houses in Khalatse, Lower Ladakh, it will be seen turned both ways.



However all this may really be, on the whole I feel obliged to say, that my explanation of the *γyungdrung* must not be taken for more than a mere guess at its interpretation from a Tibetan point of view. I have no means in this remote land of collating these speculations with the mass of literature on the *svastika*.

The *γyungdrung* is thought to be of **great importance at the wedding ceremony**, and both bride and bridegroom have to sit on carpets showing the emblem. It is indeed in universal use in this connection, for in a copy of the wedding songs, which I received a few days ago from Phyang the *γyungdrung* is used for punctuation instead of the full stop.

Song No. I.[1]

bagma btangtsana nyopas sgola btangcessi glu'i[2] dpecha yin.	This is the book of the songs, which are sung at the door by the **Nyopas**, when the bride is given.

[1] The orthography of the songs has been brought into accordance with that of Ladakhi letter writing. In all doubtful cases, however, the spelling of the first MS. will be given.

[2] A *chungba* is indicated by an apostrophe.

om bkrashispar gyurcig. bkrashis bdeblags dang ldanpar gyurcig.

nangmas btang 'adug.

Om, may you be blessed! May the blessing come unto you speedily!

The people of the house say:

A.

I. A. 1. duba sngonmo de
stengdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

2. duba sngonmo de
bardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

3. duba sngonmo de
'ogtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

4. duba sngonmo de
sharla rgyugpa ci'i don.

5. duba sngonmo de
lhoru rgyugpa ci'i don.

6. duba sngonmo de
byangdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

7. duba sngonmo de
nubtu rgyugpa ci'i don.

8. duba sngonmo de
mkhardu rgyugpa ci'i don.

9. duba sngonmo de
yulla rgyugpa ci'i don.

10. duba sngonmo de
grongdu rgyugpa ci'i don.

I. A. 1. That blue smoke,
Rising upwards, what does it mean?

2. The blue smoke,
Hanging over the ground, what does it mean?

3. The blue smoke,
Falling to the ground, what does it mean?

4. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards East, what does it mean?

5. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards South, what does it mean?

6. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards North, what does it mean?

7. The blue smoke,
Spreading towards West, what does it mean?

8. The blue smoke,
Rising to the castle, what does it mean?

9. The blue smoke,
Spreading over the country, what does it mean?

10. The blue smoke,
Spreading over the village, what does it mean?

B.

1. B. phyimas landu.

1. duba sngonmo de
stengdu rgyugpa de
lhai dbangpo rgya bzhinla rgolba ma zhus sam

bsangshug phulba'i don.

2. duba sngonmo de
bardu rgyugpa de
btsan ama skyabs bdunla rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

I. B. People outside [the *Nyopas*] answer:

1. The blue smoke
Rises upwards,
I think, that the Lord of Heaven, **dBangpo rgyabzhin's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

2. The blue smoke,
Is hanging over the earth,
I think, that the Earth-Mother, **skyabsbdun's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to her.

3. duba sngonma de
'ogtu rgyugpa de
klurgyal lcogpola rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

4. duba sngonmo de
shardu rgyugpa de
shar rdorje sems dp'ala rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

5. duba sngonmo de
lhoru rgyugpa de
lho rinchen byung ldanla rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

6. duba sngonmo de
byangdu rgyugpa de
byang donyod grubpala rgolb ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

7. duba sngonmo de
nubtu rgyugpa de
nub snangba mth'ayasla rgolba ma zhus sam

bsang shug phulba'i don.

8. duba sngonmo de
mkhardu rgyugpa de
rtselha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
bsang shug phulba'i don.

9. duba sngonmo de
yulla rgyugpa de
yulthsa snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
bsang shug phulba'i don.

10. duba sngonmo de
grongla rgyugpa de

phalha snyanpola rgolba ma zhus sam
bsang shug phulba'i don.

3. The blue smoke
Is falling to the ground,
I think, that the Water-King, **lCogpo's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

4. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards East,
I think, that the eastern **rDorje sems dp'a's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

5. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards South,
I think, that the southern **Rinchen byungldan's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

6. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards North,
I think, that the northern **Donyodgrubpa's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

7. The blue smoke
Is spreading towards West,
I think, that the western **sNangba mthayas'** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

8. The blue smoke
Is rising to the castle,
I think, that **rTselha snyanpo's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

9. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the country,
I think, that **Yulthsa snyanpo's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

10. The blue smoke
Is spreading over the peasants' [houses],
I think, that **Phalha snyanpo's** anger may not be provoked,
It is an offering to him.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om bkrashispar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally: it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kêsar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean:— 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma zhus* the original rendering was probably *ma zhu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthsa*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are **able to answer certain questions.** All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kêsar-Myths, the **lha's** or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or **lhatho's** were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thsa* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thsathsa.* All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo.

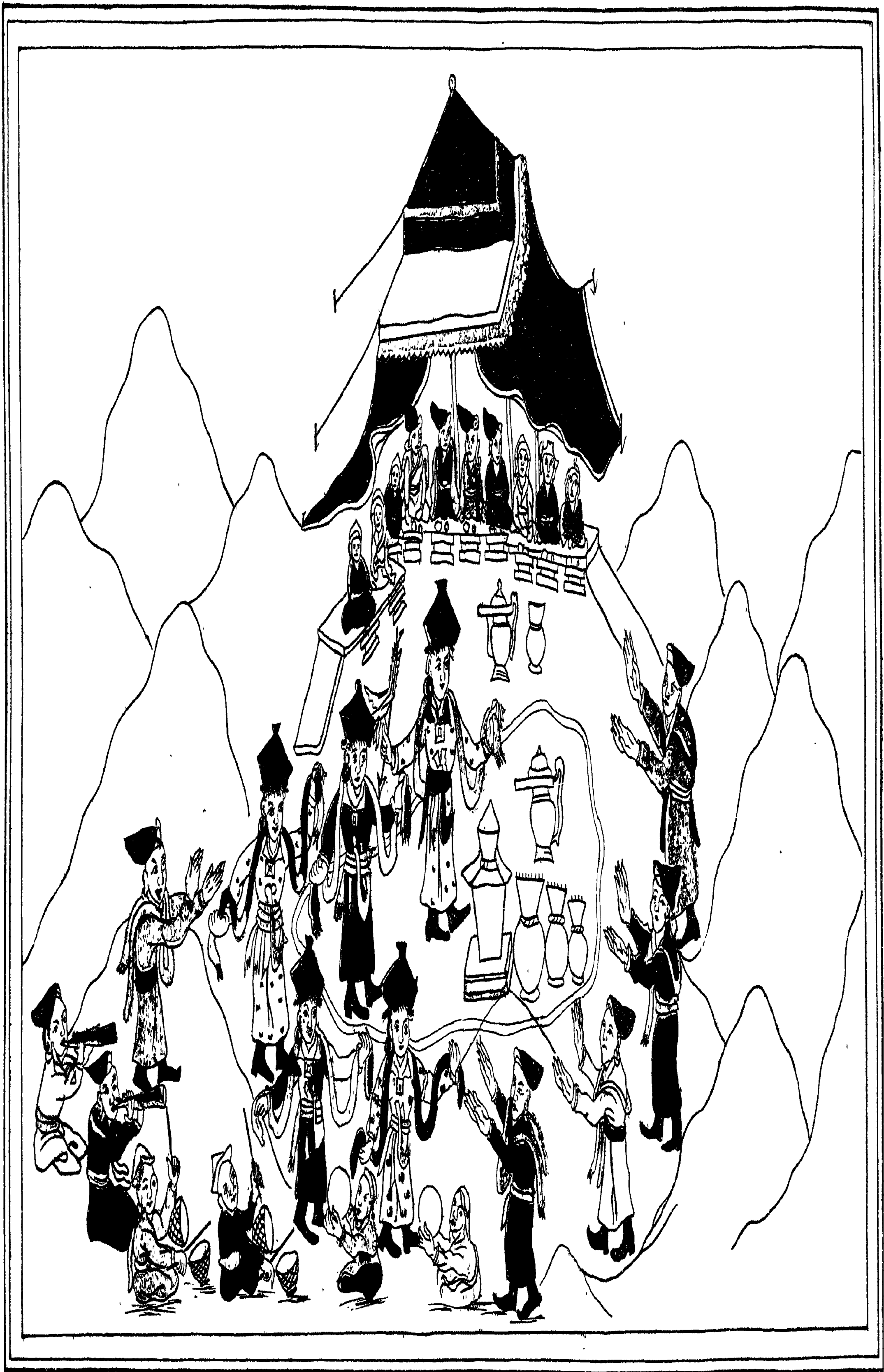
nangmas.

1. phuru yar γzigs 'ang
   gangs chu dkarpo de
   su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.

People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
   That white glacier water,
   What and whose beer is it?



LITHO B E S PRESS.

2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de
su dang ganggi chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
su dang ganggi chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
su dang ganggi chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chabrkyan nangdu
yang dkar naskyi chang
su dang ganggi chang.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones.
What and whose beer is it!

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head
The beer [made] of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

B.

Nyopas landu.

II. B. 1. phuru yar γzigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
dar sing γsoba'i chang.

2. γyasla yar γzigs 'ang
γy'a chu khral khrol de
shaphran γsoba'i chang.

3. mdoru yar γzigs 'ang
γtsang chab sngonmo de
nyaphran γsoba'i chang.

4. γyonla yar γzigs 'ang
chumig kyal kyil de
ma zhing γsoba'i chang.

5. sbrulmgo ma chab rkyanla
yang dkar naskyi khuba de
nyo 'am spun bdungyi chang.

The *Nyopas* answer:

II. B. 1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer, nourishing the ice-lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer, nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there below!
That blue river water
Is the beer, nourishing the little fishes.

4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there
Are the beer, nourishing the mother-fields.

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The fluid [made] of white barley
Is the beer of the *Nyopas* or the seven brethren.

Notes.

A. 2. *γyachu*, this word is used here, so people tell me, for water with stones, not for stagnant water, *khralhhrol*, noisy. 4. *kyalkyil* scattered about. 5. *ma*, mother, used for everything large, here the large jar.

B. 4. *ma zhing*, motherfield, a very fertile field. Instead of *kyalkyil-parpur* is also used in the same sense.

Notes.

A. 5. The mouth of the jar is formed like a snake's head. B. 1. The ice-lion with the blue locks [or mane] was originally the glacier itself, later on it developed into a fabulous being, which was thought to live there. 5. The number of the *Nyopas* ought to be seven.

Song No. III.

A.

III. A. snyan γsanpar mdzodcig.

1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.
2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.
3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.
4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.
5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas
6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.
7. γzhis dang γnaskyi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.
8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de
su dang ganggis byas.

III. A. Now listen with your ears!

1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms [plants, animals],
By whom and how was it created?
2. The existence of East and West,
By whom and how was it created?
3. The existence of South and North,
By whom and how was it created?
4. The existence of height and depth,
By whom and how was it created?
5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley,
By whom and how was it created?
6. The existence of castle and village,
By whom and how was it created?
7. The existence of hearth and home,
By whom and how was it created?
8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
By whom and how was it created?

B.

phyimas landu.

III. B. 1. dgung dang dbyibskyi mjalthsul de
nyi zla γnyiskyis byas.
2. shar dang nubkyi mjalthsul de
khri γdugs nyimas byas.
3. lho dang byanggi mjalthsul de
zla mthsan dkarpos byas

The Nyopas answer:

III. B. 1. The existence of the high heaven and of the forms
Was created by sun and moon.
2. The existence of East and West
Was created by the sun, the umbrella of the throne.
3. The existence of South and North
Was created by the Moon, the whitener of the night.

4. steng dang 'oggi mjalthsul de
sbang char zilbus byas.

5. phu dang mdoyi mjalthsul de
skyeser[3] rlungpos byas.

6. mkhar dang yulgyi mjalthsul de
rgyal dang blongyis byas.

7. γzhis dang γnaskyi mjalthsul de
γnyendrung rnamskyis byas.

8. phyi dang nanggi mjalthsul de
nyo'am spun bdungyis byas.

4. The existence of height and depth
Was created by the dewy soaking rain.

5. The existence of an upper and a lower valley
Was created by *skyeser*, the wind.

6. The existence of castle and village
Was created by the king and the ministers.

7. The existence of hearth and home
Was created by you, our friends.

8. The fact, that some people are outside and some inside,
Was created by the *Nyopas*, the seven brethren.

Notes.

In the original *mjalthso* is given instead of *mjalthsul*, which is unintelligible. See more examples for elision of *l* at the end of a syllable in my *Ladâkhî Grammar*, laws of sound 4. *dbyibs* is a word, not so easily understood, two kinds of *dbyibs* are mentioned in XIII., they are *nammkha*, sky, heaven, and *chos*, religion. B. 5. *skyeser*, name of the wind god. May be either *skyegsar*, the reborn one, see Kêsar-Myth, or *skyebser*, producer of coolness.

Notes.

A. 8. This question refers to the scene created by the arrival of the *Nyopas* B. 2. The sun is often called an umbrella on account of his circular shape. 3. Though the moon as representative of the night can be made to account for the North, it is difficult to see her relation to the South.

B 4. Perhaps on account of the fact, that clouds show great varieties of altitude. 5. A strong draught is felt in every valley.

Song No. IV.

A.

byonrabs yin.

IV. A. 1. 'adir byon rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana
shar phyogs rgyalpo suzhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

2. lhoyi phyogsnas yongstsana
lho phyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar
dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

This is about the origin [of the *Nyopas*].

IV. A. 1. When you came here from the eastern country,
Who was king there in the East?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

2. When you came here from the southern country,
Who was king there in the South?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

---

[3] Having been questioned meanwhile by Regierungsrat Dr. E. Schlagintweit about the equation *Kesar* = *skyegsar*, I wish to state the following facts This equation was not worked out by myself, but received ready made from the natives, who explain the name in this way. According to a letter from Rev. Fr. Peter, Kyelang, the popular pronunciation of the same name is *Kyesar* in Lahoul In a collection of popular songs which I received from Phyang three days ago, the king's name is invariably spelled *Kyesar*. In Leh ordinary people pronounce the name *Kesar*, but educated people, who know the myths from the epos, pronounce it *Gesar*. All the changes from *Kyesar* to *Gesar* can be accounted for, see my *Ladâkhî Grammar*, Introduction. *Kyirmo* = *girmo*.

3. kyed rnams nubkyi glingnas yong-stsana
nubphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

3. When you came here from the Western country,
Who was king there in the West?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

4. kyed rnams byanggi glingnas yong-stsana
byangphyogs rgyalpo su zhig bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog cila dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs cinda 'adra.

4. When you came here from the northern country,
Who was king there in the North?
Why may we call his subjects and servants white?
What is their shape and custom like?

B.

phimas landu.

The Nyopas answer:

IV. B. 1. ngacag nyebo rnams shargyi glingnas yongstsana
sharphyogs rgyalpo yul 'akhor srung
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
sharna khri γdugs nyima mchis

skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

IV. B. 1. When we came here from the eastern country,
Yul 'akhor srung was king there in the East.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good,
In the East there dwells the sun, the umbrella of the throne,
If you want to hear some news, ask him!

2. nga nyebo lhoyi glingnas yongstsana
lho phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
lhona 'abru sna 'adzommo dg'a

skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

2. When we came here from the southern country,
'aPhagsskyed was king there in the South.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the South they enjoy all kinds of grain,
If you wish to hear some news, ask that!

3. nga nyebo nubkhyi glingnas yong-stsana
nub phyogs rgyalpo spyan mig bzang bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar

dyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
nubna sman sna 'adzommo 'adug

skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

3. When we came here from the western country,
sPyanmig bzang was king there in the West.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.
In the West there are all kinds of medicines,
If you wish to hear some news, ask them!

4. ngacag nyebo rnams byanggi glingnas byongstsana
byang phyogs rgyalpo 'aphags skyed bzhugs
bran dang 'akhor γyog chosla dkar

dbyibs dang chalugs bdelegs 'adug
byangna thsos sna 'adzommo 'adug
skad cig 'adrina dela dris.

4. When we came here from the northern country,
'aPhagsskyed was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and servants white.
Their shape and custom are good.

In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear some news, ask them.

Notes.

A. 1, *etc.* *cin da*, ought to be spelt according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda*, *mda* (or perhaps *'ada*) meaning 'about.' The names of the kings mean B. 1. protector of the country. 2 and 4. the high-born one. 3. good eye. Very likely the original name of 4 had been lost and that of 2 was inserted instead. Each verse may also have a seventh concluding line: *ngacag nyebo rnamsla skadcha bshadrgyu med*, we friends do not know any news; *'adzommo* = *'adzompo*, plentiful. Instead of *bdelegs* the original has *bdelags*.

Notes.

A. 1, *etc.* White is the colour of the **lha's** and of all good things. B. As regards the products of the different countries, they are mentioned in about the same manner in *Ladakhi Songs* No. XV. Harvest festival at **Skyurbuchan.** They are perhaps more of a practical than of a mythological interest.

The three names, given in this song, do not seem to be of Tibetan origin. They are probably the Tibetan names of the Indian *lôkapâlas.* Though there can be no doubt as to the prebuddhist origin of this song as a whole, the names of the kings may be later Lamaist interpolations. I am rather inclined to believe, that an ancient version of this song had the names of those kings, who actually reigned in the respective regions many years ago. In this connection it may be added, that in Song No. X., where the four points of the compass come in again, actual geographical kingdoms, for instance China and India, are mentioned. Regarding the names, given in IV., compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 181; *spyanmig bzang*, instead of *mig mi bzang*, is probably a corruption, as it does not correspond to the Indian *virûpâksha.*

Song No. V.

A.

berrabs yin.

phyimas.

V. A. 1. shing stagpa skyerpa shugpa γsum
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdungshig

This is about the sticks.

The **Nyopas** say:—

V. A. 1. The birch, the alp-willow and the cedar,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!

3. de γsum shing dang rdung'zerna
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len
5. lusky phe ralna pheral stong dang len
6. snyangyi γyu 'achagna γyu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.

legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.

3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold !

Well thought, you mighty friends !

B.

nangmas landu

V. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing γyu lcang ldempa 'adi
2. 'akhrungsa rgyagar yuldu 'akhrungs
3. thsarsa bodyul dbussu thsar
4. lcugstod serpo γserla yod
5. rtsemo sngonmo γyula byas
6. lhayi dbangpo rgya bzhinnas
7. lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig
8. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig γnang zerna
9. nyi zlai buzhig 'abrangs
10. zla skar mdundu mchis
11. don ngan phugssu 'akhrugs
12. phu ngan duba che
13. mgron ngan ringdu mchis
14. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob
15. nam bz'a rincangyi ldurcig phob.

People of the house say : —

V. B. 1. This elastic stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. Arose in India, its birth-place.
3. It grew in **dBus** in Tibet, its growing place.
4. Its flexible yellow upper half looks like gold.
5. Its blue tip was made of turquoise.
6. By the king of the gods, **rGya bzhin,**
7. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
8. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
9. ' A son of sun and moon may follow [you] !
10. The moon and the stars may be before [you] !
11. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
12 If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
13. A bad guest be far away ! '
14. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks.
15. Beat them on their costly dress !

Notes.

A. 4. *ldem*, said to be the golden hat of the Nyopas, is called *ldem* either on account of its stiff shape or because of its being an emblem (allegory) of the sun. As will have been noticed in the preceding songs, the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun god. 5. *phe* = *phye*, perf. tense, of *'abyedpa*, to open, thus 'if you beat an opening of the body, "a wound,' the verb being used as a noun.

B. 3. *thsarsa*, finishing place, when applied to men, it is the country, where maturity is attained. 4. *γserla yod*, it belongs to gold. 5. *γyula byas*, it was made [turned] into turquoise. 9. *'abrangs* = *'abrengs*, imperative tense. 10. instead of *mdundu* the original has *dondu*, instead of *mchis* it has *ches* and *che*; the same must be said of *mchis* in B. 13. *nambz'a* Ladakhi for *nabz'a*. *ldur* perhaps the same as *ldur ldur* in Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Notes.

Because at the end of each verse in IV. the Nyopas failed to give a satisfactory account of the four countries, this is taken as a sufficient cause to beat them. For their defence they recite V. A., VI. A., and VII. A., and find fault with the sticks. On the other hand the bride's party praise their sticks as having been approved of by the king of heaven V. B., a king of the earth VI. B., and the king of the underworld [waters] in VII. B.

B. 9 and 10 is said to refer to the procession of the wedding party.

Song No. VI.

A.

phyimas.

VI. A. 1. shing grama glangma lcangma γsum
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdung-shig
3. de γsum shing dang rdung zerna
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len
6. snyangyi γyu 'achagna γyu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.

The Nyopas say :—

VI. A. 1. The furze, the hill willow and the house willow,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold!
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!
Well thought, you mighty friends!

B.

nangmas landu

VI. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing γyu lcang sngonpoi
2. skyedpa sngonpo γyula byas
3. lo 'adab 'adzamgling mi yul khyab

People of the house answer :—

VI. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,
2. The blue middle was made of turquoise.
3. The leaves of the tree cover all 'aDzamgling the country of men.

4. rje sabdag rgyalpo bzhinnas
5. lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig.
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig γnang zerna
7. rgyalpoi bu zhig 'abrangs
8. zlaskar mdundu mchis
9. don ngan phugssu 'akhrugs
10. phu ngan duba che
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob
13. nam bz'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.

4. By the king, the owner and lord of the earth
5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. 'A son of the king may follow [you]!
8. The moon and the stars may be before [you]!
9. Bad speech ought to be blamed,
10. If [the fire] is badly blown there is much smoke.
11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks,
13. Beat them on their costly dress.

Notes.

In B. two lines seem to have been lost, because for all the rest this song is in conformity with V. B. or perhaps V. B. 2, 3 are later additions In 4 the king is mentioned as representative of the earth, an older version may have had Mother **skyabs bdun**, compare Song No. I. B. 2, *ante*, p. 134.

Notes.

B. 3. **'aDzamgling** or **'aDzambugling.** comprised originally Tibet and India, later on all Asia or the whole earth, in the latter sense it is to be taken here. It is the Indian *Jambudvîpa*.

Song No. VII.

A.

phyimas

VII. A. 1. shing starbu 'umbu thserbu γsum
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdungshig
3. de γsum shing dang rdung zerna
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len
6. snyangyi γyu 'achagna γyu 'achag stong dang len
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.

The Nyopas say:—

VII. A. 1. The walnut-tree, the tamarisk and the thorn,
2. With sticks of these three kinds of wood do not beat us!
3. If you beat us with these three kinds of wood,
4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

B.

nangmas

VII. B. 1. bdaggi lagtu yodpai shing γyu lcang sngonpoi

People of the house say:—

VII. B. 1. Of this green stick of the turquoise willow, which is in my hand,

2. rtsaba dkarpo dungla byas.	2. The white root was made of a shell.
3. sbathag 'og phyogs kluyul khyab	3. The roots [of the tree] cover all the lower underworld.
4. klurgyal lcogpo m'a gros zilchen-nas	4. By the wise and glorious lCogpo, King of the Underworld,
5. lcags rgyabpai bk'a khrol cig	5. [There was issued] an order to beat [with it].
6. 'adila bk'alung yang dagpa zhig γnang zerna	6. If you ask, what holy prophecy he gave regarding it,
7. klu phranbu zhig 'abrangs	7. 'A young **kLu** may follow [you]!
8. yul thsa mdundu mchis	8. The village idol may be before [you]!
9. don ngan phugssu 'akhrugs	9. Bad speech ought to be blamed.
10. phu ngan duba che	10. If [the fire] is badly blown, there is much smoke.
11. mgron ngan ringdu mchis	11. A bad guest be far away!'
12. rinchen dbyugpas char cig phob.	12. Now let go down a rain [of blows] with the costly sticks.
13. nambz'a rincangyi ldur cig phob.	13. Beat them on their costly dress!

Notes.

VII. A. 1. '*umbu*='*ombu*, tamarisk. B. 7 *phran* is generally used only of young animals. In 11 the original has *song*, go, instead of *mchis*, be. This fact is perhaps the best justification for my putting *mchis* in the place of *che* and *ches* of the original.

Notes.

If we look at V. B. 4, VI. B. 2, and VII. B. 2, we see, that the stick of the turquoise willow is identified with the tree of the world, which we find in so many mythologies. The roots of this tree cover the underworld, VII. B. 3, the leaves cover the earth VI. B. 3, and the top reaches *stanglha*.

Song No. VIII.

A.

phyimas	The Nyopas say:—
VIII. A. 1. skyaba zanthsan dang 'ulu thsigs bcad dang yogpa snanag dang	VIII. A. 1. The soup-spoon, the gravy-spoon and the black-nosed poker,
2. de γsum shing dang ma rdung-shig	2. With these three sticks do not beat us!
3. de γsum shing dang rdung zerna	3. If you beat us with these three sticks,
4. mgoyi ldem 'achagna ldem 'achag stong dang len	4. Breaking our helmets, you must return them a thousandfold,
5. luskyi phe ralna pheral stong dang len	5. Hurting our body, we shall return it a thousandfold,
6. synangyi γyu 'achagna γyu 'achag stong dang len	6. Breaking our earrings, you must return them a thousandfold,
7. 'oggi sga 'achagna sga 'achag stong dang len.	7. Breaking our saddles, you must return them a thousandfold!

B

nangmas lan ma shespas yang phyimas

VIII. B. 1. nged nyebo rnamsla rdungbai
shing zhig yod

shing hala ldempai shing zhig
yod

shing hula ldempai shing zhig
yod

shing rtsaba γcigla rtsemo γsum

rtsemo γsumla yalga drug.

2. yalga dangporu

bya chen khyunggi thsangs

γser sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig
de dang rgyob mdzod cig
de dang rdung mdzodna
mgoyi ldem 'achagnayang
ldem 'achag stong meddo

luskyi phe ralna

pheral stong meddo

snyangyi γyu 'achagnayang

γyu 'achag stong meddo

'oggi sga 'achagnayang
sga 'achag stong yang med.

3. yalga γnyisparu
byargyal rgodpoi thsangs

γyu sgong ma bcagpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*
(see v. 2).

Because the people of the house do not know what to answer, the Nyopas say:—

VIII. B. 1. A wood to beat us, friends, does exist.

It is a wonderfully elastic wood,

It is a marvellously elastic wood.

There is a tree, the root of which has three stems.

These three stems have [together] six boughs.

2. On the first bough

There is the nest of the huge bird **khyung**.

Not breaking the golden egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us!
With this stick do whip us!
If you beat us with this stick,
Breaking our helmets,
You need not return them a thousandfold.

Hurting our body,

We shall not return it a thousandfold.

Breaking our earrings,

You need not return them a thousandfold.

Breaking our saddles,
You need not return them a thousandfold!

3. On the second bough
There is the nest of the wild eagle.

Not breaking the turquoise egg,
Not frightening the bird,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc*
(see 2).

4. yalga ɣsumparu
mgobo ldad dkar thsangs

dung sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas shog
de dang rdung mdɣodcig, *etc.*

5. yalga bzhiparu
glagmo mkhal dkar thsangs

dngul sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

6. yalga lngaparu
ribya gongmoi thsangs

byur sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agrogspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzod cig, *etc.*

7. yalga drugparu
khraskya dkarmoi thsangs

lcags sgong ma bcagpa
bya thsangs ma bshigpa
bya de ma 'agropspa
shing de snamnas byon
de dang rdung mdzodcig, *etc.*

4. On the third bough
There is the nest of the bird 'white head.'
Not breaking the pearl-white egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

5. On the fourth bough
There is the nest of the eagle 'white kidney.'
Not breaking the silver egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

6. On the fifth bough
There is the nest of the snow partridge.
Not breaking the coral egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

7. On the sixth bough
There is the nest of the white falcon.
Not breaking the iron egg,
Not destroying the bird's nest,
Not frightening the bird,
Take a stick and come!
With this stick do beat us! *etc.*

Notes.

A. 1. The expressions given here are colloquial Lower Ladakhi for soup-spoon, table-spoon and poker. B. 1. *hala* = *halas, hula* the same as *hala*. *rtsemo* means originally 'top.' 2. *sgong* = *sgonga*, egg. The termination *pa* in *bcagpa*, *bshigpa* and *'agrogspa* is Ladakhi for *par*, the supine being used here in a gerundial sense. 5. *mkhal dkar*, white kidney, *i. e.*, the feathers over the kidney are white. 6. *ribya*, another name of the same bird is *lhabya*.

Notes.

This song seems to contain a further description of the tree of the world. It is remarkable that the tree of the world is said to have six boughs, for I have not yet met with the number six in other books relating to Bonpa mythology. In this connection I should like to mention that according to the *Edda* there are six animals (a goat and five stags) feeding on the leaves of the tree of the world, and that the *Edda* (not *Simrock*) speaks of six worlds.

Song No. IX.

A.

IX. A. 1. khyed nyebo me ma khrul	IX. A. 1. Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down!
2. da nang yongba gangnas yongs	2. Now, you, who enter, from where do you come?
3. 'agroba nyidcag gangdu 'agro	3. Then, where will you go to?
4. sdodpai bde lce gangna yod	4. Where will you be pleased to sit down?
5. dgospai skudon sula yod	5. For whose sake do you come?
6. γzhungyul 'adiru cila byon.	6. Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

B.

phyimas.	The Nyopas say:—
IX. B. 1. yong da ngazha sharphyogs bde-chen glingnas yongs.	IX. B. 1. We come from a happy country in the East,
2. 'agro da ngazha nubphyogs urgyan glingdu 'agro	2. We go to the country of the paradise in the West.
3. sdodpai bdelce de sa γnas 'adina yod	3. We shall be pleased to sit down here.
4. dgospai skudon ni γzhungyul 'adina yod.	4. Our aim is here in the middle of village.
legs bsams dbanggi nyebo.	Well thought, you mighty friends!

Notes.

A. 1. *me ma khrul*, do not let the fire fall down, proverbial expression, for 'do not break down now, show your ingenuity!' 4. The original has *sula* instead of *gangna*, the lines 4 and 5 having been confounded. B. 2. **urgyan**, here in Lower Ladakh is understood to mean either **Padmasambhava** or the '**Western Paradise.**' 1 and 2 again show, plainly, that the Nyopas have to play the part of the sun.

Notes.

This song IX. is generally the conclusion of the scene before the house, the Nyopas are invited to enter and tell the name of the girl. Then the bridal party, the Nyopas and the whole village sit down for a great feast, when the **Chang glu** (the continuation of the wedding song, given above) is sung. On the following morning a Buddhist Lama appears and reads a scripture portion from an orthodox Buddhist book. People tell me that he may read anything, he likes, because neither the Lama nor the bride are able to grasp the meaning, and the chief thing is the correct pronunciation. Then the bride and the Nyopas mount their horses and ride to the house of the bridegroom, where another feast is given.

Conclusion.

Having thus arrived at the end of the first intelligible half of the wedding ritual, it will be as well to add a few words about the other less intelligible half, though the latter is not yet ready for publication. After a study of the verses contained in it, which can be understood fairly well, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called **second half of the ritual** is not the continuation of the first; but a composition apart. It is in reality a **new ritual dating from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh**, and is an attempt to replace the ancient Bonpa ritual by another, which, though not entirely Lamaist, tries to introduce Buddhist ideas by placing them side by side with Bonpa ideas. That this

compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kêsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern **Lôka, pâla-Donyodgrubpa** could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kêsar-Myths we learn, that **Kêsar**, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called **Dongrub**, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the **Lôkapâla** of the north (*i. e.*, the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? **Donyodgrubpa** means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name **Dongrub** was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other **Lôkapâlas.** Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero **Kêsar**, before his entering into action,' is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kêsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v srednevěkovym jevropejskim eposě*. Moskau, 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

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[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors, if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr Grunwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen.*

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME OLD INDO-EUROPEAN TERMS FOR BOATS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

THESE remarks have arisen out of a statement and an illustration occurring in a MS. of **1669-79** by T. B[ateman], usually quoted as "T. B., Asia, *etc.*," *fol.*, 100. "A purgoo : These Vse for the most part between Hugly and Pyplo and Ballasore: with these boats they carry goods into yͤ Roads On board English and Dutch, *etc.*, Ships, they will liue a longe time in yͤ Sea: beinge brought to anchor by yͤ Sterne, as theire Vsual way is."

This passage is quoted in Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam*, p. 266, who was given it by Yule with this remark : — "J. [*i. e.*, T] B., the author, gives a rough drawing. It represents the **Purgoe** as a somewhat high-sterned lighter, not very large, with five oar-pins a side. I cannot identify it exactly with any kind of modern boat, of which I have found a representation. It is perhaps most like the **palwar**. I think it must be an Orissa word, but I have not been able to trace

it in any dictionary, Uṛiyâ or Bengali." The modern Indian **palwâr** (Malay, **palwa**) is a skiff, and would not answer the description. Anderson, *loc. cit.*, mentions that in **1685** several "**well-laden Purgoes**" and boats had put in for shelter at Ramêswaram to the northward of Madapollam," *i. e*, on the Coromandel Coast There seems to be no such word known there now.

I think, however, that the term **purgoo** is probably an obsolete Anglo-Indian corruption of an Indian corruption of the Portuguese term **barco, barca** Thus, **1510**. "Into the Island Çuaquem [Suâkin] they imported many spices from India and there they embarked in shallops [**gelua-jaliâ**] (which are a kind of **barques** [**barcos**], like **caravelas** which ply in the Straits) . . . . and there they took passage in **barges** [**barcas**] and in a few days' time reached Cairo." Dalboquerque, *Hak. Soc Ed.*, II., 230. In **1498**, Vasco da Gama, *Hak. Soc. Ed.*, p 107, in his *Malayâlam Vocabulary* translates **barca** by **çambuco** [**sanbûq**, Ar., sailing boat for going ashore], and he habitually used the word for any kind of sailing boat (*op. cit.* 240) At p 77 occurs "about a league below Calecut about seventy boats [**barcas**] approached," which **barcas** Castanheda called **tones**. These the Hak. Soc. Editor calls by a mistake "rowing-boats." The **dhony, dhoney**, Tam. **tôṇi**, is a large shallow sailing boat, 70 ft. by 20 ft. beam.

The above quotations seem to establish the fact that **barca** was used for any kind of sailing boat by the early Portguese visitors to the East.

The **prow**. with all its variants, **paró, parao, pharao, proe, provoe, praw, pairau**, and its double derivation from the Malayalam **pâṛu** and the Malay **prâu, prâhu**, has all along been used as a generic term for any kind of sailing vessel, especially for those taking cargoes and passengers to and from the early travellers' ships.

To the many quotations given by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s v.* **prow**, I would add the following referring to the **pâṛu** of the Indian West Coast **1508**: — A **parao** filled with the corpses of the principal Moors, who had been killed in action was sent drifting to shore towards the city" *Dalboquerque, Hak. Soc. Ed.*, II, liii. **1623**. — October the sixteenth. In the Morning we discern'd four Ships of Malabar Rovers near the shore (they called them **Paroes** and they goe with Oars like Galeots or Foists) *Della Valle, Hak. Soc. Ed*, II., 201. The **foist**, Port. **fusta**, was a small sailing vessel. But the identification of **parao** with the Malayalam **pâṛu** is shown by Pyrard de Laval (1611). "The Portuguese call their own galiots **Navires** (**navios**) and those of the Malabars **Pairaus**. Most of these vessels were **Chetils**.[1] that is to say merchantmen. Immediately on arrival the Malabars draw up their **Pados** or galiots on the beach. I was witness to the most gallant behaviour on the part of one of these **Pados** which was returning from war." *Hak. Soc. Ed.*, II., 345.

Then again there was the Anglo-Indian **parr** or **parra** suggesting the Dakhanî word **paṛwâ** (*cf.* **palwa** and **palwâr** above), used for a large boat. **1684**: — Jan. 12 Recd. a Generall from Vizagapatam p^r a **Parr** dated 4th instant . . . . Nov. 3. Also Severall **Parras** and other larg boat in our River broak and blown beyond Recovery. *Mad Cons. Pringle's Ed.* pp 6, 132, and note, p 165 f.

There were, therefore, several words of varying origin, closely allied in sound, in use for small sailing-vessels and large boats, which were used also for boats generically. Indeed the variants seem endless: *vide* Linschoten, c. **1584**. "In small boates called **Tones** and **Pallenges** [or **Palegas**] bring them abord." *Hak Soc. Ed*, II, 191.

But the **prow** from its Malay derivation of **prâhu** was mixed up with the **pirogue** (French for a canoe) and possibly the Portuguese **peragua**, a fast sailing-vessel. **1703**: — They saw also near the City of Bantam above sixty little **Barks** which the Inhabitants call **Praos, Prauwen** or **Pirogues** The Sails and Tackling are the same with those of the **Jonques**. Those were Fishermen Boats." *Coll. of Dutch Voyages*, 145. Elsewhere, *loc. cit*, pp. 138, 144 (misprinted **piroque**) and 137 ("the Crew of the Lion met with a little **Pirogue** or Indian Boat"), the compiler nearly always uses **pirogue** for **prâhu**, though sometimes for a canoe or small boat (p. 282).

The old French writers do not, however, seem to have themselves used **pirogue** in the East for a canoe. In the *Premier Livre de LHistoire de la Navigation aux Indes Orientales par les Hollandois*, **1609**, we find, fol. 8: — "Ils en font de **Canaos** [elsewhere in the book always **Canoas**]

[1] *I. e., cheṭṭi.* For the interesting *l* in this word see *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 245, n 40.

ou **Barques**, de moyenne grandeur, d'une seule piece." Fol. 18: — "Ainsi navigans en compagnie de **Paraos** nous vinsmes la où nous trouvâmes trois ou quatre **Canoas**." Fol. 20: — "En un Golphe ou pays de Iava veismes un **Ionco**, qui est un bateau de Iava." On fol. 23 there is a "Delineation sur le vif" of a fight between the Dutch fleet and 24 **paraos** and **ioncos de Iava** where the **paraos** are armed boats and the **ioncos** sailing vessel. Chap. 33 (fol. 35 ff.) is entitled "Des **Fustes**, Galeottes, navires ou **Ioncos**, **Pharaos**, **Barques de guerre** & esquifs en Iava & lieux circonvoisins & les lieux où pour le plus basty," with an illustration which shows the **ioncos** to be ships, the **paraos** to be sailing-vessels or **barques**, and the fishing boats (**canoas**) to be outrigged canoes. In **1686** the *Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites*, p. 133, says: — "Cependant il venoit a toute heure à bord une infinité du **Canots de Javans** qu'ils appellent **Praux**" with an illustration of the "Rade de Bantam" showing a sailing **Prau** and a **Canot** or fishing **Prau** (outrigged Canoe). In the *Journal en suite du Voyage de Siam* (Amsterdam reprint, **1687**), under 16 Aoust (**1685**) we read. — "Le Chevalier de Fourbin est parti ce matin à une heure aprés minuit dans le **canot**" (p. 117). And under Septembre 26, "A huit heures du soir est arrivé un petit **canot** Siamois." The English translation of the *Voyage de Siam*, London, **1688**, p. 95, has: "In the mean time vast numbers of the **Javaners Canoes, which they call Praux**, came on Board of us every minute." And it gives the plan of the "Rade de Bantam" in facsimile.

All this information is exactly on a par with that from Lockyer. **1711**: — "The large **Proes** will carry fourteen or fifteen Tun and are chiefly imploy'd in profitable Voyages to the Coasts of Pegu, Malacca, *etc.* But their flying **Proes** are only for fishing, coasting and visiting the Islands thereabouts." — *Trade in India*, 45. But at p 92 he has: — "4 Cochin-Chinese Galleys with **Prows**, which mounted to in all 65 and in them about 300 Soldiers."

That the Malay **prâhu** was used for any kind of sailing vessel is neatly evidenced by a queer contribution to *Asiatic Researches*, 1818, Vol. XII. p. 129 ff, on the "*Maritime Institutions of the Malays.*" At p. 130, we read, "these are the Laws to be enforced in **Ships, Junks and Prâhus**;" but throughout the Rules that follow **prâhu** is used for every kind of ship indiscriminately. This is of course evidence independent of the direct statement of all Malay scholars, Raffles, Marsden, Crawfurd, Maxwell, Swettenham, *etc.*, that **prâu**, **prâhu** is a generic term for a vessel of any kind on the water.

As regards **purgoo, purgoe, purga, porgo, byrgoe**, the evidence is as follows: —

1669-79. — T. B. shows in the text above quoted that the **purgoo** was a lighter for goods at "Hugly, Pyplo and Ballasore." It probably could also sail.

1680. — "A **porgo** drove ashore in the Bay about Peply, laden with the Company's Petre." — *Mad. Consult.* See also Yule, *Supplt. s v* **porgo**. No doubt these boats were identical with those T. B. alluded to.

1683. — "The Thomas arrived with y° : 28 Bales of Silk taken out of the **Purga**." — *Hedges, Hak. Soc. Ed*, I., 65. At p. 63 we read: "forcing away y^e^ Master and all y^e^ men of y^e^ boat whereon y^e^ remainder of our Decca fine cloth and 28 Bales of Silk were laden." So the **purga** was a "boat" of the lighter class. At p. 64 it was "y^e^ boat we brought from Hugly."

1685. — Anderson's statement above quoted from the Madapollam *Records* presumes the **purgoe** to have been a freight-boat.

1685. — Pringle notes in *Mad. Cons.* for 1684, p. 165: — "(**porgo** occurs) in Hoogly letter to Fort St. George, dated 6th February 1684-5 coupled with **bora** (Hind. **bhaṛ**, a lighter), but in his 1685 vol. he does not quote the letter.

The **purgoo** then was a **barge** (**barca**) confused with the **bark** (**barco**), just as the sail-less barge and the sailing bark have been confused in the West. *Vide Leguat*, 1692, *Hak. Soc. Ed.*, I., 107: — "We were to build a pretty big **Boat** . . . . Our **Bark** was twenty Foot long at the Keel six broad and four deep, we rounded it at both ends."

I close these notes with two useful quotations towards the history of the word **Prow**.

1686. — The natives are very ingenious beyond any people in making Boats or **proes**, as they are called in the East Indies. and therein they take great delight. [Describing a canoe with an "outlager," *i. e.*, outrigger]. — *Dampier, New Voyage*, 2nd Ed., 1697, p. 298 f.

1813. — The Malay and Buggess [Bugis] **proas** . . . . used to come here [Junkceylon] to exchange their produce." — *Milburn, Commerce*, II. p. 292.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Screetore — Secretary.

Ante, Vol. XXIX. p. 116, I explained that the word screetore was, in its various Anglo-Indian forms, a corruption of the auctioneers' and furniture-dealers' word escritoire for a fancy writing table *(bureau)*. I give here a still further corruption of it from a furniture-dealer's book. A would-be antique book called "The Compiler | Furniture and Decorations | Choice and select Designs | from the best Authors | Compiled and Published | by R. Charles designer | 14 Fulham Road South Kensington | London, 1879" has come into my hands. At p 109 are two designs copied from Ince of fancy writing tables. Putting Ince's date at about 1750 we get at a date for the quaint heading of the designs.

c. 1750. — "Lady's Secretary's. W. Ince invt. et del M. Darly sculp. (Designed by W. Ince, contemporary to Chippendale.)"

R. C. TEMPLE.

SOME HINDU SUPERSTITIONS IN THE CENTRL PROVINCES.

1. When a sick person is at the point of death, the howling of dogs, or the hover or scream of kites, denotes that celestial beings are about to take the departing soul up into the heavens.

2. If a mother complains of failure of milk, the old women of the household go at once to the nearest well, circumambulate it, burn incense and make offerings of cocoanut and libations of milk and water. At each libation the following prayer is offered :— "O merciful Gangâ, fill my breasts with as heavy a volume as thine own bosom bears."

3. Weapons of all sorts are supposed to bear animosity, as such, towards human beings The way to secure yourself against the enmity of any particular weapon is to knock it several times against Mother Earth.

4. The slaying of a cat is a great sin, and to expiate it, you must eat its tail, or, if you can afford it, you should make a golden cat and give it in charity to a temple.

5 Drought is said to be caused by throwing pieces of iron out of the house during a shower of rain. There is, however, a doubt about this, and some say that it is a good thing to do as the pieces of iron will act as lightning conductors.

6. The surest way of bringing about a drought is to bury a female corpse with a fœtus in its womb. The only cure for this is to exhume the body and take the fœtus out and then bury it again If a woman is buried when pregnant at a time of year which is not the autumn there will be no rain in consequence during the next rainy season.

7. If a child is afflicted with a bad cold it is sufficient for the mother to seat it in the lap of a brother or sister, or of any old woman failing the first two, and pour into the child's nostrils a mixture of sesamum oil boiled with flies and garlic

8. When a child is learning to walk and falls on the ground, the mother should spit on the spot and kick it and at the same time abuse the ground. This she should do to drive away the hungry imps and devils that are always prowling about to do mischief and have brought about the fall of the child.

M. R. PEDLOW.

SOME CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH FROM PORT BLAIR.

1. "Portland Cement" becomes simin, simint and sirmit.

2. "Mess, mess-house" becomes messcott in petitions, being a mixture of Eng. "mess" and Hind. *kôṭ*, house.

3. Kwangtung, the name of a local ship, becomes Kultin.

4. Bablance quic is the form on a *menu* that bubble and squeak, the favorite dish of the native cook, sometimes assumes.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A History of Sanskrit Literature, by Arthur A. Macdonell, M A., Ph D., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Boden Professor of Sanskrit and Fellow of Balliol. (Short Histories of the Literatures of the World, IX. London: William Heinemann, 1900.)

Professor Macdonell has given us a thoroughly interesting and readable account of a great subject. His book is a popular book in the best sense of the word: but it is much more than this. The judiciously selected bibliographies, which he has added to his chapters, will be of the greatest utility to the student, who wishes to make a more minute investigation of any particular branch of Sanskrit literature.

Such a book, giving a comprehensive view of the whole, and, at the same time, affording a clue to the study of the different parts, was very greatly needed in English. European students, indeed, usually know enough German to be able to use German works, and they have had for the last thirteen years Prof. L von Schroeder's *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, the scope of which is much the same as that of the present work. But Native Indian students are not, as a rule, similarly equipped; and everyone who has had to teach Native students must have experienced a difficulty which will now be removed by this hand-book.

Summarizing, as it does, the results of a host of special monographs, Prof. Macdonell's book contains in many respects, and especially in regard to the *Veda*, a much fuller account of the gains of modern scholarship than is to be found elsewhere in any one volume. For example, his accounts of the composition of the *Rig-Veda*, of the *criteria* by the application of which the relative ages of its different parts may be discovered, of the Vedic metres and their development within the *Veda* itself, *etc.*, together constitute a most useful *résumé* of the results of highly specialised research.

The great change which has of recent years come over the investigation of the history of Indian culture lies in the recognition of the fact that the Aryan in India possessed greater originality than he was previously credited with. Formerly he was allowed to have an infinite capacity for "brooding over" ideas which he had conveyed from others, but his power of initiating such ideas was denied. It was almost assumed that the invasion of Alexander the Great and the settlement of the Bactrian Greeks in Northern India had completely dominated all subsequent Indian culture. Now, on the other hand, it is difficult to mention any science or art in which some original efforts and some degree of progress are not, by general consent, conceded to India. Astronomy, mathematics, law, grammar, coinage — all these had beginnings and a more or less perfect development in India itself. Especially true is this of every branch of literature. As Prof. Macdonell points out, "The importance of ancient Indian literature as a whole largely consists in its originality. Naturally isolated by its gigantic mountain barrier in the north, the Indian peninsula has ever since the Âryan invasion formed a world apart, over which a unique form of Âryan civilisation rapidly spread, and has ever since prevailed." In this remark on the literature generally, Prof. Macdonell includes the drama, thus agreeing with the greater number of scholars now-a-days that the Indian drama had an independent origin. The attempt to derive it from a Greek source, like the attempt to trace the influence of Greek novelists in the Sanskrit romances, was really only one manifestation of what was, at one time, an almost universal bias, singularly ill-supported by any kind of tangible evidence.[1]

The statement on p 413, that Kanishka was a Çaka king and the founder of the Çaka era should be modified. On his coins he is called a Kushana, not a Çaka. The whole question of the origin of the Çaka Era is at present in a great state of uncertainty, and it cannot be said that recent contributions to the discussion have done much to enlighten us on the subject.

Professor Macdonell is to be congratulated on his courage in omitting what has hitherto been a constant feature of all works on Sanskrit literature — Goethe's little poem on Çakuntalâ. Like Schopenhauer's equally exaggerated estimate of the *Upanishads*, it has lured many an honest soul on to bitter disappointment.

E. J. Rapson.

[1] One will really not be sorry when the last is heard of the argument derived from *yavanikâ*, "the Greek cloth." When Macaulay's New Zealander undertakes to investigate the English drama, and discovers that, in our theatres, portions of the floor and stage were often covered with Turkey carpet, that the walls were dusted with a brush called a Turk's head, that, during the intervals, the denizens of the humbler parts of the house regaled themselves with Turkish delight, while their more fortunate brethren in the *foyer* partook of Turkish coffee (actually served, in one instance, at least, c. 1900 A. D., by a real live Turk) and smoked Turkish cigarettes, he will have just as good an argument for its Oriental origin.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 131.)

CHAPTER VIII.

The Parable in the Qorân.

REAL poetical element in the *Qorân* — Critical value of the *mathal* in the *Qorân*. — Its development and distribution through the various period — Views of Arab authors on the *mathal* — The shorter aphorisms collected — Parable and dogma — Parables chronologically arranged — Application of *mathals* — Biblical *mathals* in the *Qorân* — Anthropomorphism — Moslim views on the subject — Repetitions of *mathals* in altered forms — *Mathals* in Medinian revelations.

Appendix : The *Mathal* in Tradition.

Apart from those few cases already notified, in which Muhammed betrayed his inability to alienate himself completely from certain traditions of the national poetry,[79] we find his sermons embellished to a suprising extent with **poetic gems**. The *Qorân* is studded with them — to use his own phrase — like "with hidden pearls." The pathos of the declamatory period would hardly bear artistic criticism, but the case is quite different as regards the parables, poetic comparisons, and figures of speech which leapt unsought upon his tongue, and by their simplicity and appositeness give an undeniable charm to many passages otherwise forced and tedious.

When speaking in **aphorisms** Muhammed introduced no new element into the literature of the Arabs, since proverbs and epigrams are prominent in their oldest productions. His own share is unusually large, and Moslim theologians and *literateurs* eagerly compiled an enormous number of sayings and parables which they attributed to Muhammed, but with the exception of those occurring in the *Qorân* itself, it is difficult to establish the authenticity of any of them.[80]

The Arabic term for aphorism is **mathal**. The various definitions of this word, given by Moslim authors, commence with the idea of similitude,[81] like the Hebrew *mâshâl*, but the *mathal* also includes fables and short tales, which on account of some peculiar feature have become proverbial.[82] **The mathal therefore comprehends every allegory, tale, and sentence containing anything worth remembering.** To these the **Qorânic mathal** adds, under certain conditions, the interpretations of description[83] and example.[84] It afforded the Prophet numerous opportunities of alluding to persons and incidents in the guise of a parable or fable of his own invention.

Muhammed's employment of the *mathal* as an element of rhetoric was undoubtedly a concession to the familiarity of his people with this feature of national poetry, although its fictitious character should have placed it in contrast to the reality of the revelations. Indeed, Muhammed limited the fictitious appearance of the *mathal* as much as possible. The aim of his speeches was practical, and the effect of the *mathals* intended to be drastic rather than artistic. Eloquence for its own sake was not the Prophet's chief object, and in using figures of speech he never sought to be poetic.

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79 See above Ch. I. To the plays upon words mentioned by Nöldeke, *l. c.* p. 32, should be added *Qor.* vi. 26, وهم ينهون عنه وينأون عنه.

80 See Appendix to this chapter.

81 See Al Maidânî, *Arabum Proverbia*, ed. Freytag, III. p. 329. Al Beidh. on *Qor.* ii. 16, and Sprenger, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p. 1340. Kashshâf on *Qor.* xvi. 62. Al Ghazâli, in *Kit. almadnûn*, p. 102, *sq.*, establishes the difference between مثال and مثل.

82 *E. g.*, the sheep and the knife, Ḥarîri, *Maqâmas*, ntroduction, *Z. D. M. G.* xlvi. p. 737, and *Talmud*, Pesaḥ. fol. 63ro.

83 Kashsh. ii. 16 ; Al Bagh. often.

84 *Qor.* vii. 176, xvi. 62 ; for further classification *cf. Itqân*, p. 564 *sqq.*

Besides this the *mathals* of the *Qorân* have a literary importance also, as they assist in the critical treatment of the book. In some cases they serve to fix the periods of the addresses of which they form a part, and their dispersion through the book reveals the following interesting facts. In older portions they are extremely rare. None, or hardly any, occur as early as the confirmatory period. It is plain that, when the Prophet was engaged in building up the framework of the new faith, he could not at the same time adorn it, and he may also have feared that *mathals* of any kind would be suggestive of poetry. They, however, gradually crept into the declamatory period in the form of very brief comparisons, whilst real parables could only find a place amidst longer discourses of doctrinal character. The oaths taking as witnesses the sun, moon, stars, dawn, day, night and similar subjects, cannot be regarded as aphoristic expressions, because they are merely high-flown invocations of natural phenomena. Even the appeals, to the "Elevated *Qorân*," the "Book," the "Day of Judgment" in its various descriptions, and other transcendental objects are based on matters which the Prophet taught were real. His pictures of the transformations of Nature, of the Last Day, of the pleasures of paradise and the tortures of hell have also substantial backgrounds. Hence there are considerably more parabolic utterances in the shorter and less pompous period of narrative revelations, whilst **the bulk of the Meccan mathals belongs to the periods of the descriptive and legislative addresses.** They are still more frequent after the Hijra until the battle of Badr, after which they are not so often met with. We thus see that the *mathal* in the *Qorân* developed gradually. It reached its apogee, when Muhammed's hitherto purely doctrinal mission assumed a political character. Of those which appear later, some are almost repetitions of former ones, some are evolved from personal experiences, others are manifestly borrowed, one is of questionable authenticity,[85] and all of them have ittle or no fictitious element.

The *mathal* as one of the characteristic features of the *Qorân* has hitherto received no attention from European students; yet its importance did not escape several Moslim writers of repute. Fourteen shorter aphorisms were collected by Abu Manṣûr Al Tha'âlibi.[86] Al Suyûtî in his *Itqân*[87] entered more deeply into the subject proper. According to his statement, based on earlier authorities,[88] Muhammed is said to have given the *mathal* a place among the five ways in which revelations came down, and to have advised believers to reflect on their meaning. He further states that Al Mâverdi, commenting on this, teaches that study on the *mathal* holds the foremost rank among the studies of the *Qorân*, however neglected it may be, and that "a *mathal* without its application is like a horse without bridle and a camel without strap."[89] Of the views of other authors, quoted by Al Suyûtî, on the importance of the *mathal*, I will only mention one, *viz.*, that the *mathals* represent abstract reflections in concrete form, because the human mind grasps by means of the tangible. The purpose of a *mathal* is therefore the comparison of what is hidden to something that is manifest, and comprises the various degrees of approval and disapproval with their consequences. "Therefore," concludes Al Suyûtî, in his introductory remarks on the topic, "has Allâh inserted in the *Qorân* as well as in His other books many *mathals*, and one of the chapters of the Gospel bears the name: Chapter of the Parables."[90]

The difference between shorter comparisons and figures of speech, and the parable proper has already been pointed out by Al Suyûtî,[91] who treats on both in different chapters of his work, dividing the former into various classes which there is no need to be detailed here.

It is of greater importance to note that the *mathal* had to be submitted to a kind of dogmatic treatment. Some objected to the employment of the *mathals* of the *Qorân* for profane purposes. The poet Ḥarîri was blamed for having interwoven one of the *Qorânic* comparisons in one of his *Maqâmas*,[92] because, according to Al Zarkashi, it is not lawful to transfer *Qorânic mathals* to other works. We conclude from this that Moslim critics had some notion of the poetic element which was hidden in aphorisms and parables, but being accustomed to judge according to the exterior of things, they considered nothing poetic which was not written in verse and rhyme.

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[85] *Q.* xlviii. 29, see below.
[86] *Kitâb alîjâz walîʿjâz* (Cairo, 1301), p. 4.
[87] Page 776.
[88] Abû Hureira.
[89] *Itq.*, *ibid.*
[90] *Cf.* S. Matth. Ch. xiii.
[91] Itq. 564, Comparisons and Aphorisms.
[92] *Qor.* xxix. 40, *cf.* Itq. 265. *Cf.* Ḥariri *Maq.* xiii., Schol.

We will now proceed to give a list of the most striking **comparisons and aphorisms.** Although it does not claim to be exhaustive, it is yet sufficient to show Muhammed's purpose in introducing them. The parable proper will be discussed afterwards. The first group is arranged according to the sequence of *sûras* in our editions, the Medinian passages being marked by an asterisk.

* ii. 9. In their hearts is a sickness.

* 69. They (your hearts) are as stone, or harder still; there are some stones from which streams burst forth, and there are others, when they burst asunder, the water issues out.

* v. 35. We have prescribed to the children of Israel that whoso kills a soul, unless it be for another soul, or for violence [committed] in the land, it is as though he had killed men altogther.[93]

vi. 32. The life of this world is nothing but a game and a sport.[94]

66. To every prophecy is a set time.

125. Whomsoever Allâh wishes to guide, He expands his breast to Islâm; but whomsoever He wishes to lead astray, He makes his breast tight and straight, as though he would mount up into heaven.

164. No soul shall earn aught against itself; nor shall one bearing a burden bear the burden of another.[95]

vii. 38. Until the camel enters the eye of a needle.[96]

* viii. 22 (57). The worst of beasts are in Allâh's sight the deaf, the dumb, those who do not understand.

24. Allâh steps in between man and his heart.

x. 24. Your wilfulness against yourselves is but a provision of this world's life.

28. As though their faces were veiled with the deep darkness of the night.

xiii. 17. Shall the blind and the seeing be held equal? or shall the darkness and the light be held equal? [97]

xvi. 79. Nor is the matter of the Hour aught but as the twinkling of an eye or nigher still.[98]

94. Be not like her who unravels her yarn, fraying out after she has spun it close.

xvii. 86. Everyone acts after his own manner.

xxi. 36. Every soul shall taste of death.[99]

104. As the rolling of the *Sijill* for the books.[100]

* xxii. 32. He who associates aught with Allâh, it is as though he had fallen from heaven, and the birds snatch him up, or the wind blows him away into a far distant place.

xxiii. 55. Each party rejoices in what they have themselves.

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[93] *Cf.* Mishnah, *Sanh.* iv. 5.

[94] *Cf.* xxix. 64, xlvii. 38, lvii. 19; Ḥariri, *Maq.* xiii.

[95] This is a very old aphorism and occurs already in liii. 39, xxxv. 19, xxxix. 9, *etc.* See also Torrey, *The Commercial Theological Terms in the Qoran*, Leyden, 1892.

[96] *Cf.* Geiger, *l. c.* p. 71, and Al Meidâni, II. 498; Hish. 922, l. 16.

[97] *Cf. ibid.* v. 19, xxxv. 20, 21, xx. 124, 125, vi. 50, xl. 60, xxvii. 83, xxx. 52, ii., 166. *Cf.* Isaiah, vi 10; Ps. cxv. 4-7 cxxxv. 15-18.

[98] *Cf.* 1 Cor. xv. 52. The phrase is also common in the Talmud and in Syriac.

[99] *Cf.* xxix 57; iii. 182.

[100] *Cf.* Ch. IV.

xxix. 40. The weakest of houses is the house of the spider.[1]

xxxi. 18. The most disagreeable of voices is the voice of the asses.

34. No soul knows what it shall earn to-morrow, and no soul knows in what land it shall die.[2]

* xxxiii. 19. Like one fainting with death.

xxxv. 41. The plotting of evil only entangles those who practice it:

xxxvi. 39. Until it (the moon) becomes again like an old dry palm-branch.

xxxvii. 47. As though they (the maidens) were a hidden egg.

63. Its spathe is as it were the heads of devils.

xxxix. 12. Shall those who know be held equal to those who know not?

xli. 34. Good and evil shall not be deemed alike.

xlii. 19. He who wishes for the tilth of the last world — the tilth of this world.

31. The ships that sail like mountains in the sea.

* xlix. 12. Some suspicion is a sin[3] . . . . would one of you like to eat his dead brother's flesh?[4]

l. 15. We are nigher to him than his jugular vein.

lii. 24. . . . . boys of their's as though they were hidden pearls.

liv. 7. As though they were locusts scattered about.

lv. 58. As though they were rubies and pearls.

lvi. 22. Bright and large-eyed maids like hidden pearls.[5]

* lxi. 4. As though they were a compact building.

8. They desire to put out the light of God with their mouths.

* lxiii. 4. Like timber propped up.

lxix. 7. As though they were palm stumps thrown down.[6]

lxx. 8. The heaven shall be like molten brass (9) and the mountains shall be like flocks of wool.

43. As though they flock to standards.

lxxiv. 51. As though they were timid asses which flee from a lion.

lxxvi. 19 Thou wilt think them scattered pearls.

lxxvii. 32. It throws off sparks like towers, (33) as though they were yellow camels.

lxxix. 46. As though they had only tarried an evening or the noon thereof.

ci. 3. Men shall be like scattered moths, (4) and the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool.[7]

The list is long enough to reveal a poetic element of considerable strength.

We now come to those parables which Muhammed introduced by the term *mathal*. These are more elaborate and contain a moral. I have thought it advisable to discuss them in an approximately chronological order, which will allow us to observe the development of the

[1] *Cf.* Al Meidani, II. 842, and Job, viii 14. See Al Tha'âlibi, ثمار القلوب في المضاف المنسوب (Cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 9558) fol. 82vo.

[2] *Cf.* Talmud B. Succah, fol. 53vo. R. Jôhanan says: The feet of man bring him to the place where he is doomed to die.

[3] *Cf.* Ḥarîri (p. 28. l. 8), Maq. I. 89.

[4] See Dan. iii. 8.

[5] *Cf.* Ḥassân b. Thâbit, p. 89, l. 6; *Itq.* p. 943.

[6] *Cf.* liv. 20, the same phrase.

[7] *Cf.* lvii. 19, iii. 113; ii. 263, 267, and above Ch. IV.

Qorânic *mathal*. The first does not appear until in the *narrative S.* xviii., in which two occur at once. In the former, the wealthy unbeliever is contrasted with his poor but pious neighbour in the following manner : —

> v. 31. Strike out for them a *mathal :* two men[8] for one of whom we made two gardens of grapes, and surrounded them with palms and put corn between the two. Each of the two gardens brought forth its food, and did not fail in aught. (32) And we caused a river to flow between them, and he (the owner) had fruit. He said to his friend, who competed[9] with him: I am wealthier than thou, and mightier of household. (33) And he went in unto his garden having sinned against himself. Said he: I do not think that this will ever come to an end. (34) And I do not think that the Hour is imminent, and surely, if I be sent back unto my Lord, I shall find a better one than it in exchange. (35) His friend — who competed with him — said to him : *Thou hast disbelieved in Him who has created thee from dust, and then from a clot, and then made thee a man.* (36) But He is Allâh, my Lord, and I will not associate anyone with my Lord. (37) Couldst thou not have said, when thou didst go into thy garden : What Allâh pleases ! There is no power save in Allâh. If thou lookst at me, I am less than thee in wealth and children. (38) But haply my Lord will give me [something] better than thy garden, and will send upon it a thunderbolt from the sky, so that it shall become bare slippery soil. (39) Or on the morrow its water will be deeply sunk, so that thou canst not reach it. (40) His fruits were encompassed so that on the morrow he wrung his hands for which he had spent thereon, for they (the fruits) had perished on their trellises ; and he said : Would that I had never associated anyone with my Lord ! (41) Yet he had not any party to help him beside Allâh, nor was he helped.

The second *mathal* consistently teaches the vanity and short duration of earthly pleasures. It is as follows : —

> v. 43. Forge for them a *mathal* of the life of this world ; [it is] like water which we have sent down from the sky,[10] so that the vegetation of the earth is mingled with it. On the morrow it is dried up, and the winds scatter it. Allâh is powerful over all. (44) Wealth and children are the adornment of the life of this world, but the lasting pious deeds are better with thy Lord as a recompense and better as a hope.

The application of both *mathals* is easily found. The opulent but wicked man represents the stubborn opponent of Islâm, whilst the less wealthy neighbour is the Prophet himself. It is to be noted that, in his censure of his rich rival, the other repeats the chief words of the first proclamation (v. 35 = *S.* xcvi. 1 to 2).[11] Further, the double allusion to the loss of Muhammed's

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[8] The fictitious character of parables being objectionable to the Moslim Commentators, they endeavour to explain them as bearing on real persons or accidents. Thus Al Bagh reproduces a tradition (without Isnâd) according to which this parable refers to two brothers in Mecca of whom the believing one was Abu Salama b. Abd Asad, foster brother to Muhammed, who died A. H 4, and whose widow Umm Salâma became the wife of the Prophet (see Sprenger, I. 433). Others (Ibn Abbâs) are of opinion, that the *mathal* in question was revealed on account of the Fazâra chief Uyeina b. Hisn (Sprenger, III. 363 *sq.*) who was converted to Islâm shortly before the conquest of Mecca, and of the Persian Salmân and the friends of both. The subjects of the *mathal* are said to have been two Jewish brothers (see also Kash.). Since all these traditions deserve but little credence, I refrain fro entering more fully into them. Biblical parallels to the *mathal* are to be found : Isaiah, xl. 7 ; Ps. ciii. 15-16.

[9] Palmer : "his next door neighbour," which is hardly correct ; he seems to have read مجاوره.

[10] See *Itqân*, p. 566 ; Al Ghazali, *Kit. Almadn*. p. 101.

[11] *Cf.* lxxx. 17-19.

two sons (v. 37 and 44) in their infancy, as well as that of his former wealth, is too plain to be misunderstood. This melancholy narrative is particularly applicable to his own position a short time after the death of his wife Khadîja, when he also lost his uncle Abû Tâlib, his only protector. The date of the revelation in question could thus be fixed at (the summer 619) about three years before the Hijra.

The comparison of the vicissitudes of human life to the growth and decay in Nature appeared so appropriate to Muhammed, that he not only repeated the last quoted *mathal* in a more elaborate form, but also gave it a didactic tendency. The following instance is particularly interesting: —

> x. 25. Verily the likeness *(mathal)* of this world is like water which we send down from the sky, and with it are mingled the plants of the earth from which men and cattle eat, until when the earth puts on its ornature and becomes garnished, its inhabitants think that they have power over it. Our order[12] comes by night or by day; we make it mown down, as if it had not been rich yesterday — thus do we detail the signs unto people who reflect.

One of the most natural and therefore very common topics in Muhammed's sermons is the contrast between unbelievers and the faithful. This is sometimes expressed in allegorical form, as in the following *mathal*. The infidels are likened to the blind and deaf, while the believers are those who see and hear; shall the two classes be held equal (xi. 26)? The comparison of unbelief with blindness, deafness and dumbness being quite Biblical, is one of the commonest in the *Qorân*.[13] Mentioning dumbness alone it occurs again, and in a more developed form, in a *mathal* to be touched upon later.

Unquestionably modelled on Biblical *mâshâls* are the following two contained in the (narrative) xivth *Sûra*. The one (v. 21) represents the works of the infidels as ashes which are blown about on a stormy day.[14] This is clearly a reflex on Ps. I. 4 (Is. xl. 7). The other *mathal*, occurring in the same address (v. 29 to 31) compares a good word to a good tree[15] whose root is firm and whose branches are in the sky. It gives its fruit at every season by the permission of its Lord — Allâh draws parallels for men, haply they may be mindful. The likeness *(mathal)* of a bad word is as a bad tree which is felled down above the earth and has no staying place. — This parable is a free rendering of the verse in Ps. i. preceding the one upon which the foregoing *mathal* is based (see also Abôth, III. 17; Jer. xvii. 6 to 8). The phrase, *it gives its fruit at every season*, marks the origin without doubt.

Besides the two comparisons mentioned above,[16] *S.* xvi. counts not less than three *mathals*. The first stands in connection with two others placed together in *S.* xliii., of which the second is somewhat earlier, but the first nearly contemporaneous with the one under consideration. It is introduced by a rebuke, directed against the pagan Arabs for their manifest aversion to female children, many of whom they destroyed in infancy. "When any of them," he says (xvi, 60), "is informed [of the birth] of a girl, his face turns black, and he is choked with wrath." In the parallel passage, which also contains a warning against the offence of ascribing daughters to Allâh (*S.* xliii. 15) stands instead of "girl" the phrase: — "that which he (the pagan Arab employs as a *mathal* for the *Raḥmân*" (v. 16).[17] Subsequently Muhammed declares (*S.* xvi. 62) those who do not believe in the "last world" are the *mathal* (prototype) of evil,[18] whilst Allâh is

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[12] *Amrunâ, cf.* xvi. 1-2.

[13] *Cf.* above, p. 163, where the blind and seeing are compared with one another, but this *mathal* is realistic.

[14] *Itq.* 565.

[15] Al Qastalâlni, vii. p. 188, كلمة التوحيد اوكل كلمة حسنة كالحمد والاستغفار والتهليل; *cf.* Kash.

[16] See p. 163.

[17] Al Jâḥiz (Abstracts from) *Kit. Albayân waltibyân*, Constantinople, 1301, p 175, says with regard to this verse: Allâh strikes a *mathal* on account of the inadequacy of the language and in order to promote understanding, even going so far as to compare His people to women and children.

[18] مثل السوء (*cf.* vi. 176, ساءَ مثلا) which I translate: "a bad example;" Kash., صفة السوء; *cf.* Al Bagh.

the highest *mathal.* It would be difficult to understand what Muhammed meant by this vague expression, did he not explain it a few verses later in the distinct prohibition (v. 76): — You shall not forge a *mathal* for Allâh, behold Allâh knows but you do not know.[19] In contrast to this prohibition stands the assertion (*S.* xliii. 57 to 59), that the Son of Maryam was set up as a *mathal,* "he is but a servant upon whom we have bestowed our mercy, and whom we have made a *mathal* for the children of Israel."

Now here is a distinct restriction laid down, which serves not only to emphasize the monotheistic idea, but also to cavil at the anthropomorphistic metaphors used in the Bible. As a sincere convert to monotheism Muhammed disapproved of any attempt to explain divine attributes in the light of human faculties; in other words, he wished to be more monotheistic than the Bible whose anthropomorphistic terms he took literally. In a tradition handed down by Al Shahrastâni[20] Muhammed is said to have declared: — "The *Mushabbiha* (those who personify Allâh) are the Jews of this nation," which means that Moslims who represent Allâh after the fashion of human qualities follow the sinful custom of the Jews. The Prophet, however, had only one side of the question in view, and Kremer[21] blames him unjustly for contradicting himself. Though it must be admitted that Muhammed did not investigate the question of anthropomorphism thoroughly, yet all passages in the *Qorân* dealing with the subject are not of one stamp. Muhammed rejected that form of *tashbîh* (personification), which in the Bible refers to God individually. Allâh is never spoken of as a "Man of war" (Exod. xv. 3),[22] "the Rock who has borne thee" (Deut. xxxii. 4), or "the Fountain of living waters" (Jer. ii. 13), or as "Father." The last named appellation, so common in both Testaments, appeared to Muhammed as sheer blasphemy. He therefore took an early opportunity of declaring[23] that Allâh had neither a child nor any equal.[24] The title of "Father" is accordingly scrupulously avoided in all the lists of the "Most Comely Names."[25] It seems to me more than accidental that, when Muhammed related his alleged vision, that he did not mention any name of God, but circumscribed it by the epithet of "Mighty of Power."[26] The Commentators refer this expression to the Archangel Gabriel, although at that period Muhammed had not shown any knowledge of him,[27] and in the verse in question evidently alluded to Allâh himself. To prevent misunderstanding that similitudes of Allâh should not be made, Muhammed cautiously stated that any other title of Allâh used by him was but one of the "Most Comely Names" which belonged to Him. In this way he kept his hand free to employ that other, and rather subordinate, form of anthropomorphism with which he was quite unable to dispense. He certainly tried to do without it, but only succeeded during the first period. Allâh thus speaks and writes, possesses hands, sits on his throne, which is borne by angels, loves, hates, and is even cunning towards the

[19] The Commentators see in this verse only the prohibition to compare Allâh with another being, which in that case would be placed side by side with him. Kash., تمثيل للاشراك بالله والتشبيه به لأن من يضرب الامثال مشبّه حالا بحال وقصة بقصة *Cf.* also Jalalain and Al Beidh. The verse stands in connection with xxxvi. 78.

[20] Ed. Cureton, p. 13; Al Nawawi, v. p. 350, فان مذهب اليهود التجسيم. *Cf.* Goldziher in *Monatschrift f. Gesch. u W. d. Jdth.* xxviii. p. 309.

[21] *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen, etc.* p. 17.

[22] In the first part of *his Kitâb al Milal walnihal* (fol 30vo) Ibn Hazm, in his criticism of the O. T., gives a translation of Exod. Ch. xv., and remarks that to describe Allâh as a "strong man" is heresy. He professes to have urged this point to a Jew of his acquaintance, who replied that in *Qor.* xxiv. 35. Allâh is styled "the Light of heaven and earth." While admitting this, Ibn Ḥazm referred the Rabbi to a tradition, according to which Abu Ḏarr asked Muhammed if he had ever seen Allâh? The answer was "yes," but this "light" did not mean a visible light, but an invisible one. Ibn Ḥazm therefore explains the "light" in question as guidance for the inhabitants of the earth, but "light" is to be wanted among the names of Allâh. It is, however, not difficult to see that in the expression "light" there is an inconsistency which even embarrassed Mu'tazilite interpretation. Al Beidh endeavours to show that, in this passage, "light" virtually applies to Allâh only and stands for "he gives light." *Cf.* also Mawâqif, p. 169. In several Meccan (xx. 113, xxiii. 117) and Medinian (lix. 23) revelations Allâh is styled "King," but this offers less difficulty for abstract interpretation; *cf.* Al Beidh. on lix. 23, Mewâq. p. 161, and Al Qastalâlni (ed. Bûlâq, x. p. 316) who explains: "Possessor of government." See also on this subject my article: "Mohammed and Criticism of the Bible," *J. Q. R.* XIII. p. 222 *sqq.*

[23] *Cf. Qor.* cxii. 3; *cf.* xxiii. 93, vi. 101, *etc.* [24] *Cf.* Deut. iv. 35, 39. [25] See Redhouse, *J. R. A. S.* 1880.

[26] See Ch. IV. [27] The name occurs only in Medinian *sûras.*

wicked.[28] All this is quite in harmony with the Biblical style. Traditions of a more sensual character are to be received with scepticism as to their authenticity.[29] The famous tradition according to which Muhammed said: — The heart of a believer is between the two fingers of the Merciful[30] is by no means more realistic than the verse (*S* xxxviii. 75): "I have created with *my hand*," or any of the numerous passages in which Allâh sees, hears and speaks.[31]

The Qoranic anthropomorphism is but a variety of that in the Bible, which Muhammed considered he had improved on, but which otherwise he accepted without much reflection during the time of his training. Later Moslim theologians, who had gone through a similar course of studies, naturally looked upon anthropomorphistic revelations with a different eye, and endeavoured to explain, that they were inbred doctrines. Inconsistency was the result. The punctilious Zahirite school did not allow the "Ninety-nine most comely names" to be surpassed,[32] and put up a long list of names *not* suitable for Allâh.[33] Schools of more liberal ideas took no heed of this restriction, but observed a certain restraint in names which Allâh did not attribute to himself either in the *Qorân* or in tradition.[34] On the other hand the Zahirites follow the more free thinking theologians to some extent in the allegorical explanation of human faculties with which Allâh is endowed,[35] and only one class goes so far as to take even those literally.[36]

The warning that Allâh must not be made the object of *mathals* is at once illustrated by a parable set up by Himself in the following manner: —

v. 77. A bond slave who is quite unable to do any work, and another whom Allâh has provided with every good provision, and who gives alms from it secretly and openly; are these two equal?

78. And Allâh has forged a *mathal:* two men, of whom one is dumb and able to do nothing, a burden to his master, wherever he turns, he does no good; is he to be held equal with him who bids what is just and who is on the right way?

The parable of the servant was very popular both among Jews and Christians. I only mention those of Abôth, I. 3,[37] and St. Matth. xxiv. 45 and xxv. 14 *sqq.* Both *mathals* in question have the same object in view, *viz.*, to show that man, whilst dependent[38] on Allâh, should be charitable and righteous. In both parables also allusions to practical religion are not wanting, *viz.*, in *yunfiqu* (give alms), *ya'muru bil'adli* (bids what is just) and *ṣirâṭin mustâqîmin* (right way), through which the general character of the *mathals* is considerably limited.

The last *mathal* in *S.* xvi. (v. 113) furnishes an instance of the manner in which it developed in a later repetition. It speaks of a city which was safe and happy, whilst its provisions were flowing in from all sides; but it would not acknowledge, that all these had been sent by

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[28] Ps. xviii. 27; *Qor.* viii. 30; *cf.* Al Beidhâwi. It is not lawful to use this term without restriction.

[29] Kremer, *Gesch.* p. 18 *sq.*, places reliance in some traditions on that matter, which are fictitious, but even if they had been authentic, Muhammed would not have referred them to Allâh.

[30] *Cf.* Al Shahrastani, p. 77

[31] Al Qastal. امتثالا لامري اى خلقته بنفسي من غير توسط كأب وأم والتأنية لما فى خلقه من مزيد القدرة واختلاف الفعل و قيل المراد باليد القدرة

[32] I. H. fol. 163vo. See also Al Beidh. on xxxix. 67. I Ḥ. fol. 164vo

[33] Reproduced by Goldziher, *die Zahiriten, etc* p. 149.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.* p. 164. The original passage of I. Ḥ.'s work is given here after the Leyden MS., to which the London Codex offers important variations.

[36] The school of Ahmad b. Hanbal.

[37] The *Mishnâh* in question is re-echoed in the numerous assertions of Muhammed that he expected no recompense for his ministry. See Ch. V.

[38] *Cf.* Ihyâ, I. p. 249, l. 8. Al Suyûti in *Mufḥimât alaqrân* refers the two men (v. 78) to Useid b. Abil 'Is and 'Othmân b. 'Affân. Al Beidh. sees no allusion to any individual in either *mathal*.

Allâh. He therefore affected the inhabitants with hunger and fear for their wickedness. Then one of their town-fellows approached them in the character of a divine messenger, but was not believed. Thereupon the city was overtaken by heavy punishment.

The parable is, of course, perfectly clear. The happy and wealthy city is no other than Mecca,[39] whose merchants traded in all directions. The messenger out of their midst is Muhammed whom they called an impostor, but dire punishment is in store for them. The threatened famine will also become clear presently.

Now this parable is repeated in a later and considerably altered form. The alteration was necessary, probably because the threatened punishment had not taken place, whilst the situation of the Prophet had meanwhile become much more difficult and dangerous. I give the translation of the *mathal* in full:—

Sûra xxxvi. 12. Forge for them a *mathal:* the inhabitants of *the* city, when *the* messengers came to them, (13) when we sent to them those two, but they called them both liars; so we strengthened them with a third, then they said: verily, we are sent to you. (14) They replied: You are only mortals like ourselves, and the Merciful has revealed nothing [to you], you are naught but liars. (15) They said: Our Lord knows that we are sent to you; (16) we are only charged to clearly convince you. (17) They answered: We have augured concerning you; if you do not desist, we will surely stone you, and painful punishment shall be inflicted on you by us. (18) Said they: your augury is with you, what if you have been warned? but you are a sinful people! (19) And there came hastily from the remotest parts of the town a man who said: O my people! follow the messengers. (20) Follow those who do not ask for reward from you, whilst being guided. (21) What ails me that I should not worship Him who created me, and to whom you will be made to return? (22) Shall I take other gods beside Him? If the *Merciful desires harm for me*, their intercession will not avail me at all, neither can they save me. (23) I should then be in manifest error. (24) I believe in your Lord, therefore hearken unto me! (25) [When they had killed him] it was said [to him]: Enter thou into paradise; said he: O, would that my people did but know, (26) that Allâh has forgiven me and made me one of the honoured ones . . . . (27) it was but a single noise, and lo! they were extinct.

Although this parable is told in the usual legendary style of prophetic messengers, it is a variation of the preceding one with a historical background. It speaks about *the* city and *the* messengers who at first number only two, and are later on supported by a third. The *mathal* seems to be of Christian origin, but Muhammed made the mistake of putting the attribute of *AlRahmân* into the mouth of the heathenish townspeople.[40] He had evidently the tale (Acts xi. 22 to 30) in his mind, and some Commentators rightly declare the city to be Antioch,[41] whose pagan population forms the exact parallel to Mecca. The application of the *mathal* is given in v. 29: Alas for the men, there comes to them no messenger, but they mock at him!

[39] Ibn 'Abbâs in *Mufh. alaqr ;* Al Beidh. and Jal. A tradition by Ibn Sihab on behalf of Ḥafṣa refers it to Medina.

[40] The heathenish character of the populace may be gathered from the expression تطيّرنا (v. 17) which means: we have augured from the flight of birds.

[41] Kash. and Jal. Al Beidh. gives a different story which, however, does not suit the case. "The man" mentioned (v. 19) is called Ḥabîb, the carpenter (Kash.: Hab. b. Israîl). This name is evidently a translation of Agabos. His prophecy of a coming famine links this *mathal* to *Q.* xvi. 113-114 ("a messenger out of their midst"). As to the famine see Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 2.

A couple of rather forcible *mathals* taken from the social life of the infidel Meccan citizens are the following (*S.* xxx. 27): The Prophet asks the people, if they would feel inclined to regard their slaves as their equals, and allow them to share their property. The meaning is that Allâh cannot be expected to look upon the idols, which are made by man's hand, as His equals! In one more complicated, or rather confused, form the *mathal* re-appears in a later revelation as follows (*S.* xxxix. 30): One man has partners who disagree with each other, whilst another is entirely subservient to one who is his master; are these two men (the one who has partners and the slave) to be considered equal? By no means[42] — The first man represents Allâh to whom the heathen Meccans attribute associates. The last figure in the parable is evidently also meant for Allâh. The hostility prevailing between the various idols very appropriately expresses the narrowness and diversity of the powers with which they are endowed.

A fine parable, connected with a descriptive passage, is the following (*S.* xiii. 18): Allâh sends down rain from the sky, the water-courses flow according to their bulk, the torrent carries along with it foam that swells up. A similar foam arises from the fire kindled by men [when melting metals and] craving ornaments and utensils. Thus does Allâh hit the truth and the falsehood, *viz.*, the foam disappears in nought, whilst that [solid part], which profits man remains on earth. This is Allâh's way of forging parables.[43]

It appears that Muhammed's opponents responded to his parables with similar ones, particularly with reference to resurrection.[44] To such remarks he had a kind of constant reply which appears twice in the same form, *viz.* (*Ss.* xvii. 51 and xxv. 10): Look how they forge for thee parables,[45] but they err, neither can they find a way [to refute thee]. — On the other hand Muhammed boasts (*S.* xxv. 35): They bring thee no *mathal*, unless we (Allâh) brought thee the truth and the best explanation. — As a demonstration he reminds his audience of the cities and peoples which had been annihilated, and adds (v. 41): For each have we forged the *mathals*,[46] and each we have crumbled to pieces.—Such general references to *mathals* mentioned previously in detail confirm the comparative lateness of the passages just quoted, and one of the latest must therefore be the following summing up (*S.* xxxix. 28): Now we have forged for men in this *Qorân* all kinds of *mathals*, haply they are mindful.[47]

With this the series of *mathals* in the Meccan part of the *Qorân* concludes. The comparatively large number found in the last two periods is still surpassed in the first year after the Hijra, when they suddenly became extremely numerous. This is certainly not a mere coincidence, and shows the critical value of the *mathal* in general for researches on the composition of the *Qorân*. The Medinian *mathal*, moreover, stands in close connection with Muhammed's altered position and the new tone of his speeches. He soon became aware how much more critical and analyzing this new audience was. His addresses now being calculated to win the Jews of Medina as well as its pagan inhabitants, he dared not offer them hollow declamations, which, even for the Meccan world, had only served for a certain time. He himself had also become riper, and his aim lay clearer before his eyes. The moral success won by the invitation of the Medinians, his own personal safety and daily increasing authority gave his word a power hitherto unknown. Above all, he had had more than ten years' practice in preaching,

[42] See above.

[43] V. 19 contrasts him who knows the truth with the blind man ; v. 35 of the same *sûra* contains a "*mathal* of the garden promised to the pious," which is but a description ; *cf.* Kash. صفة الجنة.

[44] See *Q.* xvii. 52, xxxvi. 78.

[45] Al Beidh. refers it to the various titles of poet, soothsayer, sorcerer and madman given to Muhammed by the Meccans.

[46] Al Beidh. بيّنّا له القصص العجيبة من قصص الأوّلين انذارا و اعذارا

[47] *Ibid* v. 30, a *mathal* discussed above, but evidently misplaced on account of v. 28 ; v. 29 does not suit the context either and the same is the case with v. 31. The arrangement of the verses is here visibly in confusion. See also xxx. 58 in somewhat modified form.

whilst his own knowledge augmented continually. **It is of no small moment that the space of time between the Hijra and the battle of Badr, that is to say, the time before Muhammed became an important political factor, should be richest in mathals.** *Sûra* ii., which consists of the oldest Medinian sermons, counts no less than eight parables, six of which are of indisputable originality. The language also, if not poetic, is yet fluent, and abounds in allegories. The first Medinian *mathal* is taken from the daily occupation, and is as follows (v. 15): Those who buy error for guidance — their commerce brings no profit, neither are they guided — (16) their *mathal* is like him who kindles a fire, but when it lights up his surroundings, Allâh carries his light away, and leaves them in darkness, so that they cannot see. (17) They are deaf, dumb and blind,[48] so that they cannot turn round. — To this *mathal* is immediately joined the following (v. 18): Or[49] they are like a stormcloud from the sky in which is darkness and thunder and lightning; they put their fingers in their ears[50] because of the noise of the thunder for fear of death; Allâh encompasses the unbelievers. (v. 19) The lightning all but takes away their sight; as often as it shines for them, they walk therein, but when it becomes dark around them, they stand still; and if Allâh so pleased, He would surely deprive them of their hearing and their sight; Allâh is almighty.

It seems that some Medinian critics had taken exception to Allâh's employment of animals, particularly insignificant ones like spiders and flies as the subjects of *mathals*.[51] Muhammed shows how undeserved is their censure in the dignified manner (ii. 24): Behold Allâh is not ashamed to forge a *mathal* on a gnat or what is above it [in size],[52] those who believe know that it is the truth from their Lord; but the unbelievers say: what means Allâh with such a parable? He leads many astray with it, and guides others, but he only leads astray the wicked.

Muhammed was so little prepared to cease composing parables about animals, that he invented several more of the same kind. In *S.* ii. 161 the infidels are compared to a man who shouts to that which hears naught but a noise and a cry, they are deaf, dumb and blind[53] and without sense. The Commentators[54] have already seen that the metaphor stands for the word "cattle."

The fly re-appears in a revelation of somewhat later date. "O men," he says (*S.* xxii. 72) "a parable is forged for you, so listen to it. Verily, those whom they adore beside Allâh could never create a fly, if they all united together to do it, and if the fly should despoil them aught they could not recover it from it — weak are both the seekers and the sought."

Several of Muhammed's Medinian opponents, Jews in particular, when hearing one of the above mentioned mathals (*S.* ii. 24) enquired what its meaning was. They also questioned him about one of the earlier revelations (*S.* lxxiv. 33) in which it is stated that *nineteen* angels were appointed to watch over the hell fire. "Those in whose hearts there is sickness'[55] and the infidels ask: What does Allâh mean by this as a *mathal*[56] (v. 33)? Muhammed's answer is rather unsatisfactory, as the number *nineteen* seems to have been chosen at random, a fact which he dared not admit. But thus much is clear that both questions as well as the answers to them date from about the same time, *viz.*, the first year after the Hijra, although the one was placed by the compilers next to the revelation which it was meant to explain.

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[48] See p. 163. [49] Second *mathal*, although the term is omitted. [50] 1 Sam. iii. 11; 2 K. xxi. 12.

[51] The animals mentioned in *mathals* are birds, camel (twice), spider, ass (twice), locusts, moth, dog, fly.

[52] فما فوقها, 'much more so.' Al Beidh. فضلا عما هو اكبر منه; *cf. Itq.* 265. [53] *Cf.* verse 17 and above.

[54] Al Beidh.; Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 132, regards vv. 163-6 as Meccan, but this cannot be concluded from وما ألفينا عليه اباءنا, since this is also a common Jewish phrase.

[55] *Viz*, the Jews; *cf.* Ch. IX.

[56] *Lit.*, what means Allâh with this as a *mathal*? The Commentators are at a loss to explain the construction of the phrase. Kash. takes مثلا a *tamyîz* to *hâḏâ* or as a *Ḥâl*. Vv. 31-34 are undoubtedly Medinian, and were only placed here on account of their reference to v. 30.

Many of those who rallied round the Prophet in Medina, particularly emigrants from Mecca, were extremely poor. Although liberally supported by the more wealthy inhabitants of the town who had joined Islâm, they looked forward to raids on Meccan caravans as a means of gaining some property of their own. Robbery was so little regarded as anything illegal or immoral, that Muhammed not only sanctioned raids by participating in them himself, but did not hesitate to violate the sacred month in order to makeb elievers "walk in the path of Allâh." There were plenty of people anxious to enrich themselves by plunder in honour of Allâh, but they lacked the means to carry out their plans. Muhammed, therefore, continually urged the wealthy to raise funds for this purpose, with promises of ample reward hereafter. The admonition sometimes took the form of a parable as follows: —

(*S.* ii. 263) The likeness of those who spend their fortune in *the path of Allâh* is like a grain which produces seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains, Allâh gives twofold to whom He pleases; Allâh is bounteous and omniscient. But those, he continues, who give alms while taunting and annoying the receiver — as a man would do who only gives for appearance's sake — are compared (v. 266) to a rock covered with dust which a shower washes away, leaving the stone bare.

This fine parable which seems in part to be built on St. Mark iv. 5 *sqq*, is followed by a third not less striking, on the same topic in the following manner: —

(v. 267) Those who lay out their wealth merely to obtain the grace of Allâh, and as an insurance for their souls, are like a garden on elevated ground. Rain waters it richly, and its crops grow twofold. Should rain fail, dew irrigates them.

These *mathals*, intended to encourage believers to spend their fortune to increase the Prophet's worldly power, contrast strangely with two others which gave little comfort after the defeat at Uhud. As for unbelievers, he says (*S.* iii. 112), their wealth shall not profit them, neither their children, against Allâh, they shall be the companions of hell fire, and they shall dwell therein for ever. (113) The likeness of what they lay out in this present life is as a wind wherein there is a cold blast; it affects the corn-fields belonging to people who have injured their own souls and destroyed them.[57]

Still more pessimistic is the following[58] (*S.* lvii. 19): Know ye that this present life is but a toy and vain amusement and pomp and affectation of glory among ye,[59] and multiplying of wealth and children — like rain which astonishes the husbandman[60] by its fertility, but then the vegetation withers until thou seest it turn yellow, and become dry stubble — but in the last world there is heavy punishment.

Here we have to notice several *mathals*, which show how bitter Muhammed felt against Jews and Christians. "The *mathal* of Jesus is in the eye of Allâh like the *mathal* of Adam, whom he has created from dust" (*S.* iii. 52). Still more spiteful is an epigram hurled against the Jews, whose power was considerably weakened after the expulsion of the tribe of the B. Qainoqâ. "They are burdened, he says, with the Torâh, which they do not observe, they are likened to the ass which carries books" (*S.* lxii. 5).[61]

To this period belongs a *mathal* which contains an attack against a certain individual not mentioned by name, and is so densely veiled that even the Moslim Commentators are at a loss to establish the identity of the person in question. It is evident that Muhammed pointed

[57] *Cf. Itqân*, p. 565.

[58] See v. 22, lxiv. 11, and Noldeke, *Q.* p. 145.

[59] See above. Al Qastal. ix. p. 237, كلعب الصبيان ولهوكلهو الفتايا وزينة كزينة النسوان وتفاخر كتفاخر الاقران .وتكاثر كتكاثر الرهبان

[60] الكفار, see Al Beidh.

[61] See Geiger, *ibid.* p. 92.

at a man of high station and education, otherwise he would hardly have described him as one "whom we have given our *signs*, but he stepped away from them ; had we wished we would have exalted him thereby, but he crouched[62] upon the earth and followed his lust. He is likened unto a dog, whom if thou shouldst attack, he hangs out his tongue, and if thou shouldst leave him, hangs out his tongue too " (*S.* vii. 174 to 175).

From the text of the *mathal* it is clear that the person to whom it refers, had been given opportunities of embracing Islâm, but had not made use of them, and thereby set "a bad example to the people who declare our *signs* to be lies " (v. 176).

Following Arab Commentators, Sprenger suggests that the *mathal* refers to the poet *Omayya b. Abi Ṣalt* of Ṭâ'if,[63] who was a gifted and well educated man. According to Arabic tradition he was an apostate from paganism, but refused to follow Muhammed from jealousy. It is, however, clear that Muhammed did not refer to him. He admired his poems,[64] and would not have used such offensive language about him. The words "whom we have given our Signs," and "they declare our Signs to be lies," can only refer either to a Jew or a Christian, but since the passage belongs undoubtedly to a Medinian revelation, very probably a Jew is meant, which would agree with the remarks of Al Beidhâwî, that he was one of "the learned of the Jews."

It seems to me that this man was no other than the poet Ka'b b. Al Ashraf, the chief of the B. Al Nadhîr, who was very active in stirring up Muhammed's enemies. After the battle of Badr he went to Mecca to incite the Qoreish to take revenge on those who had slain their kinsmen, and composed songs in which he denounced Muhammed and Islâm.[65] I see an allusion to Ka'b's poems in the simile of the dog that hangs out his tongue. Moreover the alliteration of the name *Ka'b* with *kalb* (dog) appears to be intentional rather than accidental. Finally we must bear in mind that Ka'b was assassinatad shortly afterwards by order of the Prophet.

The expulsion of Ka'b's tribe[66] which was to follow, had to be abandoned for the moment owing to the defeat of the Moslims at Uḥud. It was carried out shortly afterwards as being conducive to the prestige of Muhammed who celebrated it in the following two *mathals*. In the first (*S.* lix. 15) the expelled are compared to people "who had shortly before tasted the evil consequences of their conduct," which means that the B. Al Nadhîr had to share the fate of their brethren of the Banû Qainoqâ. In the second *mathal* (*ibid.* v. 16) they are likened to Satan, who first entices mem from the faith, but then withdraws and pretends to fear Allâh.

This *mathal* misrepresents the facts. The expulsion of the two Jewish tribes, and the subsequent slaughter of the B. Koreiza were acts of treachery, for which Muhammed wanted an excuse. Although the Jews refused to acknowledge his mission, still they were monotheists; but we shall see later on, how Muhammed tried to impute pagan doctrines to them. The weakness of his arguments is perceptible in his comment on the foregoing *mathals*. "Had we, he says (v. 21), revealed the *Qorân* on a mountain, one would have seen this mountain humble itself and split for fear of Allâh,[67] such are the *mathals* which we forge for men, haply they may consider." — This verse reads like the fable of the fox and the grapes. Muhammed was ill satisfied that revelation did not come to him like that on Mount Sinai ; but we must remember, that according to a tradition originating from his own statement, the received the first revelation on mount Ḥirâ.

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[62] أخلد

[63] I. I. 279 has other persons in view ; other interpreters infer Baleam ; *cf.* Al Beidh. Al Ghazâli in *Jawâhir al Qoran* also refers the *mathal* to Baleam (f. 42vo).

[64] *Kit. Al Aghâni*, III. p. 187 *sqq.* (*cf.* Sprenger, I. p. 110, *sqq.*). According to Al Zobeir he had read the Bible, did not believe in idols and forbade the drinking of wine. The last item is evidently added from religious tendency

[65] *Cf. R. J.* x. p. 19. The hanging tongue is also made a symbol of poetic satire (*Hijâ*) in the traditions on Ḥassân b. Thâbit, Aghâni, iv. 3-4.

[66] *Q.* lix. 11 *sqq.*

[67] Confusion of Mount Sinai with Zach. xiv. 4 ; *cf.* Ps. cxiv. 4.

Muhammed liked to compare unbelievers, and Jews in particular, to people who walk in darkness. When inculcating the precept, which makes it unlawful to eat flesh from an animal " over which the name of Allâh has not been pronounced," he asks (*S.* vi. 122): Is he who was dead, and we have quickened and made for him a light that he may walk therein amongst men, like him who finds himself in darkness which he cannot emerge from? — It seems that the material of this *mathal* is derived from Isaiah ix. 1.

The more the Prophet of Allâh became merged into a worldly potentate, the more his speeches assumed the tone of manifestor. It seems all the more strange to find a group of three rather fine *mathals* attached to Muhammed's endeavour to vindicate the honour of his wife 'Âisha, whom public opinion had accused of infidelity. The verses in question (*S.* xxiv. 34 to 40) may not, indeed, have been revealed on this occasion at all, but it appears, as if Muhammed, after having gone through that disagreeable affair, was anxious to change the subject.[68] The first of these *mathals* (which are all taken from scenes met with in travelling, and with the exception of third probably recollections of his own journeys) has already been discussed above,[69] and gives an impressive, but not very detailed account of incidents of bygone days. This is followed (v. 39) by a neat comparison of the unbelievers to " a mirage in a plain (desert) which looks like water to the thirsty traveller, until he approaches it, when he finds nothing."[70] The infidels are further (v. 40) compared to darkness in a deep sea,[71] in which one wave covers another; dark clouds rise above it increasing the darkness to such an extent, that we cannot see one's outstretched hand. They are again likened (*S.* lxvi. 10) to the disobedient wives of Noah,[72] and Lot to whom (v. 11 to 12) are opposed the wife of Pharaoh and Maryam as models of piety and chastity. Here Muhammed's Biblical recollections became rather confused. Instead of Noah's he seems to have had Job's wife in his mind. For Pharaoh's wife Geiger has already rightly substituted his daughter.

There only remains one more *mathal* occuring in a verse the authenticity of which as an original Qoranic revelation is doubtful to me. It has, however, been embodied in the official text of the *Qorân;* we must, therefore, discuss it here, whilst reserving the investigation of its authenticity for later on.[73] The verse in question (*S.* xlviii. 29) forms an appendix to a *sûra* which was revealed concerning various events of the seventh year of the Hijra, and is entirely out of connection with the context. It is easy to see why the compilers of the *Qorân* placed the verse here, from the preceding one, which states that "Allâh has dispatched His messengers with the right guidance and the true faith, in order to exalt the same above every other creed, and Allâh is sufficient as witness." This verse evidently formed the conclusion of an address, and quite unexpectedly we read the following announcement (v. 29): Muhammed is the messenger of Allâh, and those who are with him, are fierce against the unbelievers, but merciful towards one another. Thou seest their bowing down and adoring, seeking favour and good will from Allâh. The Sign [they wear] upon their faces is an emblem of the worship; such is their *mathal* in the Torâh. Their *mathal* in the Gospel is as a seed which puts forth its stalk, makes it grow and strong, so that it rises upon its stem, and astounds the sower, *etc.*

Now only the second part of the verse, bearing on the New Testament, is a real parable, and is taken from S. Mark iv. 8, whilst the first part belongs to those cases in which *mathal* is to be taken in a wider sense, as is also done by the Commentators. The words evidently describe some external adjustment of the Jews during worship, which would not have remained unknown either to Muhammed, or to any one who visited a Jewish house of prayer. I can refer the words in question to nothing else but to the phylacteries derived from *Deut.* vi. 8,

[68] Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 157, leaves the question undecided.

[69] *Cf.* Ch. II. The parable is explained in a scholastie manner in Ibn Sinâs *Risâla*, فى اثبات النبوة وتاويل رموزهم و امثالهم, ed. Constant. 1298 H. pp. 85-86. See also Al Ghaz. *Kit. Almadnûn; Itq.* 566.

[70] Not expressly styled *mathal*, but introduced by *ka; cf. Itq.* 565.

[71] *Itq* p. 567. [72] Geiger, p. 111. [73] Ch. XIII.

xi. 18,[74] and styled "Sign." Although our verse only mentioned the one worn on the forehead — the other placed on the arm probably being covered by the garment — the term "sign" was applied[75] to both by the person whom Mumhammed might have been asked about their character. The Commentators explain this *mathal* as a description, which it undoubtedly is, and it seems to me that its proper place should be among the traditions appended to this chapter.

Appendix to Chapter VIII.

The mathal in Tradition.

Apart from the *mathals* in the *Qorân* a large mass of sayings and parables supposed to have originated with Muhammed lived in the recollections of the first generations of Believers. This increased marvellously as the sacred and polite literatures of the Arabs developed. To endeavour to establish or refute the authenticity of these would be a hopeless task, the means of testing them being much smaller than those we have for traditions on religious and historical matters. Muhammed was obviously fond of speaking in parables and metaphors when pronouncing revelations, and from this we may conclude that he employed the same method of instruction when discoursing with his friends, or addressing Believers from the pulpit. Although many of the sayings attributed to him may be authentic, only a few can be substantiated with any certainty.

The apocryphal sayings of Muhammed may be divided into two classes, *viz.*, those embodied in the *Ḥadîth* or religious tradition, and those registered by secular writers. This division is, however, superficial only, and does not touch the greater or lesser veracity of either class. In the following pages I have collected as many as I could find, but have only mentioned such works as I have been able to examine. I do not therefore claim to have exhausted the subject.

A series of "Speeches and Table Talk" of Muhammed, containing proverbs and general remarks, has been compiled by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, London, 1882.

At the head of my collection I place two comparisons which are chronicled in all standard works on Moslim tradition. Both of these are connected with the manner, in which revelations came down to Muhammed. In the one he stated that he heard the voice of revelation "as the chiming of bells," in the other the first revelation came down to him as "the dawn of the morning" (Bokhâri beginning, *Mu'atta*, p. 86, *etc.*). Although a large number of these sayings are dispersed in the *Ḥadîth* works of Al Bokhâri (died 256 H.) and Muslim (died 260 H.), these authors did not devote much attention to them. Al Tirmidi (died 279) however in his collection of traditions has a special chapter on fourteen *mathals* which I reproduce here (after the edition of Bulâq, 1875, Vol. II. p. 143 *sqq.*).

1. [From Jubeir b. Nufeir from Al Nuwâs b. Sinân Al Kilâbi:] Fantastic description of the "Right Path" (*Qor.* I. 5).

2. [Jâbir b. Abd Allâh Al Ansâri:] The Prophet once heard in a dream a discussion between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel on the following parable: Thou [O Muhammed] and thy people are compared to a king who chose a city of residence, where he built a palace. In this he placed a table and then he sent messengers to invite the people to partake of the repast he had spread thereon. Some of them accepted the invitation, but others refused. The King is Allâh, the residence Islâm, the palace is Paradise, and thou, O Muhammed, art the messenger. Whosoever accepts thee, enters Islâm, and is received into Paradise where he enjoys all that affords him pleasure.

It is possible that this parable is modelled on a Talmudical one (*Sanhedrin*, fol. 38vo) of great popularity, in which an explanation is given why in the creation of the component parts

[74] *Cf.* Exod. xiii. 13.

[75] אות is in this instance rendered by آية, because the latter has its fixed Moslim terminology.

of the world, the earth, stars, and animals preceded man, who, being the noblest creature, found a *garden* prepared for abode, and food ready, when he appeared on the earth. The moral of both parables is nearly the same.

3. [Muh. b. Bishâr from Muh. b. Abi Adiy from Ja'far b. Maimûn from Abû Tamîm Al Hujaimi from Abû Othmân from Ibn Mas'ûd :] Muhammed said: My eyes are asleep, but my heart is awake (see I. Hish. p. 375, *Kâmil* of Al Mubarrad, ed. Wright, p. 77 and 741). This saying is evidently a mistranslation of Cantic. v. 2 caused by mis-hearing *'êni* "my eye" instead of *anî* "I" (see my article: Historical and legendary controversies, *etc.* J. Q. R. x. p. 105). A *mathal* following this sentence deals with the same subject.

4. Another and shorter repetition in a somewhat modified form, also on the authority of Jâbir b. Abd Allâh.

5. [Muh. b. Ism'âîl from Mûsâ b. Ism'âîl from Abân b. Yazîd b. Abi Kathîr from Zeid b. Abi Salâm from Al Ḥârith Al Ashâri:] The infidel is compared to a man who buys a slave. He brings him to his house, and instructs him in the work he has to do, but the slave (instead of following his instructions) works for somebody else. Which of you wishes to be Allâh's servant? Allâh has commanded you to *pray*, so do not turn away from him, since he turns his face towards that of his servant, while the latter is engaged in praying. Allâh has further commanded you to *fast*. He who fasts is compared to a man in a turban, who has in his possession a bag with musk, the odour of which makes everybody wonder. The odour of the breath of a fasting man is pleasanter to Allâh than the smell of musk Giving *alms* is further illustrated by the parable of a man who was taken prisoner. He is loaded with chains and ill treated, but afterwards ransomed for a small sum. The *saying of the Ḏikr* is finally compared to a strong castle, which gives refuge to a fugitive, who is surrounded by his foes. Man can guard himself against Satan only through the *Ḏikr*. — This group of *mathals* seems to betray Christian influence. For the author of *Silâḥ Al Mûmin* (Brit. Mus. Or. 3855, fol. 12) has the following version: Muhammed said: Allâh commanded John to teach the Israelites five sentences; among them is the *Ḏikr*. This is compared to a man who is persecuted by his enemies, but finds refuge in a fortress.

6. [Anas from Abu Mûsâ from Muhammed:] A Moslim who reads the *Qorân*, is likened to a citron, whose fragrance and taste are both good, but a Moslim, who does not read the *Qorân* is likened to a fruit which has no fragrance, though its taste is pleasant. The hypocrite who reads the *Qorân*, is likened to a fragrant plant of bitter taste, but the hypocrite who does not read the *Qorân* is likened to the coloquinth which smells as badly as it tastes bitter. — This parable is to be found in nearly all works of *Ḥadîth*; *cf.* Bokh (ed. Krehl, III. 401; Moslim, (Butag 1304,) IV. p. 81; Mishkât, 276). The sundry recensions show slight variations. See also Lane Poole, *l. c.* p. 154.

7. [Al Ḥasan b. Aliy Al Khilâl and several others from Abd Allâh b. Razzâq from Muhammed from Al Zohri from Sa'îd b. Al Musayyab from Abu Hureira:] Muhammed said: The believer is likened to the sapling, which the winds incessantly try to upset. The believer is also continually exposed to trials, but the hypocrite is as the cedar which is not shaken untill the time of the harvest comes. In Muslim (x. p. 267) this tradition is reproduced with the same (very unreliable) Isnâd, but is twice repeated on the authority of Ka'b b. Mâlik, the "tree" being replaced by an "ear of corn." Since this *mathal* seems to be, at least in part, modelled on that in *Abôth*, III. 17, the version with the tree seems to be the more authentic one.

8. [Isḥâq b. Manṣûr from Ma'n from Mâlik from Abd Allâh b. Dinar from Ibn Omar:] Muhammed said: The Believer is likened to a tree whose foliage does not fall off. — This tradition, which is badly authenticated, is followed by a discussion of the species of that tree.

9. [Quteiba from Al Laith from Ibn Al Ḥâdi from Muhammed b. Ibrahim from Abu Salama from Abdal Raḥmân from Abu Hureira:] Muhammed said: If anyone had a river

passing by his gate, he would bathe five times a day ; could, then, any uncleanness remain on his body? No! This is the likeness of the five daily prayers, with which Allâh washes away the sins.

10. [Quteiba from Ḥâmid b. Yahyâ from Thâbit al Banâni from Anas.] Muhammed said : My people is likened to the rain, no one knows whether its beginning is more pleasant or its ending.

11. [Muhammed b. Ismâ'îl from Khilâd b. Yahyâ from Bashîr b. Al Muhâjir from Abd Allâh b. Boreida from his father :] Muhammed threw down two dates and asked : "What does this mean ?" No one knew. "The one," he said, "is hope, the other fulfilment."

12. [Al Ḥasan from Al Khilâl from Abdal Razzâq from Mu'ammar from Al Zuhr from Salâm from Ibn Omar :] Muhammed said: Men are likened to camels ; among a hundred thou findest but one fit to ride on (see Muslim II. p. 275 ; Al Tha'âlibi, *Syntagma* ed. Valeton, p. 7).

13. [Quteiba b. Sa'îd from Al Mughîra b. Abdal Rahmân from Abu Zinâd from Ala'raj from Abu Hureira:] Muhammed said : I and my people are likened to a man who kindles a fire in which flies and butterflies are caught. Thus I seize your race, and you are thrown into the fire (see Muslim, II. p. 206).

14. [Musaddad from Yaḥyâ from Sufyân from Abd Allâh b. Dinâr from Ibn Omar from Muhammed, who said :] You, O Moslims, the Jews and Christians are symbolised in the following parable: A man hired labourers to whom he said : "Who will work for me until noon for one carat ?" The Jews did it. Then he asked : "Who will work for me until the afternoon (prayer time) ?" The Christians did it. "Then you, O Moslims, shall work for me from the afternoon till evening for two carats." They answered : "We give the most work for smallest pay." "Have I," asked he, "wronged you?" "No." "Thus," he replied, "do I bestow my favour upon whom I choose." — The reader will have no difficulty in recognizing in this parable an adaptation of the Parable of the Householder (St. Matthew xx. 2) as far as it suited the situation. (See also Mishkât, Engl. transl. II. p. 814.)

To these *mathals* I attach a few more which are dispersed in the collections of traditions. One of the best known of these, which is also mentioned in most modern works, is the comparison of a reader of the *Qorân* to a man who owns a camel. If he keeps it fastened, it remains with him, but if he loosens it, it runs away (*Mu'aṭṭâ*, 88, Al Nawawi, *Kit. Al Tibyân*, p. 81 ; *cf.* Sprenger, III. p. xxxv.).

Ibn Abbâs handed down the tradition that Muhammed said: He who has in his inside nothing of the *Qorân* is compared to a desolate house (*Tibyân*, p. 14).

[Mûsâ from Wahîb from Ibn Tâ'ûs from his father from Abu Hureira :] The Prophet said : The niggard and the almsgiver are compared to two men clad in coats of mail from their breast to their collar-bone. On the almsgiver it grows until it covers the tips of his fingers and obliterates his guilt. On the niggard, however, every buckle keeps firm in its place, so that he cannot loosen it (Bokh. ii. 158, iii. 21). — For أثره which gives no sense, I read ذنبه "guilt." The text of this parable shows several corruptions, which may be taken as a sign of its old age, and probable genuineness. Al Nawawi's corrections (*ibid.*) are of little assistance — The same tradition with a different Isnâd, likewise going back to Abu Hureira, Bokh. *ibid.* The *mathal* is an imitation of *Qor.* ii. 263, 267: see above, p. 172.

The worshipper of idols is likened to a thirsty traveller, who sees a mirage in the deserts, but cannot reach it (*cf.* Qastalâni, viii. p. 183). This *mathal* is fashioned after *Qor.* xxiv. 39 (see above, p. 174).

[Abu Bakr b. Abi Shaiba and Abu Âmir Ash'arî and Muhammed b. Al Atâ (the wording being that of Abu Âmir) from Abu Usâma from Boreid from Abu Burda from Abu Mûsa from Muhammed :] My mission to guide knowledge is likened to the rain which reaches the

earth. Part of the latter, which is good, absorbs the water, and produces herbs and other vegetation in abundance. Some parts of the earth are hard, and therefore retain the water, which serves for man to drink therefrom, and to water their flocks and herbs. Another part is [barren] level ground, which neither holds the water nor allows anything to grow. This is typical of those who accept the Law of Allâh. He allows them to benefit by my mission, to learn and to teach. But the likeness of him, who does not raise his head and does not accept the guidance of Allâh, which was entrusted to me (Muslim, II. 206).

In connection with *Qor.* lvii. 19 Al Qastalânî (ix. 237) quotes a comparison, handed down by Muslim as follows: Muhammed said: If one of you dips his hand in the sea, let him see what remains on it, when he takes it out again. — [Abu Hureira:] Muhammed said: I and the prophets before me are likened to a building which a man has erected and beautified. People surround it, and say: We have never seen a finer building, except one brick [which is Muhammed], Moslim, *ibid.*

[Abu Borda from Abu Mûsa:] Muhammed said: I and my people are likened to a man who said to his people: "I beheld an army, and I warn you to escape; and now you may depart in ease." One portion obeyed and was saved, but the other which refused to believe him, was surprised by the enemy and destroyed. — Follows application [Muslim, *ibid.*].

Of other authors who have embodied larger and smaller collections of alleged sayings of Muhammed I have quoted the following:

The famous Amr b. Baḥr Al Jâḥiz of Baṣra (died 255 H.) in his *Kitâb Al Maḥâsin wal'a ḍhdâd* (ed. van Vloten, Leyden, 1898) quotes many dicta ascribed to Muhammed on liberality, niggardliness, and other subjects. More sayings are to be found in Abstracts of the same author's work, *Kit. Al Bayân wal Tibyân* (Constantinople, 1883).

A small collection of dicta is contained in Al Belâḍorî's *Kit. futuḥ albuldân* (ed. de Goeje) p. 537, but much more are dispersed thoughout the *Kâmil* of Al Mubarrad (ed. W. Wright).

In the *Kit. Al Mujtani* of Ibn Doreid (died 321) sayings attributed to a number of persons, beginning with Muhammed (pp. 2 to 4) are collected. The sayings are accompanied by annotations.

The works of Abd Al Malik Al Tha'âlibi (died 429) are very rich in alleged sayings attributed to Muhammed, *viz.*: —

1. *Kit. al'ijâz wal î'jâz* (ed. Valeton, 1894, and Cairo, 1301). The same work is recorded under the title, *Kitâb nawâdir al ḥukm* (Brit. Mus. Add. 9569).

2. *Al Latâif wal 'arâif fi-l addâd* and *Al yawâqît fi baidâ-e-mawâqît* prepared by Abu Naṣr Al Muqaddasi (Cairo, 1883). Sayings in praise or blame of all sorts of things.

3. *Thimâr alqulûb* (Add. 9558), a volume which contains a large amount of interesting information on every imaginable subject, concerning anecdotes, folk-lore, proverbs, etc. The author draws largely on the writings of Al Jâhiẓ, and is therefore of great importance for the literary study of the latter.

4. *Muntakhabât al tamthîl*, Constantinople, 1884.

5. *Bard al Akbâd*, Cairo, 1883, arranged according to the number of subjects mentioned in each saying.

Abu Abd Allâh Muhammed b. Salama Al Qudâî Al Shafa'i (died 454) wrote a work titled *Kit. Al Shihâb*, which contains a thousand dicta supposed to belong to Muhammed (Add. 9692).

Abul Qâsim Husein b. Aḥmad Al Râghib Al Isfahâni (died 500) wrote *Kit. Muḥâḍarat aladbâ' wa muḥâwarat al shuarâ walbulaghâ* (Add. 7305; *cf.* H. Kh. v. p. 414).

Al Ghazâli reproduces in his *Iḥyâ 'ulûm aldîn* a very elaborate parable attributed to Muhammed on the life of this world. This parable has been translated into German in Kremer's, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen, etc.* p. 158. Shorter sayings to be found in the same work are the following (I. p. 279):

1. Anyone who speaks the *Ḏikr* amongst those who neglect it, is like a green tree in the midst of barren ground.

2. Anyone who speaks the *Ḏikr* amongst those who neglect is, is like one who fights in the midst of those who run away.

3. The *Ḏikr* of Allâh in the morning and evening is better than the clashing of swords in the war path of Allâh, or spending one's fortune in lavish expenditure.

The same author's work *Jawâhir Al Qorân* (Add. 9483; *cf. Itqân*, p. 843) contains many *mathals* on behalf of Muhammed. The work was composed after the *Ihyâ* which is quoted fol. 11vo, l. 11, and forms a very important supplement to the author's theological treatises.

The best known of all collections of sentences attributed to Muhammed is undoubtedly to be found in Al Maidâni's famous work *Amthâl Al Arab* (ed. Freytag, III. pp. 607 to 617. The same chapter has been reproduced by Aḥmad Al Damanhûrî in his *Kit. sabîl alrishâd* (Alexandria, 1871), pp. 62-66.

The *Kit. Al muwashshâ* by Al Washshâ (ed. Brünnow) is likewise to be mentioned among the works concerned in this subject. The same is the case with the *Taṣḥîfât al muḥaddithîn* by Al Askari Al Lughawi (Br. M. Or. 3062), who endeavours to be critical with regard to the authenticity of the sayings handed down.

Some *mathals* attributed to Muhammed are to be found in Ḥarîri's *Mâqâmas*, ed. I. Derenbourg, p. 48, l. 16.

There are still to be recorded an abridgment of Al Farâbis' *Khulâṣat Al Khâliṣa* by Al Badakhshâni (Kazan, 1851). Forty sayings attributed to Muhammed are also collected with a Persian commentary in a richly illuminated MS. of the Brit. Mus. Or. 5081. The work is printed under the title *Jâmi*, Firozpûr, 1887. (To this my attention was called by Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum.)

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 31.)

1792. — No. XI.

Fort William, 12th November 1792. Agreed that the following Instructions be given to Lieut. Blair Proceeding to the Andamans.

Lieutenant Archibald Blair. 12 Novr.

Sir, — You are already informed that, in compliance with the Recommendation of **Commodore Cornwallis the Governor General in Council has determined to establish a Naval Arsenal at the North East Harbour of the Great Andaman Island,** and you have been acquainted that three of the Company's Sloops have been Sent from the Pilot Service to Assist, with the **Union Snow,** taken up on Freight for 4 Months in transporting the Artificers, Stores and Provisions from Bengal to the Andamans and from **the Place hitherto called Port Corn wallis [Port Blair] to the Harbour above mentioned.**

The Sloops which are called the **Seahorse Cornwallis and Juno** are Commanded by Messrs. **John Petman C. Crawley and T. Dorrington** who will remain in Charge of them during the Trip and are informed by the Master Attendant that they are to obey such Orders as you may give them. The Union Snow is also under your directions.

The four Vessells being reported to be in Readiness to take their Departure, and the Weather having now a Settled Appearance it is His Lordship's pleasure that no Time should be lost in their dispatch, and that they proceed forthwith under your General Command keeping Company with each other on the Way direct to **the North East Harbour now called Port Cornwallis** where as soon as may be convenient after your Arrival, you will begin the work of establishing a Settlement for the East India Company clearing the Country progressively from the North East of **Chatham Island** towards it's Southern Extremity unless any obstacles, at present unforeseen should make it appear to you advisable to deviate in any manner from this Directions You are Authorized to erect a small temporary Redoubt for Defence should you find it necessary, and such temporary Buildings as can be most quickly finished for the Reception of the Provisions Ammunition, and other Stores.

When these Articles which indispensably require to be well Attended to shall have been Secured against Injury from Weather, and as much as possible from vermine you will choose a proper Spot of Ground for a Garden, and have it prepared for the Reception of the Fruit Trees Plants, etca., that you take from Bengal or can be sent from the Old Harbour where you will order a few People to remain to take Care of the Garden until all the most useful Trees and plants, etca., have been removed from it to be placed at the new Settlement ; and during that Time one of the Vessells is to remain at the Old Harbour for the Protection of the People I have mentioned. It is wished that while they are there they may be able to prevail on the Natives to cultivate upon the Stock that will still be left of Fruit Trees and Vegetables, so as to introduce them gradually into General Demand.

You will of course send to the Old Harbour when you arrive at the New, the two Natives whom you brought with you to Bengal and who are now returning in the Union and you will cause any small Articles that you think will be Acceptable to the People to be Distributed amongst them when you evacuate the Settlement, which must be done as soon as the Stores, etca., that are to be moved from it have been interely *(sic)* taken away.

It is hardly necessary to acquaint you that your former orders for observing the most humane and conciliatory conduct towards **the Natives of the Country** and adopting the best means of securing a friendly intercourse with them, are still in force. Your endeavours to this End were in a great deal successful at the place you are now to leave, and afforded the Board much Satisfaction.

The Circumstances of your Situation on the Bombay Establishment rendering it of Consequence to you to be on the Malabar Coast, and the Services of a Surveyor being now less wanted at the Andamans than those of an Engineer I have orders to acquaint you that **Captain Kyd has been appointed to be Superintendant of the Andamans**, and is to receive Charge of the Settlement on his Arrival which will probably be in five or Six Weeks. With his concurrence and if your time should admit, you are authorized **to finish the Survey of the Andamans and to ascertain the relative position of the Southern Necobar with the Acheen Island** which has not been hetherto well determined.

You are then at liberty to proceed to Bombay to resume yonr Station in that part of India coming first to Calcutta to Settle your Accounts if you think your Presence here necessary for that Purpose. The Board have instructed me to acquaint you that it is at present their wish to have the Marine at the Andamans under your Care, when the Service which takes you to the Malabar Coast is ended, and that they mean to write upon the Subject to the Governor in Council.

I am particularly instructed to mention to you that Notwithstanding the Directions in this Letter, you are to Attend carefully to all orders that you may receive from Commodore Cornwallis who has

expressed his readiness to Assist, with his Majesty's Ships in Establishing the Settlement on the great Andamans at the North East Harbour.

The Board have desired me to signify to You that as your Attention and Abilities in the Management of the Company's first Establishment at the Andamans claim their fullest approbation and as you formerly stated that you were Subject to Considerable Expence by the distance of those Islands from Bengal and other Countries from whence you could procure Supplies, they have been pleased to grant you an Allowance of One hundred and fifty Sicca Rupees per Month in Addition to that Which you receive of Surveyor, from the Time of Your first taking Possession of Port Cornwallis, *Viz.*, the 5th of October 1789 Untill you Shall be relieved from the Command, and further, they have determined that Your Surveyor's Allowance Shall be continued till your Arrival at Bombay.

It is the desire of Government that the Pilot Schooners may be returned to Bengal (where they will be much wanted) either together or Separately, as soon as they can be Spared from the Service, upon which they are Sent excepting the Sea-horse, which is to be Sunk in the Salt Water, to remove, if possible, a Quantity of Vermin and white ants that are in the Vessell and could not be expelled by any Means that have been taken here, and you are Requested to Assist by issuing such Orders as you think in [? it] necessary to give Effect to the Experiment One of a Similar third [? kind] is understood to have Succeeded in the Instance of **the Viper**.

I wish you a Safe and Speedy Passage, and am, Sir, Your, etca.,

Fort William, (Signed) **Edward Hay,** Secry. to Govermt.

12th November 1792.

1792. — No. XII.

Agreed that the following Letter be written to Commodore Cornwallis and, Ordered that it be dispatched under Charge of Lieutenant Blair.

To Commr. Cornwallis. 12th Novr.

The Hon'ble William Cornwallis, Commander in Chief of his Majestys Ship in the East Indies.

Sir, —We think it proper to inform you that the opinion expressed by your Excellency in favor of **an Establishment at the North East Harbour of the Great Andaman in Preference to the Place which was first chosen** for [the] Companys Settlement upon that Island has induced us to determine on removing it, and we accept with due Acknowledgments, the offer made by your Excellency to Assist with such Part of his Majesty's Squadron as can be spared to Effect that Purpose.

Your Excellency will receive with this Letter. a Copy of the Instructions given to Lieutenant Blair, in which he is directed to Attend carefully to all orders you may be pleased to give him.

Fort William, We have the honor to be, etca.

12th Novr. 1792.

1792. — No. XIII.

Fort William, the **19th of November 1792. Read** a Letter and its enclosure from Lieutenant **Archibald Blair.**

To Edward Hay, Esqre., Secry. to Govt.

Sir, — I have the satisfaction to inform you, that six Months Provision with the necessary Stores are embarked, and that the Settlers agreeable to the enclosed Return, are well accommodated, and in perfect health and Spirits.

Union James and Mary, I have the Honor to be, etca.,

Novr. 17th, 1792. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Enclosure in Lt. Blair's letter, dated 17th Novr.

Return of the People engaged for the new Settlement at the Andamans Embarked on board the Union, Viper, Cornwallis, Juno, and Seahorse:—

Assistant Storekeeper	1
European Overseers	4
Serjeant Major	1
Havildars	2
Naicks	2
Private Sepoys	20
European Tent and Sail Maker	1
Native Carpenters	10
Do. Smiths	6
Do. Sawyers	6
Do. Bakers	2
Do. Taylors	4
Do. Washermen	6
Do. Potters	2
Do. Bricklayers	2
Do. Gardiners	2
Do. Fishermen	10
Do. Tindals	3
Lascars	32
Barbers	2
Stone Cutters	2
Servants	20
Brick makers	2
Copper Smiths	2
Turner	1
Gramies	2
Women	30
Children	7
Surdars	8
Labourers	170
	360[13]

Novr. 17th, 1792.

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

(To be continued.)

[13] [Should be 362. — ED.]

NOTES ON SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 105.)

Salt. — Salt sprinkled, thrown into the fire, or melted in water is deadly to the Evil Eye.[81] In Scotland, to correct an evil glance, holy water, exorcism and the smoke of incense were used.[82] Tweed fishermen salt their nets to keep off evil influences.[83] No Isle of Man seaman (1700) will sail without a piece of salt in his pocket.[84] In South Italy, children wear bits of rock-salt round their necks to keep off the Evil Eye.[85] It is the wholesome and healing influence of salt, especially its power to put to flight the demon of corruption, that makes it so valuable and so widespread a guardian against evil glances.

The Scape. — The goat and other scapes come close to Evil Eye charms since the object of both is to house evil glances. In England and Scotland, a he-goat is kept in horse stables near the entrance as he is a favourite Evil Eye home.[86]

Sea-horse. — The sea-horse, *caballo marino*, both dried and figured in metal, is worn as an amulet and fastened to harness in Naples.[87]

Serpent. — Besides being one of the most powerful guardians the fascination of the snake's eye over birds and other prey makes the snake a specially valued protection against the Evil Eye.[88]

Shell. — As a spirit-home the shell *Concha veneris* is a favourite guardian against the Evil Eye.[89]

Siren. — A special Neapolitan amulet is the Sirene or Siren seated on a single or double sea-horse. This is worn by children and women and is also hung in the window or other part of a house.[90]

Skeleton. — A miniature skeleton is a favourite wearing charm in South Italy. Among the Greeks and Romans the skeleton was a favourite charm.[91] The moral explanation of the Roman practice of carrying a skeleton round the feast room when the drinking of wine began, namely that the guests might remember death, is probably a later meaning-making of a

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81 Compare Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 325.

82 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 15. These rites may be a survival of the Catholic ritual. At the same time exorcism, holy water (that is, water with salt in it) and incense smoke are cures for spirit-possession earlier not only than the Christian but than the classic religions. The detail of the non-ecclesiastical and apparently non-Christian use of salt and water in Evil Eye ailments in Scotland in the beginning of the present century are interesting. In Scotland (1800, Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 47), if any member of a family was suffering from an evil glance a sixpence was borrowed. On the borrowed sixpence salt was heaped and the salt spilt into a tablespoon full of water. The sixpence was dropped into the spoon and the patient's soles and palms were moistened with the salt water. The operator thrice sipped the salt water, drew his forefinger across the patient's brow and threw the contents of the spoon over his shoulder into the back of the fire with the words "Lord keep us from scaith."

83 Bassett's *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea*, pp. 150, 411.

84 *Op. cit.* p. 438.

85 Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 10.

86 Compare the monkey kept in China as a safeguard to cattle. Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 58. Compare also the regimental animals to which attaches a feeling of luck.

87 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 211, 256, 266.

88 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 312, 350.

89 *Op. cit.* p. 28.

90 *Op. cit.* pp. 356-357. Compare Neville-Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*, pp. 41-44. The Sirens originally were goddesses. One of them, Parthenope, gave its old name to Naples. Compare Bassett, *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea*, p 16.

91 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 122; King, *The Gnostics*, p. 157.

practice whose sense, like the sense of the Roman shower of rose leaves, was to free the banquet room from the spirits which had thronged to the wine. The skeleton cleared the air of spirits because more than even wine the dead are a tempting spirit-home.[92] "'Tis certain," says Aubrey (1660),[93] "the touch of a dead hand has wrought wonderful effects." At Stowel in Somersetshire, a painter cured a wen on his neck by asking a blessing, saying the Lord's prayer, and stroking the wen with the hand of a dead woman. The sense is, the spirit was tempted from the wen into the more attractive dead hand.

Skull. — As a tempting spirit-home the human skull is a favourite early ornament. Necklaces of skulls decorate Hindu deities, and skulls adorn and protect coffins and tomb-stones. A miniature human skull is a common charm and scarf ornament in Naples. The tribes of the White Nile keep the Evil Eye from their grain fields by setting on the end of a pole the bleached skull of an ox. The same practice prevails among the wilder tribes in Western India.

Spitting — has been and is an almost universal practice to counteract evil influences.[94] Pliny (Rome, A. D. 70) says: — "Spitting into the urine or into the right shoe before putting it on keeps off the Evil Eye."[95] In Italy, if a child has been blighted by an evil glance and the person who did the mischief is known, the child is brought before the person and spits thrice into his mouth.[96] According to a Somerset saying, "You should spit thrice if you meet anyone with a north or Evil Eye."[97] Compare the Roman and English plan of spitting into the hand before fighting or beginning to work: also spitting on the first coin earned during the day. The Afghans spit on the ground to wash away the evil glance.[98]

Sulphur — one of the greatest cleansers and scares, is a chief Italian remedy for an attack of the Evil Eye.[99]

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[92] It seems odd that a skeleton or dead body should be a favourite spirit-home. Two attractions combine. First, the dead body is a spirit-home without a tenant Lodgings to let is stamped on the lifeless body. The second attraction is corruption which so tempts the coarser order of spirits that their love for the nasty drives them to haunt grave-yards and other unclean places. Evil spirits were believed to haunt unclean places when with the exaltation of the guardian spirit the character of the non-guardian spirit was degraded. That non-guardian spirits were unclean and loved corruption was supported by the experience that the unclean caused sickness, evil smells and flies, three leading proofs of the presence of evil spirits. The belief rules Russia in the form of the dreaded vampire, a spirit who finds its way into a dead body and revives it, so that the dead haunts its own home and lives on the lifeblood of its inmates. The vampire belief in turn finds support in the experience of consumption and other diseases which seem to suck the patient's blood, and the other experience of bodies long after burial found fresh and bleeding Of the fondness of evil spirits for the unclean and the ill-smelling, Aubrey (1660, *Miscellanies*, p. 162) says: — "Evil spirits are pleased and allured and called up by suffumigations of henbane and other stinking smells which witches use in their conjurations."

[93] *Miscellanies*, p. 125.

[94] Examples have been given in a former article on spitting as a spirit-scarer. Other instances will be found in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 412-414. Compare Theocritus (Sicily, B. C. 280), Idyll VII., Banks' translation, p. 40.— "May the old woman be at hand by spitting to keep afar what is not good." Also Idyll XX., *op cit.* p. 103, Eunica said: — "Away lest you contaminate me," and spat thrice in her breast. Also Idyll XXIII., *op. cit.* p. 274:— "The heartless girl who spat on the body of her dead lover:" and Polyphemus, Idyll VI. (*op. cit.* p. 36): — "Who after excessive admiration of his own beard and eye and teeth spat thrice into his breast in case he should bewitch himself."

[95] Quoted in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 419. The spitting into it prevents any evil influence passing into the urine and so affecting the person whose issue it is. The spittle in the shoe drives out of the shoe any lurking influence which might cause weariness.

[96] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 208. The sense of this practice is that the spirit sent into the child by the owner of the evil glance is in the child's spittle. When the child's spittle passes into the mouth of the owner of the evil glance a communion is established between the child and the owner in virtue of which any damage done to the child must equally effect the owner of the Evil Eye.

[97] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 417.

[98] Bellew's *Afghanistan*, p. 387.

[99] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 206. Among Greeks and Romans sulphur was a favourite purifier. After the babe Hercules strangled Juno's dragons, Tiresias, among other rites, advised that the house should be purified with clear sulphur. Banks' Theocritus (B. C. 260), Idyll XXIV, Bohn's Library, p. 130.

Sunface. — The Sunface or Surya-mukh is one of the chief guardians against evil in India, being carved in temples and carried in procession worked on banners. A sunface was worked into many of the badges worn by the Roman legions whose guardian glances would overcome the spells of the enemy.

Tongue. — The tongue is as great a fascinator as the eye. In one view the tongue is an even greater fascinator than the eye, since it not only blasts with slander that is spoken envy but is also the source of the admiration and flattery which with envy form the two main channels of evil influence. The Accadians or early Chaldeans prayed their guardians to save them from the Evil Eye and the spiteful tongue.[100] Virgil (Eclogue VII.) advises the young poet to bind clown's spikenard *(bachar)* round his brow lest any evil tongue should harm him; and Horace (First Epistle) talks of harm done by the skew glance and by the bite of the evil tongue. At Roman sacrifices the Priest called *Favete linguis*, favour with your tongues, that is, keep silence. Etruscan and Indian masks and images and the masks and images of many early tribes and peoples have lolling and split tongues.[1] To thrust out the tongue against any one is a widespread sign of derision with the usual meaning that the person thrust or lolled at is a devil or is devil-haunted. Another instinctive thrusting out of the tongue tip when something has been indiscreetly said seems a form of *unbarufen* as if to scatter the rumour spirits who might spread the wrongly published news.

Thread. — A red thread was tied round the necks of Roman infants as a charm against fascination.[2] In Afghanistan, the Evil Eye is kept from horses by tying white and blue threads to their tails.[3] Among Indian Moslims a blue thread and in Scotland as in Rome a red thread keeps off the Evil Eye.[4]

Tooth. — A boar's tusk is a favourite charm against the Evil Eye in Naples.[5]

Water, the universal cleanser and healer, is a favourite Italian cure for an attack from an evil glance.[6] Evil glances like other evil influences fear nothing so much as holy water. But both among Classic Greeks and Christians the main virtue of holy water rests in salt.[7] Though water cures Evil Eye attacks (so far as has been ascertained) neither water nor picture nor sign of water is used in Naples to keep off an evil glance. In Florence, new houses, which are tempting Evil-Eye lodgings, bear the early waving Etruscan sign of water apparently for luck.[8] The Jews hold that the Evil Eye cannot pass through water. According to the *Talmud* fish are free from the Evil Eye because they live under water.[9]

Wolfskin. — A strip of wolfskin fringes many parts of the harness of a Neapolitan horse. The belief in the guarding virtue of a wolfskin is old. Pliny (A. D. 70) says: — "A wolfskin fastened to a horse's neck makes him proof against weariness:[10] a wolfstail is also a protection."[11] In Scotland, a girdle of wolfskin is a cure for epilepsy.[12] Here, as in other cases, the

[100] Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 16-17. [1] Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 162-163, Figure 50.

[2] Persius, *Satires*, II. v. 31. [3] Bellew's *Afghanistan*, p. 387. [4] MS. Notes.

[5] Neville-Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*, p. 53. [6] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 206.

[7] Compare in Theocritus (B.C. 280, Idyll XXIV., Dale's Translation, p. 130) the order given by Tiresias after the babe Hercules had throttled Juno's dragon:—"Sprinkle the house from a green branch dipped in plenty of pure water mixed as usual with salt."

[8] MS. note from Col. Selby, R. E. Neither the Moslim name of eye *('ain)* for a free flowing spring nor the German saying (Grimm, Vol. I. p. 146, n. 1), "You must not look into running water, it is God's eye," seem to be used to give water as an eye a special glamour or housing power over an evil glance.

[9] Swab's *Talmud de Jerusalem*, Vol. I. p. 456.

[10] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 330. The sense is, weariness is the result of evil influences through a human glance or by other channels passing into the horse. The guardian wolfskin scares or draws to itself (that is, prisons) the devil of weariness and the horse keeps fresh.

[11] *Op. cit.* p. 21. [12] Lady Camilla Gordon, *Memories and Fancies*, p. 110.

trust in the wolf is not the result of the belief that a wolf suckled Romulus: it goes back to the stage when, as squared-fiend, the wolf became the herdsman's protector and therefore gained the credit of saving the guardian of Rome.

Words. — Besides by articles evil glances can be scared or prisoned by uttering certain words. These words are either the names of certain evil scaring articles or the names of some of the greater guardians. The uttering of the names of spirit-scaring articles scares spirits because in the name part of the spirit, or, in earlier phrase, one of the spirits of the article named lives. To name the name of the greater guardians — Classic Hebrew, Christian, Moslim, Hindu — is admitted to scare evil and has no special reference to the Evil Eye.[13] What is of interest in connection with the Evil Eye is that, though they belong to a much earlier stage of faith, certain of the local and lower guardians have such sovran power over evil that even the portion of their spirits that serves to keep their names alive suffices to guard against evil. Of the early guardians whose name can turn the evil glance the chief are the phallus, the horn, the nail and certain numbers. *Fascinus* or more usually *præfiscine* is a word which saves from an evil glance.[14] The guardian virtue of the word *præfiscine* equalling *forafascino*, that is, glamour avaunt, might seem to be the tone of command. But no evil influence would heed this tone or form of command unless the word *fascinus* was the name of the *phallus*, the chief of spirit-homes, so tempting that the name by itself is enough to draw spirits into it. It is for this reason, namely, to house and so dispose of evil influences, that among Hindus at the spring or Holi festival and among the early Romans in the Fescennine and other guardian songs the singers were enjoined to shout phallic words, the use of which at other times would have been deemed unseemly. So great is the scaring power of horn in south Italy that to utter the word horn takes the harm out of an evil glance.[15] So powerful a home or jail of evil glances is an iron nail that to utter the word *defigere*, that is, 'drive it home,' scares evil.[16] Among numbers 3, 7, 8, and 9 are so lucky that to name one of them turns aside an evil glance.[17] In the east of Scotland, for a fisherman to name 'cauld iron' is enough to scare any influences who may have gathered in consequence of the use of some unlucky word.[18] In this and in other cases the word is the name and so is part of the thing named.

Writing. — Words written have power as well as words spoken. Arabs, Jews and other Asiatics wear holy words in a hollow amulet. A little canvas bag containing a prayer to the Madonna or a verse of Scripture is frequently tied to the headstall or saddle of a Neapolitan horse.[19] To keep off the Evil Eye, Muslims in Egypt wear amulets engraved with mystic characters[20] In Egypt, between B. C. 300 and A. D. 300, the name of the guardian Serapis carved in gems baffled the Evil Eye.[21] In Abyssinia, passages from the Sacred Writings are worn in a leather case[22]

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[13] In Europe, the evil influence of compliment is turned aside by saying "God be praised." The Turk says:— "Ma-shâ-Allâh, what God wills (happens)." The Persian and Indian Musalmân says: — "God be thanked." If any one praises her child, an Italian nurse says: — "Thank God." Compare Story, *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 159. In Spain, Greece, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Algiers, if you praise a child, you must add "God preserve it." Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 12-13. Prayer to guardians is also an universal safeguard against the Evil Eye. As early as B. C 2000 the Accadians (or primitive Chaldeans) called on their guardians to turn aside the Evil Eye. Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 5. The Greeks and Romans prayed to Nemesis to ward off the Evil Eye. Pliny in Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 150. The early Nemesis was envy, not retribution. Nemesis becoming a guardian is a case of the guardian being the squared fiend.

[14] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 159.

[15] Jorio in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 260.

[16] *Op. cit.* p. 329.

[17] *Op. cit.* p. 404.

[18] Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 149; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 222.

[19] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 389.

[20] *Arabian Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 84.

[21] King's *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 70. "Baffle envy, oh Serapis," is one mottoe.

[22] Berghoff in *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1st, 1899, p. 2.

Section IV. — Local Details.

This summary of local beliefs connected with the Evil Eye begins with India, because in India, the early dread of the Evil Eye is unweakened: and because the Indian details are fuller than those available for other countries. In Western India, the blast of the Evil Eye is believed to be a form of spirit-possession. In Western India, most witches and wizards are said to be evil-eyed. Among ordinary persons those only who are born under the following conditions are evil-eyed. Hindus believe that a pregnant woman has peculiar longings either from the day of conception or from the fifth month after conception. These longings are due to the development of the fœtus. They consist of a wish to eat certain fruits and sweetmeats: to walk in deep shade or in gardens with running water; or to wear rich clothes and ornaments. If these desires are not gratified the child is born weak and greedy, and is believed to have an Evil Eye. If a person who has an Evil Eye sees a man or woman eat anything for which he has a longing the eater vomits or falls sick. In the Konkan, near Bombay, the belief is general that, at the time of dinner, if any one enters the house without washing his feet and sees the inmates at their meal, the eaters become sick or vomit their food or lose all appetite till the Blast of the Evil Eye is warded off. An unwashed outsider brings with him evil influences because he comes from wastes or roads or places where three or four roads meet. As he passes any of those spirit-haunts the haunting spirits buzz about his heels like gnats, and, unless he washes his feet before entering a house, the spirits enter with him into the house and make for the food and the eaters. A man who comes into a house with unwashed feet is said to enter *bharalya pâyâne*, that is, with full feet.

In Western India, the chief devices and rites for baffling the blast of the Evil Eye are: (1) Salt and water are mixed, waved three or seven times round the face of the person affected, and thrown on the road or at a spot where three roads meet. (2) Cowdung ashes are taken to a Brâhmaṇ or to an exorcist, who sprinkles the ashes on his left palm and turning the thumb of his right hand several times over them charms them by saying incantations and then rubs them on the forehead of the person affected. (3) Chillies are powdered and the powder is thrown on burning charcoal laid in a tile and the whole is waved three times round the face of the patient. (4) When a child of one month old sickens its mother takes in her hand some salt and mustard seed, waves them thrice round the child's face, and throws them on the fire. If the smell is very strong the mother knows that the blast of the Evil Eye was very severe. (5) That a child may not be witched Hindu women mark its brow with lamp-black, and some mothers tie round the child's neck a string of *bajarbattu* seeds,[23] or a garland of garlic, cloves, marking-nuts or shells. (6) If a man while taking food believes that the glance of some one present has struck him, the eater offers some of the food to the suspected person. If the suspected person eats, the ill-effect of the glance ceases. The sense of this belief is that the eating of a portion of the food by the suspected person rehouses in him the evil spirit that passed along his glance into the food. By this means the spirit cannot continue to harm the original eater without equally harming the second or suspected eater, that is, the spirit's own houser, and that is itself. When it is not known whose eye affected the sick man he is taken to a charmer who utters mystic verses over part of the food which the eater believes to be the cause of his sickness. The charmed food is kept slung from the ceiling for a night and next morning is given to the sick man to eat. Sometimes the food which has disagreed with the patient is divided into three parts and one of the parts is divided into three morsels. Each morsel is lifted to the sick man's mouth as if to feed him but instead is set on the ground on the right of the sick man. (7) A handful of dust is gathered at the meeting of three roads and mixed with salt and chillies. The mixture is passed thrice from the head to the foot of the sick man outside the house near the threshold and is there burnt on a plate. If the smoke has no smell of chillies the man is believed to be witched. If the

[23] The seeds of the talipot palm, *Corypha umbraculifera*.

smoke smells of chillies the sickness is believed to be due to natural causes and not to possession. (8) Seven pebbles picked from a place where three roads meet, seven leaves of the *khajuri* or date-palm, and seven leafy branches of the *bor (Zizyphus jujuba)* tree are brought. The date-palm leaves are waved round the patient's face and then knotted by a member of the family or by some one else who knows the charm which should be repeated during the tying of the knot. The knotted palm leaves, the bunches of jujube leaves, the seven pebbles, and a morsel of food are then waved round the face of the patient and put in a vessel filled with water. The sick man is told to spit into the vessel and to drop into the water a lock of his hair or the paring of one of his nails. The neck of the vessel is stopped with *erand* or castor leaves and a cloth is tied over the mouth. The vessel is waved three times round the sick man's head and is set on the fire to boil. As soon as it boils it is placed under the patient's cot. A broom and a shoe are also brought, struck thrice on the ground, and placed under the cot close to the pot. Next morning the cloth over the mouth of the vessel is untied, the vessel is taken outside the house and its contents are spilt. If the water has turned red the man is believed to have been witched: if the water has not turned red the patient is suffering from some bodily disease. (9) Boiled rice is laid on a plantain leaf, red powder is scattered over the rice, and a small lighted torch or wick is stuck on the rice. The whole is thrice waved round the patient's face and is carried to a well or pond, the bearer being careful not to look back or to speak to any one on the way. He sets his charge near the water, washes his hands and feet, and goes home. In this and in the other instances quoted the object of waving fire or lights round the patient is to draw the spirit into the light and so to house or prison it. Housed in the light the spirit is taken to the edge of a stream or pond, or to where three roads meet, and the spirit in his lamp-house is left at this spirit-resort which is a prison as much as a home. It is worthy of note that in these rites fire is treated not as a spirit-scare but as a spirit-prison. (10) A child who cries too much is witched. The mother takes burning charcoal in a tile or pot-sherd and laying chillies on the charcoal in the evening sets the sherd at the meeting of three roads. When a grown person is affected by the Evil Eye a small earthern lamp is lighted, set on a piece of cowdung, waved round the patient's face, and left at a place where three roads meet. Among the Kunbis of the Bombay Dakhan, black threads, shells, marking-nuts or an old shoe is tied round the neck or leg of a pet bullock to keep off the Evil Eye.[24] Among Gujarât (Bombay) Shrâwaks or Jains the bridegroom wears a black silk thread tied round his right ankle to keep off the Evil Eye. A Gujarât mother calls a boy who is born after several children have died Stone or Rubbish or Girl. The mother's object is that no spirit may be tempted to come and live in the boy, or rather that the envious spirit of some former wife or other family ghost whose ill-will killed the elder children, may be cheated into leaving this boy alone. A high class Gujarât Hindu child is believed to suffer either from its own gaze or from the gaze of some fond relation.[25] In Gujarât, the Hindus who have the most hurtful form of Evil Eye are those possessed by Vir, the spirit of a dead warrior.[26] The strict sub-sect of Varjadi Vaishnavas in Gujarât keep their drinking water where no one can see it.[27] Both among Musalmâns and Hindus the belief prevails that during the dark spirit-haunted hours of the night the eye of the sleeper becomes charged with evil influences. The Gujarât Muslim on awakening should cast his first glance on gold, silver or iron : if his waking glance falls on a man the man will sicken.[28] Another saying is : the first glance should fall on an ornament, the second on the wearer.[29] Gujarât Muslims are careful not to take their meals in presence of strangers, otherwise the food is sure to disagree with the eater or to be thrown up.[30] In Gujarât, a glance of admiration is known as *mithi nazar* or sweet glance. If a stranger casts a sweet glance on a child, the nurse or parent wards the evil glance by saying :— "See there is dirt on the heel of your shoe." The spirit which might have passed from the admirer's

[24] *Bombay Gazetteer*, "Poona Statistical Account."
[25] The late Mr. Vaikuntrâm.
[26] *Op. cit.*
[27] *Op. cit.*
[28] Khân Sâheb Abâs Ali, Inspector of Police, Godhra, 27th January 1887.
[29] *Op. cit.*
[30] Khân Bahâdur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi.

eye into the child is turned to the supposed dirt on the heel. The belief is general that the admiring glance of a parent may damage a child as much as a stranger's sweet look. Another glance that harms is the strong man's glance. Like the glance of love the strong man's glance has a *koshish* or drawing power. According to the Gujarât Musalmâns as the tiger draws the deer and as the snake draws the bird so the glance of a strong eye drains the strength of a weak eye.[31] When an Indian Musalmân is complimented on his health he says:—"God be thanked." Indian Muslims bind a blue thread round a child's neck or wrist to keep off the Evil Eye.[32] In North Gujarât, the belief is common that the fine bullocks for which that part of the Province is famous, are specially liable to suffer from admiration. In 1888, a pair of Râdhanpur bullocks gained a prize at a cattle show at Ahmedabad, the capital of the Province. So many people looked at and praised the bullocks that one of them sickened. The keeper tied a green and black cotton thread round the fore-leg of the sick animal and it recovered.[33] In Dhârwâr, in the South of the Bombay Presidency, if a person praises a child the mother (to avert the Evil Eye) says:— "Look at your foot, it is covered with filth."[34] The Karnâtak Liṅgaiats, like the Gujarât Shrâvaks, do not allow any stranger to look at them while they are eating, lest any evil glance may pass into the food. Most Hindus, when they offer *naivedya* or food to their house gods, close their eyes, draw the left hand over the closed eyes, and wave the right hand in front of the gods. In European practice, the evil, that is the evil spirits, in the worshipper is prevented from passing into the object of worship by signing the Cross in front of the eyes or simply by bowing the head. Among Hindus, the issue of an evil influence from the worshipper's eyes is prevented by the double precaution of closing the eyes, and of drawing the left hand in front of the closed eyes. The waving of the guardian right hand clears any evil influences that, without its protection, might pass from the worshipper to the worshipped. In Bengal, at the first pregnancy ceremony, a cloth is hung between the husband and wife.[35] The place where sacrifices are performed must be sheltered by a shed.[36] In worshipping the bones of Krishna at Jaganâth the priest covers his eyes.[37] Among the Hindus, an elder brother never looks at a younger brother's wife.[38] Among most Hindu women, it is a mark of respect to turn the back on a man or to turn away or veil the face,[39] the object being to prevent evil influences passing from the eyes of the woman into the person to be honoured. In Cashmir (1831), the traveller Vigné was told that spots of quartz in a trap rock were a disease caused by the Evil Eye.[40]

The Evil Eye is dreaded by the Malays.[41] In China, when a pregnant woman sees a child the mother rubs the child with betel-palm paste to prevent her child's soul passing into the unborn infant.[42] To avoid the Evil Eye and admiration the Japanese dress their children shabbily.[43] The Musalmân women of Turkistân wear dark thick veils of horse-hair.[44] The Evil Eye is much feared in Afghanistân. It causes all manner of mishaps to animals as well as to men. The Evil Eye of animals and of men, especially of Englishmen, is bad: but the Evil Eye of the invisible genii and fairies is worse.[45] The evil glance may be avoided by spitting, by wearing charms, and by tying white and blue threads to horses' heads and tails.[46] The ancient Persians considered the Evil Eye an *aighâsh* or demon.[47] Zoroaster (B. C. 600) ordered that if any one saw a pleasing object he should say over it the name of God.[48] When his health is praised a Persian Musalmân says: — "Thanks to God."[49] In Chaldea, as far back as the time of the Accadians (B. C. 2000), guardians were besought to keep away the Evil Eye.[50] Another Accadian

[31] Khân Sâheb Abâs Ali, Inspector of Police, Godhra, 27th January 1887.
[32] Khân Bahâdur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi.
[33] MS. Note.
[34] Information from the late Mr. Tirmalrao.
[35] Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. III. p. 72.
[36] Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 149.
[37] Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 133.
[38] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 183.
[39] Dubois, Vol. I p. 436.
[40] Vigné's *Travels in Cashmir*.
[41] Straits Journal Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
[42] Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 31.
[43] *Manners and Customs of the Japanese*, p. 177.
[44] Schuyler's *Turkestan*, Vol. I. p. 124.
[45] Bellew's *Afghanistân*, p. 387.
[46] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*
[47] West's *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 111.
[48] *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 317.
[49] Khân Bahâdur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi, MS. note, 1898.
[50] Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 5.

prayer beseeches the gods to keep at a distance evil spirits, ill-wishing men, plague, fever, the spiteful tongue, and the Evil Eye.[51] Among the Arabs, the early Ishmaelites (B. C. 1200) decked their camels with crescents to keep off the Evil Eye.[52] The Prophet Muhammad (A. D. 600) accepted the general belief that the Evil Eye caused diseases and death.[53] The modern Arab believes that the horse and still more that the camel is apt to suffer from the Evil Eye. They guard their animals with eye-shaped amulets and with talismans containing passages from the *Kuran*.[54] In the Levant, the poorest ask passers to share in their meal.[55]

Among the Jews King Solomon (B. C. 1000) (Proverbs, Chap. XXIII. v. 6-8) describes the man with the Evil Eye: — "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an Evil Eye, neither desire thou his dainty meats. For as he thinketh in his heart so is he. 'Eat and drink,' saith he to thee; but his heart is not with thee. The morsel thou hast eaten thou shalt vomit up and lose thy sweet words." So in the New Testament, Christ says: — "The light of the body is the eye. If thine eye be evil the whole body shall be full of darkness;" and, again, "Is Mine eye evil because I am good?"[56] Christ's view that an Evil Eye is the outcome of evil spirits in a man is shewn by the passage: "For from within out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, an Evil Eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness. All these evil things come from within and defile the man."[57] This description that, like other desires and impulses, the Evil Eye comes from within may seem in agreement with the later scientific view that such impulses and appetites are material, a necessary result of the body, and are not caused by any outside spirit that has made its abode in the man. Still the statement that the greedy longings of the Evil Eye come from within is in no way opposed to the view that the greedy thoughts or other evil impulses are the temptings of the devil, or, in still earlier phrase, that they are spirits that have come into the man from outside. This view is illustrated by the passage that follows the verses quoted where an evil spirit who lived in a man left his lodging, came back, and finding his old lodging comfortable called other spirits and they lived together in the man. Out of this man, from his lodgers, that is from within, would come the Evil Eye, the uncleanness and the other unwilled and hurtful influences that made the second state of the man with his *table-d-hôte* of spirit-lodgers worse than his first state with only one tenant. The Jews professed that the race of Joseph were above the power of the Evil Eye.[58] Still to keep off the Evil Eye, the *Talmud* advises that, in entering a city, the thumb of the right hand should be placed in the left hand and the thumb of the left hand in the right hand.[59] Further, to keep off the Evil Eye, the Jews, after their re-establishment (B. C. 440) in Jerusalem, adopted the practice of wearing guards or phylacteries, that is, little boxes containing passages of Scripture.[60] The Jews of Tunis take the strictest precautions that no Evil Eye shall gain access to a new-born son. They hide the babe behind curtains, keep the room full of smoke, and hang about flaming hands and outspread fingers, pieces of bone and cowry shells.[61] The Phœnikians (B. C. 1000) used an eye as an amu-

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[51] Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 16, 17.

[52] Judges, Chap. VIII. v 21.

[53] *Arab Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 84.

[54] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 124, 233, 341.

[55] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 14.

[56] St. Mathew, Chap. VI. v. 22-23: Chap. XX. v. 15.

[57] St. Mark, Chap. VII. v. 21, 22.

[58] Schwab's *Talmud de Jerusalem*, Vol. I. p. 456. Though in theory the Jew was exempt from the Evil Eye the glance of a Jew might be an evil glance. "If," says the *Talmud*, "any one is afraid of casting an evil glance let him look at the left side of his nose." (*Op. cit., loc. cit.*) The sense seems to be that the spirit in the left or unlucky eye will pass into the first object seen, that is, the looker's nose, and so do no harm.

[59] *Op. cit., loc. cit.* The sense seems to be that, by veiling the phallic thumb by the hands, the entry of evil spirits is prevented. At the same time the *yoni* meaning of the open hand in India (see King, *The Gnostics*, p. 222) suggests that the protection is purely phallic.

[60] The late date of the adoption of the practice explains the use of a Greek word for the guard. King (*The Gnostics*, p. 116, n. 2) suggests that the use of texts took the place of earlier Ephesian spells.

[61] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 426. Of the dread of praise, as opening an attack from the Evil Eye, Langwill (*Children of the Ghetto*, p. 39) gives the following example in his account of the poor Jews of London: — "It is a fine child, *unbeshreer*, only it won't be its mother's fault if the Almighty takes it not back again. She picks up so many ignorant love women who come in and blight the child by admiring it aloud, not even saying *unbeshreer*" (*unbeshrir* apparently is a Dutch form of the German *unberufen*, unsummoned).

let to guard against the Evil Eye. The Carthaginians (B. C. 500), mainly a Phœnikian colony, were fond of pottery in the shape of animal heads with an eye on the neck. The Carthaginians also used an ornament closely like the Etruscan and Neapolitan rue-sprig, or *cimaruta*.[62] Dread of the Evil Eye was ever present among the ancient Egyptians (B. C. 2000-500). Both the living and the dead wore, and on the walls were painted, the eye of Osiris, the hieroglyphic *ut'a*.[63] In Middle-Age Egypt (B. C. 600-A. D. 600), during the centuries before and after Christ (B. C. 300-A. D. 300), Serapis was considered a special guardian against the Evil Eye. The name of Serapis carved in gems baffled the Evil Eye.[64] In modern Egypt (A. D. 600-1900), the women blacken with *kohl* or antimony the edge of the eyelid above and below the eye.[65] The blackness is said to cool the eye. The practice suggests the belief that the black fringe scared spirits from attempting to enter the eye. When a Muslim Egyptian salutes a saint he holds his hands before his face like an open book.[66] To keep off the Evil Eye, in which he fears enchantment, the Egyptian Muslim wears amulets called *telism* or talismans with mystic characters engraven on them.[67] The Egyptian Muslims have a saying :— "The food that is coveted or on which the Evil Eye has fallen, carries no blessing."[68] To guard their children from the Evil Eye, Egyptian Muslims either have them slovenly clad, rubbing dirt on their clothes; or they sew on their head-dress coins, feathers, gay lappets or charms, so that the evil glance may be drawn to the ornament.[69] The Abyssinian Budas, potters and iron workers, who turn into hyænas, are supposed to have the Evil Eye. Charms and amulets against the Evil Eye are written and worn in leather cases in Abyssinia.[70] The Nubians, the Abyssinians, and the Negroe tribes of the White Nile have a firm belief in the power of the Evil Eye. The Evil Eye is supposed to harm cattle and horses and so to witch guns that they constantly miss their aim.[71] Pliny (A. D. 50) says that the glance of African sorcerers causes trees to wither, cattle to perish, and infants to die.[72] During Denham's journey across the Sahara from Tunis towards Lake Chad in 1812 a she-camel suddenly fell dead. "The Evil Eye," said the Tunis Arabs, "God be praised, God is great, powerful and wise, those looks of the desert people are always fatal."[73] In parts of Africa no one eats in public in case he may be envied by some hungry man.[74] At Dahomey, in Central Africa, during a ceremonial when the king drinks, two of his wives stretch a calico screen in front of him. Another pair of wives open small parasols to hide the king's figure. Guns are fired, the Amazons tinkle bells, rattles are sprung, ministers clap their hands, commoners turn their backs, dance like bears or swarm like dogs.[75] When the wife of a Dahoman serves her husband with food or drink, she touches the ground with her forehead and bends before him with averted face.[76] Among the neighbouring tribe of Loangos, when the chief drinks, the people bury their faces in sand.[77] No one may see the contents of any dish served to the chief of the Monbattâs in Central Africa.[78] In East Africa, the Mpwapwas wear an apron with a fringe of thongs to keep off the Evil Eye and other witchcraft.[79] The Moursaks of Central Africa set the head of an ass in their gardens to keep off the Evil Eye.[80] In Madagascar, no food is carried across a road without being covered.[81] If you say to a Madagascar woman that her child is pretty, the mother, to turn aside the Evil Eye, says:— "No the child is ugly or nasty."[82] The Ashantees of West Africa set in their fields iron standards with horns and a brow

[62] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 127, 345.
[63] *Op. cit.* pp. 6, 126, 136.
[64] King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 70.
[65] *Encyclopædia Britannica* (IXth Edn.), "Egypt," p. 723.
[66] *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 71.

[67] *Op. cit.* p. 84. *Telism* is the Arabic form of the Greek *apotelesma*, planet influence. A talisman both gained love and guarded mischief · an amulet (*amolior*, baffle) only guarded mischief. See King, *The Gnostics*, p. 115.

[68] Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 145,
[69] *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 193.
[70] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 28, 391-394.
[71] Berghoff in *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1st, 1899, p. 2.
[72] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 11.
[73] Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. I. p. 133.
[74] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 14.

[75] Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 245. The action of the commoners is interesting. They turn their backs to prevent their eyes sending evil glances: they dance like bears and swarm like dogs to entice evil spirits int themselves.

[76] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 45.
[77] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 245.
[78] Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 95. *Notes and Queries* in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 121.
[79] Cameron's *Across Africa*, p. 98.
[80] *Notes and Queries* in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 121.
[81] Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 326.
[82] *Op. cit* Vol. II. p. 168.

like an ox-skull to protect the sown crops from evil spirits.[83] In the Congo Country, in South-West Africa, if any one looks at the chief while the chief is eating, the looker is killed.[84] The people of Guinea in West Africa are described in 1553 as reverencing their king wonderfully and never daring to look him in the face.[85] When Monte-Lumo of Mexico (A. D. 1550) dined a gilt wooden screen was drawn in front of him that no one might see him eat.[86] Mexican women turned their backs on the men when they gave them drink.[87] In Nicaragua (1530), the belief was common that some persons' looks were mortal and that the glance of certain eyes was fatal to children.[88] In Peru (1530), worshippers covered their eyes while adoring sacred objects. The priests kept their eyes on the ground and their backs turned to the god when they sacrificed.[89]

In Europe, among the ancient Greeks (B. C. 1500-150), the Evil Eye was greatly dreaded. The Greeks and Romans held that the eye carried disease and death as well as love and delight to men, animals and trees.[90] The Evil Eye was called *baskanos*, a word of doubtful origin, connected by some with an early Greek word *basko*, go: according to others, *baskanos* is a Chaldean word meaning *phallus.* The Chaldean origin is supported by the fact that the *phallus* was called *baskanos*, perhaps with the sense that it fascinated fascination, prisoning or turning aside the evil glance.[91] The Greeks worshipped Nemesis or Fortune in her early character of envy as a guard against the Evil Eye.[92] The ancient Greeks were impressed with the danger of self-fascination. Besides the case of Narcissus, Theocritus (B. C. 260) makes Damætas and Plutarch (A. D. 150) makes Eutelidas fascinate themselves by looking at their own faces.[93] According to Pliny (A. D. 50) the glance of an Illyrian who had double eyebrows was mortal.[94] According to Plutarch (A. D. 150) the glance of certain eyes harmed infants and young animals. The Cretans and people of Cyprus had special power to cause harm, and the glance of the Theban Evil Eye might slay a grown man.[95] In its milder form Plutarch seems to have found the casting of envious glances general. "The common people," he says, "are envious or evil-eyed. They are vexed in their minds as often as they see the cattle, of those for whom they have no kindness, their dogs, or their horses in a thriving state. They sigh, they grin, they set their teeth and shew all the tokens of a malicious temper when they behold the fields, of those for whom they have no kindness, well tilled or their gardens adorned or beset with flowers."[96] In A. D. 380, Heliodorus, Bishop of Thrace, noticed the danger of being struck by the Evil Eye if you went among crowds. The Bishop held that when any one with an Evil Eye looked at what was excellent he filled the surrounding atmosphere with a pernicious quality and transmuted his own envenomed exhalations into what was nearest to him.[97] In modern Greece, the Evil Eye is called *kakomati*.[98] Mud is rubbed on the brow of a new-born babe to keep off the Evil Eye. If a stranger looks at a Greek child the mother spits into the child's face or into her own bosom. Like the ancient Greeks the ancient Romans prayed to Nemesis or Anoy to guard them from the Evil Eye.[99] Canon Iorio, an eighteenth century Italian authority on the Evil Eye, says:—"In the vast field of amulets against the Evil Eye every one was known to the Ancients: the moderns have not added a single horn."[100] The word *baskanos*, which the Ancient Greeks used both for the Evil Eye and for the *phallus*, appears in Latin as *fascinus* or *fascinum*, and is the origin of the English fascinate. Virgil (B. C. 40) says:—"I know not what eye witches *(fascinat)* my young lambs."[1] Like *baskanos*, *fascinus* was used with the sense of *phallus*,

[83] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 215. [84] *Op. cit.* pp. 426-427. [85] Kerr's *Voyages*, Vol. VII. p. 226.

[86] Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, p. 232. [87] *Op. cit.* p. 234. [88] *Op. cit.* p. 243. [89] *Op. cit.* p. 225.

[90] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 183.

[91] Compare Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, "Fascinum," and Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 7.

[92] *Op. cit.* p. 4. As envy seems to be Nemesis before Nemesis was raised to Divine Vengeance, this worship of Envy, like the widespread use of an eye to guard against the Evil Eye, is a case of the religious law that the guardian is the squared fiend. Envy propitiated can imprison in itself all envious thoughts and glances.

[93] Damætas (Idyll VI. Bohn's Libraries, Theocritus, p. 36) speaks in the character of Polyphemus:—"Lately I was looking into the sea and beautiful was my beard and beautiful my solitary eyebrow and beautiful my teeth whiter than Parian marble. That I might not be witched I spat thrice upon my breast." The case of Eutelidas is quoted in Plutarch's Symposium V.: Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 14.

[94] *Natural History*, Book vii., Chap. 2. [95] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 10.

[96] Plutarch's *Morals*, Vol. I. p. 272. [97] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 6 and 33 [98] *Op. cit.* p. 7, n. 9.

[99] Pliny, A. D. 50, in Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 150.

[100] In Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 264. [1] *Eclogues*, III. 103.

apparently because the *phallus* out-fascinated or imprisoned the evil glance.[2] Like the *phallus* the Romans (A. D. 40) used *oscilla* or little masks of Bacchus to guard trees against the Evil Eye.[3] Pliny notes that if any one sickened without cause people said :— "*Mantis te vidit*, A grasshopper has seen you." Pliny also records that a piece of wolfskin fastened to a horse's neck makes him proof against weariness.[5] And that to spit into his urine or into his right shoe before putting it on guards the spitter from the Evil Eye.[6] This spitting cure is a case of the use of the term Evil Eye in the general sense of evil influence. The sense of spitting into urine is to prevent Evil Eye or other influences coming into the urine and so through the urine into the body of the spitter (according to the early belief that in any issue lives one of the souls or part of the soul of the person from whom the issue has come, so that any harm done to the issue injures the issuer). The sense of spitting into the right shoe before putting it on is to drive out any evil influence that may have lodged in the shoe, since such spirit would pass from the shoe into the foot and cause weariness or other harm.

No nation of modern Europe takes more pains to guard both people and horses from the Evil Eye by wearing charms and using evil-scaring and housing gestures and words than the Italians. In Italy, if any one is complimented on his good health, he will say — or if a child's healthy look are praised, the nurse will say :—"Thanks be to God."[7] The names of the leading articles, gestures and words in general use against the Evil Eye have been noted above. One of the most striking sights in Naples and in the country towns near Naples is the brightness and the variety of the articles fastened to harness to protect horses from the Evil Eye. The beliefs and practices connected with the Evil Eye are specially common in South Italy, Sicily, and Corsica. According to the Neapolitan belief the *jettatore* or caster of the evil glance is born with the power: he cannot get rid of the power: as a rule he does not know that his glance is evil.[8] According to Mr. Story, in Italy, the belief in the power of the Evil Eye is universal. Every coral shop is filled with amulets and every body wears a charm, ladies on their arms or at their belts, men on their watch-chains, beggars on their necks.[9] Dumas in his *Impressions de Voyage* describes the Evil Eye as a fundamental article of social faith in Naples.[10] One theory is that the eye cannot of itself have an active fascinating power. But that, through the eye, the spirits of evil persons may fascinate and send forth contagion by means of a poisonous exhalation.[11] Another theory is that the *jettatore* or thrower cannot command the evil glance. The glance blights the first object it lights on. In Naples, women used to be supposed to throw the most poisonous glances: now the glance most dreaded is that of a mean-looking and morose man.[12]. In the seventeenth century (1660), Aubrey wrote :— "In Spain, France and other southern countries, nurses and parents are very sly to let people look upon their young children for fear of fascination." In Spain, they take it ill if one looks on a child and say:—"God bless it." They talk of *mal dè ojos*.[13] In Spain, the glances of a woman are most dreaded. The cure is to drink horn-shavings.[14] If a stranger looks at her child a Turkish or a Greek woman will either spit into the child's face or into her own bosom.[15] In Russia, a child who suffers from low spirits, loss of appetite, and restlessness is believed to be witched. The wise-woman or mid-wife is called. She takes a vessel of water, drops into it a cinder or two, and a pinch of salt, makes the sign of the cross over the water, says a long prayer over it and begins to yawn. She crosses the water again, takes a sip, squirts it thrice over the patient's face, makes him drink, and washes his face and head.[16] Russian children are blasted by admiration. If any one says :—"What a fine, healthy babe," the nurse says :—"Do you wish to witch the child ?"[17] A kind-hearted

[2] Compare Andrews, *Latin Dictionary*, s. v. *Fascinus*.
[3] Compare Virgil, Georgics, Book II. v. 389 :— " For thee, Bacchus, soft little masks hang from the tall pine."
[4] In Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 15.
[5] In Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 330. Here the Evil Eye, whose glance causes weariness is drawn into the squared fiend or guardian wolf.
[6] *Op. cit.* p. 419.
[7] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 159.
[8] Dumas LaCorricolo in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 27.
[9] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 193
[10] *Saturday Review* of 8th August 1891, p. 167.
[11] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, pp. 183, 184.
[12] Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 23.
[13] Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, p. 173.
[14] Murray's Handbook of Spain in Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, p. 23, note 43.
[15] Reference mislaid.
[16] Mrs. Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 59.
[17] *St. James' Budget*, June 22nd, 1883 ; Mrs. Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 59.

evil-eyed Slav father blinded himself that his glance might not harm his children.[18] In South Russia, many amulets have been found with markings representing eyes.[19] In Germany, the witch is, in theory, almost the only medium of evil influences. The Evil Eye is perhaps more characteristic of the German witch than of any other witch. According to Grimm, you can tell a German witch by seeing your image upside down in her pupil.[20] Though in theory the Germans have focussed evil influences in the glances of witches the common boast-saving phrase (accompanied by table rapping), "*Ein zwei drei unberufen*, Once, twice, thrice, you are not wanted," implies the belief that unhoused spirits swarm in the air and are ever on the lookout for likely lodgings.[21] The words *schelange* squint-eye, *zauber-blick* glamour-blink, and *boschaft* evil glance, further show that in common German belief the power of the Evil Eye is not limited to witches. In South France, the presence of any one with the Evil Eye is supposed to put silk-worms off their feed.[22]

In England, in the seventeenth century, according to Lord Bacon, the Evil Eye most hurts when the person envied is beheld in glory or triumph: because, in the time of glory or triumph, the spirits of the person envied most come out and meet the blow.[23] Near Salisbury, in South England, in 1685, in charging a jury in a witch case, a Justice said :—"The natures of some people are corrupted by *atrabilis*, or something unknown, so that their look when fixed many times on a living object destroys the object by a certain poison." This result may be contrary to the purpose of the miserable persons who sometimes affect their beloved children and oftener their own cattle. The Judge knew one Christian Malprid, who had an Evil Eye. He and his children and all his cattle were lean. The only fat animal about the place was a dog who kept himself out of sight in the barn among the beans.[24] In Yorkshire, in 1810, boys put the thumb between the first and middle fingers pointing downwards to guard against the Evil Eye of a witch.[25] In 1899, in Somerset and Devon, the phrase 'wished' is used of any illness or other misfortune which, appearing unnatural, is taken to be due to some artificial overlooking.[26] In Somerset and Dorset, the mass of the people are as firm believers in witchcraft and the Evil Eye as were the swains of Theocritus and Virgil.[27] In Somerset, they say:— "Spit three times if you meet any one with a north or Evil Eye."[28] That horse-shoes are fastened over house doors to prevent a witch overlooking the house and that the use of coral and bells is to guard the child is known and admitted.[29] A Somerset woman who thought herself overlooked would pull her shift over her head, turn the shift against the sun three times, and three times drop a live coal through the shift.[30] [Here the evil influence is drawn from the woman into the shift by turning the shift three times against the sun.[31] Then the live coal passing through the shift scares the evil spirit from his lodging in the shift.] The practice in English cavalry regiments of the officers arching their swords over the bride as she passes from the altar is probably to guard the newly married couple from the Evil Eye and other influences. Two scaring powers unite in the sword, the power of the iron and the divinity or worshipfulness

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18 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 9.

19 *Op. Cit.* p. 133.

20 Chamber's *Encyclopædia*, Article "Evil-Eye."

21 The rap under the table is apparently music to scare evil influences.

22 *A Little Stepdaughter*, p.127. The scene is the south of France. The belief that evil influences enter by other passages than the eye is shown by the silkmaster's order *(op. cit.)* against allowing any maimed or deformed (and therefore possessed) person to enter a silkworm shed, *magnanière*. Another silkmaster's rule *(op. cit.)* is never to give light or drink to any one asking at the door of a silkworm shed. The sense of this rule is that in the fire or in the drink a portion of the soul or some one of the souls of the silkworms passes to the receiver and enables him by saying charms over the gift of fire or of water to pass some evil influence into the fire or water and so into the silkworms.

23 Essay on Envy.

24 *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 289.

25 Dean Ramsay in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 256.

26 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 417.

27 Rose in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 16.

28 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 417.

29 *Op. cit.* pp. 218, 429.

30 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 429.

31 The shift as a protector from cold is a great guardian and spirit-home. Compare among the Germans the lucky and the baneful shirts: the golden shirt that saves from drowning and the spell-proof shirt spun by a maiden. Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. pp. 1098-99 and notes 1 and 2.

of the weapon.[32] According to Mr. Baring Gould, Mr. Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstow in Cornwall, in the early part of the present century, believed in the Evil Eye. Whenever he came across any one with a filmy eye or with a double pupil or with eyes of an unequal size he would hold the thumb and the fore and middle fingers in a peculiar manner to ward off the Evil Eye. "I do not pretend," he said, "to be wiser than the word of God. I find that the Evil Eye is reckoned with blasphemy, pride and foolishness as things that defile a man."[33]

Towards the close of the seventeenth century in the western islands of Scotland, all the islanders and thousands of the neighbouring mainlanders were of opinion that some particular persons had an Evil Eye which affected children and cattle, causing frequent mischances and even death.[34] The people tied Molucca beans (which the Gulf Stream leaves on their shores) round their children's necks. If an evil glance was aimed at it the bean turned black.[35] Another device for turning the Evil Eye was to carry a piece of coal.[36] About the same time (1690) the people of the mainland of Scotland believed that a man might destroy his own cow by looking at it the first thing in the morning and praising the cow's fatness.[37] The experience that persons with an Evil Eye as often damage themselves as their neighbours seems to have led to the rule that in witch-trials no evidence might be taken that the accused had an Evil Eye.[38] The sensible line was drawn between the overlooker whose evil influence was unwished perhaps unconscious and the witch who by careful and disreputable scheming, had secured as a lodger an evil influence ready to be sent to ruin any one the witch disliked or envied. In eighteenth-century Scotland, the belief that the Evil Eye is a form of spirit-possession was general. When a person was struck by the Evil Eye, exorcism, holy-water and the fumes of incense were used to drive out the evil influence.[39] About the same time (18th century) certain unecclesiastical scaring rites were also in use. An old sixpence was borrowed and heaped with salt. The salt was spilt into a tablespoonful of water into which the sixpence was dropped. The patient's soles and palms were thrice moistened with the salt water. The operator three times tasted the salt water, dipped his finger into the spoon, and drawing his wet finger-tip across the patient's brow threw the contents of the spoon into the back of the fire saying:— "Lord, save us from scaith."[40] In North Scotland (1800), it was believed that great praise of a child or of people, animals or crops fore-spoke them, that is, laid them open to Evil-Eye attacks. "Hold your tongue or you will fore-speak the child," was the local saying to avert the risk.[41] Early in the present century, in the Scottish Highlands, if a stranger admired a cow, some of the cow's milk was given him to drink to break the spell.[42] At that time the belief was general that during the spirit-haunted night evil influences passed into the sleeper. To free their eyes from these evil tenants it was usual on waking to say in Gaelic:—" Let God bless my eye and my eye will bless all it sees. I shall bless my neighbour and my neighbour will bless me."[43] In Scotland (1825), to keep off the Evil Eye or ill-ee, people rolled a red thread round their finger or neck and stuck a rowan twig in their hat.[44]

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[32] The extreme scaring power of iron has been noted in the article on Iron. Some additional examples are given by Mr. Elworthy (*The Evil Eye*, pp. 220-225). All the examples seem to find their explanation in the spirit horror of iron. Young children should not have their hair or nails cut by anything made of iron since the iron might scare their frail spirits out of them. Such is the strength of the iron influence that the Jews and apparently the early Christians doubted their guardian's power to withstand it. No stone in the altar at Jerusalem had been touched by iron, and Christian Martyrs after being saved form fire and wild beasts fell victims to the sword of the executioner.

[33] *The Vicar of Morwenstow*, p. 152.

[34] Martin in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. pp. 45, 46.

[35] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 46.

[36] *Op. cit.* Vol III. p. 45.

[37] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland.*

[38] Compare *op. cit* p. 7, where Dalyell writes :—" I know of no example of the charge of an Evil Eye forming one of the charges against the accused in a Scottish witchcraft case "

[39] *Op. cit.* p. 15.

[40] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p 47.

[41] Walter Gregor, p. 91.

[42] In Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 9. The sense is : In the milk, the issue of the cow, some of the cow's spirit lodges. By drinking the milk the cow-spirit passes into the stranger. If the cow-spirit has suffered from the stranger's glance, after drinking the milk, the stranger suffers as much as the cow. He is therefore anxious to withdraw the spirit from which the cow is suffering.

[43] Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 196.

[44] Hone's *Every Day Book*, Vol. II. p 687. In Falkirk (1826), a woman earned her living by selling *Skaith Sa.* a thick gruel that kept off the Evil Eye. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

Still (1890), in West Scotland, the edge of the evil glance is turned by carrying a rowan twig or five-leaved clover or by wearing a garment outside in.[45]

In Ireland, the legendary king Miada, though possessed of a magic sword, was beaten by Balor of the Evil Eye.[46] In the sixteenth century, according to Camden, Irish eye-biting witches were executed for making children and horses and cattle suddenly sick.[47] In the seventeenth century, the Evil Eye was common in Ireland. Its effect was known as overlooking, eye-biting and fascination. In 1661, Mary Langdon charged with eye-biting pleaded that unless she touched the victim her simple overlooking could do little harm.[48] In the eighteenth century, the Irish had the custom in all weathers of throwing the doors open when at dinner as it were inviting all strangers.[49] In South Ireland, in 1825, it was believed that on May eve the faeries or good people had power and inclination to do all sorts of mischief without restraint. The Evil Eye is then also deemed to have more than its usual vigilance and malignity. The nurse who on May eve would walk in the open air with a child in her arms would be reprobated as a monster. All, old and young, were liable to the 'Blast,' a large round tumour which was thought to rise suddenly upon the part affected from the baneful breath cast on it by one of the good people in a moment of vindictive or capricious malice.[50] The belief that children and cattle are eye-bitten still prevails.[51]

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY N. M. VENKATASWAMI, M.F.L.S., M.R.A.S.

No. 16. — Why the Mala is the lowest caste.[1]

IN the beginning **the Mala** was the milker of the cows of Indra and the supplier of milk to the celestial nymphs, his daughters. This was their sole food, and what was over the Mala was allowed to take himself. One day he came across some cream in his share, and finding it most delicious, assumed that the creature that could produce so sweet a thing must be sweeter than the product. So he went at once and killed the cow that had produced the milk, and proceeded to eat it. Indra found this out, drove the Mala out of heaven and made him the progenitor of the lowest caste.

No. 17. — The Legend of the Colair Lake.[2]

ONCE upon a time Parmêśwar was wandering about the earth in the form of a poor man and came to the country over which flows the **Colair Lake**. It was then a highly prosperous land wholly given up to pleasure. The god asked for a drink, but no one would give him any water, and he was repulsed from door to door by the pleasure-seekers. He was about to go away when a poor woman not only gave him some water to drink but also to wash his hands and feet. Then she brought him some food. Pleased at her hospitality the god asked her to follow him, and she followed. And lo! **the country they had left was a flaming fire.** The fire burnt on till there was a great hollow in the ground and into the hollow the waters flowed and formed a great lake.

[45] MS. Note, 1st January 1884. The luck in turning a garment inside out is somewhat dim. The sense may be to little one's prosperity by shewing the seamy side of one's coat. A saying given by Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1099) supports this explanation. The coat is so handsome, the apple so red, no Evil Eye must look upon it.

[46] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 9, note 17. [47] *Op. cit.* pp. 10, 11; Reginald Scott, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 50.

[48] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 10.

[49] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 60.

[50] Hone's *Every Day Book* (Ward, Lock & Coy., 1888), Vol. I. p. 297.

[51] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p 24

[1] [The most persistent form of folklore in India is the attempt of the lower castes to show by idle tales that they were once of higher estate. Such attempts are usually based upon a foolish folk etymology. — ED.]

[2] [The Colair Lake [Kollêru] is a large shallow depression between the deltas of the Kistna and the Godavery, formed by the land-making activity of those great rivers in combination with the action of the monsoon on the sandy foreshores. The lake is half swamp, half lake, and is fed by four rivers. The remarkable legend given above no doubt alludes to the formation of the lake within historical times. — ED.]

SPURIOUS INDIAN RECORDS.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The substance of this article was read, under the title Curiosities of Indian Epigraphy, before the Indian Section of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists at Rome, on the 10th October, 1899. Publication was reserved for the Indian Antiquary.

IN a previous paper on the Present Position of Indian Historical Research,[1] we have explained the nature and given some idea of the extent and possibilities of the materials, namely **the epigraphic records**, from which, chiefly, we are working out a knowledge of the ancient history of India.

But we have to exercise discrimination in using those materials. For, just as there are numismatic and even literary forgeries,[2] so also **there are spurious, counterfeit, or forged records, as well as genuine ones.** Some of these spurious records have imposed on us in the past. From accepting them, as well as from giving too ready a credence to the pseudo-historical legends which exist in abundance in so many parts of the country, to the fantastic *Vaṁśâvalis* and archives of Orissa and similar documents obtained elsewhere, and to imaginative chronicles such as the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkkaḷ* and the *Râjâvalikathe*,[3] a good deal of false matter has been

[1] Page 1 ff., above.

[2] We have, for instance, in the way of literary forgeries, the *Jyôtirvidâbharana*, which has already been mentioned (page 3 above, note 10); and Dr. Peterson has spoken of forgeries, against which he had been warned by Dr. Bühler, of the Sâṅkhâyana redaction of the *Ṛigvêda* (Second Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 4). — It does not appear necessary to treat as forgeries such works as the *Saṁgamêśvaramâhâtmya* (see note 22 on page 207 below); at any rate, when, as in that case, they do not seem to make any pretension to having been actually composed at the fanciful dates put forward in them. They are simply more or less modern compositions, which may be found of use in respect of geography (see page 27 above), but which present only imaginative history and dates when they attempt to deal with history and dates at all.

[3] See page 6 above, and notes 16, 17. — As regards the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkkaḷ*, I have, I think, omitted to mention, on any previous occasion, that Dr. Burnell had, before me, arrived at a similar opinion of it. He said that it is very little use to accept it as an authority, because "it bears evident signs of being a very recent compilation from "grants and local traditions most clumsily put together" (*South-Ind. Palæo*, 1874, p. 26, note 1, and second edition, 1878, p. 33, note 1). The Rev. W. Taylor's translation of the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkkal* is to be found in the *Madras Jour. Lit. Science*, Vol. XIV., 1847, p. 1 ff — With the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkkal* and the *Râjâvalikathe* we may compare, on a smaller scale, a document, produced by the astrologers of Belgaum and Manôḷi, of which I have given a translation, under the title "a Chronicle of Toragal," in Vol. V. above, p. 33 ff It opens by mentioning, as contemporaries, Vîra-Bukka, by whom it means of course Bukkarâya I. of Vijayanagara (A. D. 1343 to 1379), and an alleged king Jayaśêkhara, for whom it puts forward a date in the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*, Śâlivâhana-Śaka-Saṁvat 1008 (expired), in A. D. 1086. It then runs through an incomplete list of the kings of Vijayanagara. Then, after reciting two occurrences placed in A. D. 1565 and 1516, it mentions the last five members of the Âdil Shâhî dynasty of Bijâpur (which came to an end in A. D. 1686 or thereabouts). It then enumerates some of the Havâldârs and Killêdârs of Toragal. And then, reverting to earlier times, it gives a long passage reciting how, in A. D. 1086, the alleged king Jayaśêkhara, who was enthroned on the mountain Pârâśaraparvata — (this evidently means Parasgaḍ, in the Belgaum district), — granted to the astrologers a village named Pûvalli, by which, making a very curious mistake, it means Hûli (close to Parasgaḍ and Saundatti), instead of any place now known as Hubḷi. It was afterwards ascertained by me (see Vol. VII. above, p. 290) that this part of the document had become known, many years before, to Mr. Munroe, who communicated it to Mr. Wathen, who published Mr. Munroe's abstract translation of it (see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. II. p. 386, No. 5, and Vol. V. p. 173). Mr. Wathen understood that it had been obtained from some ancient building in the Kanarese country. And I (then a beginner in epigraphy) expressed the opinion that it had evidently been taken from some copper-plate grant or stone inscription, but made the suggestion that probably the whole document was not to be accepted as entirely true and accurate, but belonged to a class of papers which might at least be of interest in shewing how far history could be correctly dealt with by the Natives of India. The original of any such record, however, has not come to light. And I should say, now, that this part of the document is not based on any record, genuine or spurious, which does or did exist, but is a purely imaginative composition, put together on the lines of some of the later records. — If we look about for them, we shall probably find imaginative compilations like the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkkal*, the *Râjâvalikathe*, and this Chronicle of Toragal, and compositions like the *Saṁgamêśvaramâhâtmya* (see note 22 on page 207 below), all over Southern India; and in fact we know of several others, from the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts. And, no doubt, some beginners in the study of Indian antiquities will, from time to time, still be deluded by them, as also by spurious records; and some of those beginners will never acquire the knowledge to recognise, or possess the courage to admit and rectify, their early mistakes.

introduced into the history of India. And, with a view to working out that history on sound lines, we have, in trying to prevent the introduction of any more such matter into it hereafter, as well as in eliminating the fables that have already been imported into it, to be specially on our guard against such materials as falsely purport to be ancient official records or vouchers issued by official authority.

The recognition of the existence of spurious records is not a matter of simply modern date. There is a mention of one such record in the Madhuban grant of A. D. 631-32, issued by king Harshavardhana of Thâṇêsar and Kanauj, which tells us,[4] that it was ascertained, on inquiry, that a certain Brâhmaṇ was in the enjoyment of a village named Sômakuṇḍikâ on the strength of a *kûṭaśâsana* or forged charter, and that, consequently, that charter was broken up, and the village was taken away from him and was given to others. Here, we have a distinct reference to a forged grant. And it may be added that the practice of manufacturing *kûṭaśâsanas* or forged charters is recognised in the laws of Manu, which prescribe death as the penalty for the fabrication of them.[5] There is, further, an emphatic denunciation of some fraud of the same kind in the Târâchaṇḍî rock inscription of A. D. 1169 or 1173,[6] in which the *Mahânâyaka* Pratâpadhavala of Jâpila instructs his descendants[7] that some Brâhmaṇs had obtained, by bribery and corruption, from a certain Dêû, a servant of king Vijayachandra of Kanauj, a *kutâmra* or bad or fraudulent charter for two villages named Kalahaṇḍî and Baḍapilâ, — that the said charter was not entitled to any credit, — that the said Brâhmaṇs were in every respect dissolute persons, and had not the right to even so much land as the point of a needle could pierce, — and that, therefore, the said villages were to be resumed, and his own descendants were to levy and enjoy the proprietor's share of the produce and the like. Here, however, the reference seems to be to a charter issued dishonestly by a corrupt official, rather than to a forgery.

In the present day, the real nature of some of the spurious records was not recognised until quite recently. Fortunately, however, as the result of extended experience, it is now not difficult to detect them. **They betray themselves in a variety of ways.** Very often, the first feature that attracts attention and excites suspicion, is bad formation of the characters. It is not unreasonable to suppose that skill and neatness in writing and other details were qualifications required from clerks and engravers in ancient times, just as now. In fact, in the large majority of the genuine records, whether on copper or on stone, we have beautiful samples of extreme regularity of work and careful finish. And we find that some of the persons who prepared those records prided themselves on their work, and expressed their pride or were commended for the execution of what they turned out: for instance, Karṇabhadra, the engraver of the copper-plate grant of Vaidyadêva king of Kâmarûpa, is described in the record as an accurate workman,[8] and an inspection of the published lithographic reproduction of his work will shew that he fully deserved the commendation; and Koṇḍâchârya, the writer of one of the grants of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II., likens himself, in respect of the fine sample of his handwriting that he has given us, to Viśvakarman,[9] the mythological artist and artificer of the gods, and the special deity of all craftsmen.[10] Even when the characters present the required types, an indifferent formation of them is enough to raise doubts as to the nature of a record. But there are other features also, not so conspicuous at first sight, by which the spurious records betray themselves. They do so by palæographic slips, in attempts to imitate the ancient characters; by using characters which are known to have been developed after the

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[4] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 74.

[5] *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, ix. 232.

[6] No. 153 in Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. Appendix, p. 22).

[7] See *Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. p. 231, and *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc* Vol VI p. 548.

[8] *Ep. Ind.* Vol II. p. 358.

[9] Vol. XIII. above, p. 250, text line 37.

[10] In the spurious records of the Western Gaṅga series from Mysore, the writers of the Tanjore, Merkâra, Hosûr, Dêvarhalli, and Haḷḷegere grants, went a step further, and, to enhance the value of their work, called themselves by the actual name of Viśvakarman. They have given us decidedly good work in the Dêvarhalli and Haḷḷegere plates, and probably also in the Hosûr grant; but not in the Tanjore and Merkâra instances.

periods to which the records would assign them, or, sometimes, to have become obsolete before those periods; by orthographic blunders; by corrupt language; by peculiar words and forms; by faulty terminology in respect of titles; by abrupt and ungrammatical transitions between Sanskṛit and the vernaculars; by the use of eras which were foreign to the series to which they purport to belong; by the false dates which they put forward for kings whose real dates are known; by presenting pedigrees which are known to be fictitious; and in diverse other details.

We shall not, on this occasion, go into an exposition of the details by which the spurious records betray themselves. We have only to start with the fact that the spurious records exist. But the question naturally presents itself, as to what was **the reason for their existence.** The answer is readily found, in the point at which we have already arrived on page 21 above; namely, that in the vast majority of the epigraphic records we have, not historical narratives intentionally written simply as such, but a mass of title-deeds of real property, and of certificates of the right to duties, taxes, fees, perquisites, and other privileges. Nearly every one of the spurious records is a counterfeit title-deed or certificate. And they were fabricated, not to produce history, which is only an incidental feature in them as in the genuine records, nor to falsify history, but to establish claims to property; sometimes, no doubt, to support bonâ-fide rights in cases in which the original title-deeds and certificates had been lost, and sometimes as a means of putting forward fraudulent claims.

And **they can be fabricated, whether with that same object or with others, and with a pretence to antiquity, even in the present day.** Among the spurious records of Mysore, there is one, known as **the Suradhênupura grant,** which was at one time supposed to be an ancient record and to establish the date of A. D. 807 for the Western Gaṅga prince Śivamâra II.[11] But we now know that it is not of any antiquity at all, and that it was fabricated within the last thirty years, on knowledge derived from some of the other forgeries of the same series, for the purpose of production before the Inâm Commission or court of inquiry into alienated holdings, in order to establish an actual right or an asserted claim to certain property:[12] it claims that, in the time of Śivamâra II. and in a year which it specifies, the village of Suradhênupura, which it appears to call Suradêvapura, was constituted an *agrahâra* consisting of twenty-four shares which were apportioned among thirteen Brâhmaṇs, who are fully specified in it by names and other details; and the person who fabricated it, or who procured the fabrication of it, was, no doubt, prepared to supplement it by producing either the required pedigree establishing his standing as a descendant of one of the alleged original grantees, or else a deed of gift or sale or some such document purporting to have been executed by some descendant of an alleged original grantee. This Suradhênupura forgery was concocted with the object with which almost all the ancient spurious records were fabricated; namely, to serve as a title-deed. But, — a still more extraordinary thing, — we find that spurious records can be fabricated in the present day to invent imaginary history, in order to gain the favour of those who are inquiring into the past of India. There is **a plate in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal** which does not contain anything of the nature of a title-deed, but aims at being only a record of a purely historical character, and simply purports to record a war between the Bharrs of Bundêlkhaṇḍ and the Lôdhis, terminating in A. D. 1347 with the overthrow of the Bharrs.[13] This document, while only pretending to be of the fourteenth century A. D., is written and engraved in characters which aim at being those of one of the varieties of the Aśôka alphabet of the third century B. C.; it makes the mistake of coupling, with the use of those characters, the Sanskṛit language, which was not the epigraphic language of that period; and it betrays itself as an absolutely modern production by the use of modern

11 See *Ep. Carn* Vol. III. Introd. p. 3

12 See, more fully, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 58. I quote the details of this document from a copy of the text of it, which Mr. Rice kindly sent me.

13 See *Jour Beng As. Soc* Vol XLVI Part I. p. 236. and Proceedings. p. 263.

numerals, by specifying the characters by a name, Pâlî, that was only applied to them in the present century, and by following in its spelling of the name of the Bharrs a quite recent refinement of English transliteration. And, in connection with this curious production, we may note that, at the end of his observations on it, Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra made a remark which is worth quoting and bearing in mind, not only in respect of this particular case, and not even only in respect of spurious records in general; he said[14] — "It might be asked what would "be the object of such a piece of imposition? But from the days of Wilford there have been so "many attempts of the kind made by Paṇḍits, that it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon it at "length. The smile of a Sahib of high rank and the reward expected are quite sufficient to "account for such wicked acts."

The reason for which the ancient spurious records were fabricated, was, in almost every case, that they should serve as title-deeds and certificates. And it is easy to trace **the principal occasions for the fabrication of them.** Incidental occasions, of various kinds, may have occurred at any time. The accidental loss of an original title-deed, and the feeling of insecurity resulting therefrom, might lead at once to the fabrication of another, perhaps from memory or perhaps from a manuscript copy of the original, to be substituted for it and to be produced when necessary. A public disaster might easily lead to a more extensive manufacture of such instruments; for instance, to take a modern illustration, some twenty years ago a building at Poona, containing many records and other papers, was destroyed by fire, and the courts of at least one neighbouring district were immediately afterwards inundated with forgeries, of which some were fabricated to replace genuine documents which unquestionably had been destroyed in the fire but which, it was then represented, had not been deposited in the building at all, while others were fabricated simply because the occasion gave the opportunity of putting forward claims which would have been disproved at once by genuine documents which had been destroyed. But, in ancient times, the principal occasions must have occurred whenever there was a change of dynasty, or a temporary but appreciable loss of power by local feudatories. The donative records usually contain mandates to future kings and governors to uphold grants that have been made, and benedictive and imprecatory verses asserting the merit of continuing grants and the sin of confiscating them. And these were, evidently, no mere formulæ. They were protests against the too early occurrence of what the donors plainly foresaw would happen sooner or later. We have one explicit reference to what did happen in this way from time to time, in the Nausârî grants of A. D. 915, which recite the fact that, on the occasion of his coronation, the Râshṭrakûta king Indra III. had himself weighed against gold, and, while still in the scales, gave away, not only Kurundaka and other villages together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, but also "four hundred other villages which had been confiscated by previous kings."[15] We also have an express statement in the records, that the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I. had occasion to restore grants to gods and Brâhmaṇs, which had been confiscated by the confederate kings from the east and south who had invaded and conquered his territory and had retained possession of it for a time after the death of his father Pulakêśin II.[16] And we may refer the spurious Kândalgaon grant (No. 27 in the list given at the end of this article), which purports to have been issued in the fifth year of Pulakêśin II., either to the period of the foreign occupation, as an attempt to prevent confiscation of a property the title to which could not be otherwise proved, or to the period after the restoration of the Western Chalukya power at Bâdâmi, as an attempt to regain, or to fraudulently acquire possession of, the village which it claims. Again, towards the end of the eighth century A. D., the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva had occasion to imprison the Gaṅga prince of Mysore, and the province was apparently administered for some fifteen years by foreign viceroys appointed by the Râshṭrakûṭa king. This occurrence, also, offered two opportunities for the fabrication and production of spurious title-deeds, — one for the deception

[14] *Loc. cit.* Proceedings, p. 268.

[15] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIX. p. 268.

[16] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 226.

of the Râshtrakûṭa governors during that period, and the other for the deception of the Gaṅga princes when their authority had been restored to them by Gôvinda III. On the downfall of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty at the end of the tenth century A. D., there was another successful invasion of Western India, when the Chôḷas occupied Mysore, which, otherwise, would have passed into the possession of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi, and overran the southern parts of the Bombay Presidency. The records tell us that the Chôḷas then destroyed temples, and slew Brâhmaṇs and old men and children, and spoilt the caste of women, and did other wrongs. Of course, they also confiscated endowments, both religious and private. And some of the spurious records from Mysore and the south of Bombay may have been fabricated during the period of that occupation, in an attempt to prevent confiscation. But a more general occasion for the fabrication of them there probably occurred later on, in the second half of the eleventh century, when, as again we know from the records, the Chôḷa invaders were driven out, and the temples were rebuilt under the Western Châlukya kings, and there occurred a specially great opportunity to regain confiscated endowments and to acquire fresh ones.

Such were the reasons and the principal occasions for the fabrication of the large majority of the spurious records. **The introduction of false historical statements into them,** whether they were fabricated on such occasions or during the continuance of a dynasty, is also easily to be accounted for. The persons who fabricated the spurious title-deeds and certificates could not forge with any safety in the name of a reigning king or of one of his feudatories or officials, or even, under ordinary conditions, in the name of a very recent king of the same dynasty, or, again, of one of the feudatories or officials of such a king, unless the dynasty had suffered some reverse meanwhile. The frauds would have been detected at once, by the knowledge of local governors, or by an examination of the official records. The forgers were obliged to put forward a certain amount of antiquity. But they usually had not access to any of the official archives and chronicles. And so they had to draw upon whatever they might happen to know about past events, eked out by the power of their imagination and their ability to decipher any genuine grants that might be available to them as a guide. And this is why we meet, in these spurious records, sometimes with real kings with wrong dates attached to them, and sometimes with purely imaginary kings and fictitious pedigrees, and with alleged historical occurrences, to imitate the general style of the genuine records, which may occasionally have a basis of truth, but are nevertheless very likely even then to misrepresent occurrences of which only an imperfect memory can usually have been preserved by the people at large.

And that is **the point of view from which we must regard the spurious records.** We are considering them, of course, only in respect of their possible bearing upon history and all its surroundings, — putting them aside altogether, except in the general discussion of their nature and merits, in respect of the value that was intended to attach to them as title-deeds. The latter point of view is one which concerns, not the antiquarian, but only any Courts before which the ancient records may be produced as documentary evidence;[17] and, in that connection, it is only necessary to say, in respect of the spurious records, much the same as what has

[17] The generally prevailing belief in connection with the ancient records, whether on copper or on stone and whether genuine or spurious, is that they contain clues to hidden treasure. But they are sometimes produced before the authorities, or appealed to, in the expectation that they will still establish rights and privileges, and occasionally in the most absurd connection. The Pimpalnêr plates (No. 25 in the list) were produced with the idea that they would substantiate a claim to a Pâtîl's *watan* (see Vol. IX. above, p. 293). And the Harihar plates (No. 48) were produced before the Superintendent of the Inâm Settlement in support of an alleged endowment by king Bukkarâya of Vijayanagara (see Vol. VII. above, p. 168). The two sets of plates in the Bangalore Museum were found, one (No. 49) among the records of the Chief Commissioner's office, and the other (No. 51) among the records of the Assistant Commissioner's court; the two sets of plates from Mallohalli (Nos. 50, 52) were produced in one of the Bangalore courts; one set of plates from the Gañjâm district (No. 4) was received from the Collector; and the set of plates from the Karnûl district (No. 8) was obtained from the Collector's office: no doubt, these six sets, also, had been produced and filed in support of some claims. In the Madras Presidency, in particular, most of the known copper-plate records seem to have come to notice in this way; see numerous entries, describing plates as being in various courts and offices, in the *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. II. pp. 1 to 83.

already been said in respect of the genuine records, namely, that, whatever may have been accomplished by means of the spurious records originally, there can be but few cases, if any, in which they have not long ago lost all effective value as title-deeds, through the dying out of the families of original holders, through confiscation, through conquest, or through any others of the changes that attend the lapse of time. We deal with the facts recited in the ancient records, whether spurious or genuine, only from the historical point of view. Some of the spurious records certainly contain a good deal of purely imaginative genealogical and historical matter. But, except in the introduction of untrue dates, there are, — as has already been intimated, — no general grounds for assuming any deliberate falsification of such items of real history as may be referred to in others of them; for the simple reason that neither the recording of history, nor the wilful misrepresentation of it, was in any way a leading object in the fabrication of them. And there are undoubtedly some historical truths in some of the spurious records. For instance, the corrupt verse in the spurious Kurtakôṭi and Haidarabad grants (Nos. 30 and 39 in the list), which mentions the Pallava kings Narasiṁhavarman I., Mahêndravarman II., and Paramêśvaravarman I., in connection with the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I.,[18] is in perfect accordance with what we know, from other sources, regarding the actual history of the period, and in all probability represents an unskilful reading of the verse in some genuine record following a draft which has not yet come to our notice. But the Kurtakôṭi grant goes on to cite for Vikramâditya I. a date in A. D. 608 (or 610), nearly three-quarters of a century before his real time, which is not based in the same way on any genuine record and can hardly be attributed to even an unintelligent reading of a genuine date. So, also, the spurious Aḷtêṁ grant (No. 35) puts forward for Pulakêśin I. a date, in A. D. 488, about the same distance before his real time; and the spurious Pimpaḷnêr grant (No. 25) puts forward a still more erroneous date, in A. D. 388-89, for a king Satyâśraya, by whom it certainly intends either Pulakêśin I. or his grandson Pulakêśin II.[19] We have to explain hereafter, why these particular exact years were selected in these three cases, and other similar specific years in some others of the spurious records.[20] For the present, we have only to say that, in some cases, the persons who drafted the spurious records very likely had a rough knowledge of the approximate periods that they ought to cite, and were helped thereby in the process in which they selected the exact years. But in other cases they were plainly actuated by only a general desire to establish as great an antiquity as possible for the charters under which they sought to claim. That is why we find the spurious Śrîraṅgpur inscription (No. 28), the framer of which had evidently not even a rough idea as to the period that he ought to select, putting forward so altogether absurd a date as that of A. D. 109 for a king Satyâśraya, by whom it, again, certainly means either Pulakêśin I. or Pulakêśin II. That is why we find the Bhîmankaṭṭi or Tîrthahaḷḷi, the Bêgûr, the Kuppagaḍḍe or Sorab, and the Ananatpur or Gauj grants (Nos. 41, 42, 43, 44) preposterously claiming to have been issued by the epic king Janamêjaya, — one of them in, specifically, B. C. 3014. We find that, for the same reason, the forged grants of the Vijayanagara series usually purport to have been issued by Bukkarâya, the popularly accepted first king of the dynasty; and they further generally antedate even his real time by periods varying from one hundred to two hundred years.[21] And we find the same desire displayed even in modern times. At the temple of Mahâlakshmî or Ambâbâî at Kôlhâpur there apparently is, or formerly was, an undated inscription which mentions three Châlukya princes named Karṇa, Vêtugidêva, and Sômadêva, whom it connects with

[18] See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Part II), pp. 327, 362. This verse and the four verses that follow it have now been critically examined and restored by Prof. Kielhorn; see *Gottinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 341.

[19] Satyâśraya was a *biruda* of all or nearly all of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. But it was certainly remembered best, in later times, as an appellation of the two Pulakêśins. — Regarding the date asserted by this record, see note 39 on page 216 below.

[20] For some general views on this point, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p 73. For an exact possibility in connection with the Kurtakôti date, see *id.* Vol. V. p. 176, note 1.

[21] See Vol. XXVII. above, p. 277.

Saṅgamêshwar in the Ratnâgiri district.[22] It was brought to notice, many years ago, by Bal Gangadhar Shastree, who obtained his first knowledge of it from the priests of the temple. And he has told us that, in the transcription which he received from one of those priests, there was interpolated an imaginary date, Śâlivâhana-Śaka-Saṁvat 60 (expired) = A. D. 138-39, for which, on inspection of the original, he found no authority whatever, and which, he recognised, had been inserted simply with a view to "assigning to the temple as high a degree of antiquity as possible."[23] It is, perhaps, in the dates, more than in any other details, that many of the spurious records are so untrustworthy as sources of history. But, though it was no object of the

[22] See *Dyn. Kan Distrs.* p. 467, and note 1. As stated there, neither my own man, nor Mr. Cousens' man succeeded in obtaining an impression of this inscription; they could not find it. And it is to be remarked that Major Graham, who published in 1854, nine years after Bal Gangadhar Shastree, while giving a translation of this record or alleged record (*Statistical Account of the Principality of Kolhapoor*, p. 479) which was certainly not borrowed from the Shastree's translation, did not present any text of it, though he did present texts of the other inscriptions dealt with by him, — giving a kind of reproduction of the original characters, from, apparently (see page 324), hand-copies made by a Native friend. Bal Gangadhar Shastree, however, said that the second transcription of it, obtained by him, was "carefully compared by myself with the original in the temple of Mahalakshmi, "commonly called Ambábái, the mother;" and, he added, "the analogy of the character would not justify me in "pronouncing this inscription older than the tenth or eleventh century of Shalivahana" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 263): also, his translation is headed "Translation of an inscription on a stone in the temple of the "goddess Mahálakshmi" (*ibid.* p. 270), without, however, anything to shew whether it was on a structural part of the temple, or whether it was on a separate tablet. It is evident, therefore, that an original or alleged original, did exist in the Shastree's time, and was seen and believed in by him. As regards the merits of the record, we can only say that the versions given by the Shastree and by Major Graham do not put forward a fanciful date, and that there is no particular reason why there should not have been a prince Sômadêva, claiming Châlukya descent, in the Koṅkaṇ, in, say the thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D.; for, a set of copper-plates from Terwaṇ, in the Ratnâgiri district, gives us a prince Kâmvadêvarâya, also represented as a Châlukya, with a date in the Raudra *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1182 (expired), in A. D. 1260 (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 466), and there does not seem to be any particular primâ-facie reason for questioning it, unless one is perhaps to be found in the fact that it further describes Kâmvadêvarâya as "born in the lineage of the Karṇa of the Kali age," which, however, may be the origin of, and not drawn from, the other local allusions to an alleged Châlukya king Karṇa. But, without a sight of the original or of an impression of it, it is not possible to arrive at any final conclusion as to whether any such record, as is alleged, really exists or has existed at the temple of Mahâlakshmî or Ambâbâî, and much less as to whether it is genuine or spurious. — Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik obtained from a friend at Kôlhâpur some verses, "which form part of an "inscription on the temple of Mahálakshmi," and of which he published the text, with a translation, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 103. These verses say that from king Châlukya there sprang Karṇa, whose younger brothers were Nâga and Singhaṇa; they put forward for Karṇa the date of Śâlivâhana-Śaka-Saṁvat 30 (expired), = A. D. 108-109; they say that he built "this abode of Śrî" (the temple of Mahâlakshmî), and that he built also a similar temple, of Mahâliṅga (Śiva), at Saṅgamêshwar in the Koṅkaṇ, they add that, after spending some years at Karavîra (Kôlhâpur) "in this pleasure-house of Kamalâ (Lakshmî)," he went again to control the Koṅkaṇ; and after them there is a sentence which says that "these three verses have been written and set up at the temple of Karṇêśvara in the holy Saṁgamêśvarakshêtra." The Rao Saheb has told us that "these verses have not been found on the "walls of the present Karneśvara temple" (*loc. cit.* p. 104). And no such record at Kôlhâpur has been mentioned either by Bal Gangadhar Shastree or by Major Graham, or has, to my knowledge, been found there. Further, the Rao Saheb brought these verses to notice in connection with his account of the *Saṁgamêśvaramâhâtmya*, of which he has given us the text, with a translation (*loc. cit* p. 107 ff). This work asserts that in Śâlivâhana-Śaka-Saṁvat 10 expired, = A. D. 88-89, there was a king Śêshaputra. From him was born Śaktikumâraka, who reigned for twenty-five years. From him, Simhakamudrika, who reigned for twelve years. From him, Indukirîtin, who reigned for eighteen years Then there came some kings, beginning with Brahman and ending with Châluki, who covered thirty-four years. And Châluki had three sons, Karṇa, Nâga, and Siṅghaṇa. Towards the end, the *Mâhâtmya* says that Karṇa established his rule at Râmakshêtra in Śâlivâhana-Śaka-Saṁvat 100 expired, = A D. 178-79 (verse 73), and that he, who had built the temple of Mahâlakshmî at Karavîra (Kôlhâpur), built here (in Râmakshêtra) the temple of Karṇêśa (verse 80). And it asserts that he granted nine villages, specified, to the temple of Karṇêśa (verses 72 to 74), and one to a temple of Sômêśa, and one to temples of Sômêśa and Kêdâra jointly (verse 75). This *Mâhâtmya* was evidently composed partly in order to magnify the reputation of the locality and to establish antiquity for it, and, no doubt, partly to account for the possession of, or to support a claim to, the villages named in it. The verses given to Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik as forming part of an inscription on the temple of Mahâlakshmî or Ambâbâî at Kolhâpur, may be dismissed as simply a fanciful epitome of part of the *Mâhâtmya*, with the introduction of a date which does not even agree with that put forward in the *Mâhâtmya*.

[23] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As Soc.* Vol. II. p. 263. Through the same proclivity, perhaps, we must account for the date of Śaka-Samvat 732 (expired), = A. D. 810-11, — disbelieved by Mr Sewell, — which has been put forward, in a transcript, as the date recorded in an inscription at Bâpaṭla in the Kistna district (*Lists of Antiquities, Madras.* Vol. I. p. 82, No. 16).

persons who fabricated them to falsify real history except perhaps in respect of dates, the spurious records cannot possibly possess, with reference to any of the details asserted by them, the authoritative value that attaches to the genuine records. It is obvious that, if we accept at all any of the historical statements put forward by the spurious records, we can only admit them with great doubt, and not as in any way conclusive without very considerable corroboration from the genuine records. And it is more likely that it would be safer, as regards the historical point of view, to set the spurious records aside as curiosities, with which we can do little more than determine, if it is ever found worth while, how far the true history was known to the persons who fabricated them. In the geographical and other lines of inquiry, they may perhaps be of some more use, not for the periods to which they refer themselves, but for the periods in which they were fabricated. For instance, from the spurious Aḷtêṁ grant (No. 35) we certainly gather some authentic information, for (speaking roughly at present) some time about A. D. 1000, regarding the local territorial divisions and the existence of certain towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Kôlhâpur.[24] But, even in such respects as these, the details given in the spurious records are not always trustworthy. For example, from one of the genuine records we know that about A. D. 900 the Koṅgaḷnâḍ province was an eight-thousand province,[25] — that is to say, a province including, according to fact or tradition or conventional description, eight thousand cities, towns, and villages ; whereas, the spurious grant in the British Museum (No. 55) describes it as a two-thousand province,[26] though it is not at all likely that the extent of it was altered between A. D. 900 and the time at which that spurious record was fabricated. We must, therefore, by no means place implicit reliance on the spurious records, even in connection with the miscellaneous items of information in respect of which they are more likely to be correct than in respect of historical details.

On page 214 ff. below, I give **a list of the spurious records**, as far as it can conveniently be completed up to date ; without including the alleged Bôdh-Gayâ inscription, purporting to be dated in the Vikrama year 1005 in A. D. 948, which is probably only a modern fraud,[27] and the two specified above, — the Suradhênupura plates, and the plate in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, — which are certainly of absolutely recent fabrication, and the modern forgeries at Râmêshwaram seen, recognised, and mentioned by Dr. Burgess,[28] and any other records, obviously spurious if they ever did exist, n respect of which we really do not know whether they have actually existed or not.[29] I arrange the list according to the localities from which these records were obtained and at which most of them are still to be found. I include in the list some records as to the spurious nature of which there is really no doubt, though they may not yet have been actually proclaimed to be spurious. Of unpublished records, I include a few which are at my own disposal for publication. There are some others, unpublished, known to me, which I do not include, because they are not in my hands for publication, and I do not wish to anticipate whatever anyone, editing them, may wish to say about them. And I omit also a few records, as to the nature of which there may still be any possibility

[24] See Vol. XXIX. above, p. 273 ff. [25] *Ep. Carn* Vol. IV., Hs. 92. [26] Vol. XIV. above, p. 230.

[27] See page 3 above, note 10. [28] See Vol. XII. above, p. 315, note 2.

[29] From Kaliyûr in the Tirumakûḍlu-Narasîpur tâluka, Mysore district, we have (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 47) what purports to be a copy of a stone inscription which claims the grant of a village named Koppâl by a minister of an alleged king Vijaya-Vidyâ-Dêvarâya of Ânegundi (Vijayanagara) in the Piṅgala *saṁwatsara*, Śâlivâhana-Śaka-Samvat 819 (expired), in A. D. 898. This document employs the expression Śâlivâhana-Śaka for a time nearly four centuries before the time for which the introduction of it into epigraphic records can be established (see Vol. XXVI. above, p. 150 ; I may remark, here, that the supposed instances of A. D. 1178 and 1181, from the Kurgôḍ inscription, set aside by Prof. Kielhorn as suspicious, do really not exist ; the dates in the Kurgôḍ inscription present the usual expression *Śaka-varsha*, not *Śâlivâhana-Śaka-varsha*). And it uses declensional and conjugational forms, and expressions, which shew that it cannot have been composed before about A. D. 1450. It may be based on something fabricated about that time. Or it may be of much more recent invention. But we are told that the stone, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, is not now to be found, and that the copy, being supplied by the people, cannot be relied on (*loc. cit.* Introd p. 22). And so we can hardly treat it seriously and place it in the list of spurious records, the present or past existence of which is established.

of doubt. I am obliged to omit the numerous forgeries of the Vijayanagara series,[30] because I have as yet no knowledge of the details of them; apparently, they have not yet been published. And I am not able to include some spurious records, purporting to be of the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III., which are found in the neighbourhood of Saundatti in the Belgaum district;[31] they are so palpably spurious, and so seemingly uninteresting (or, at least, I thought so), that I did not take the trouble either to transcribe them or to make impressions of them.

The principle followed in framing the list has been to include in it, with the reservation stated above in the case of some unpublished specimens, all those records more or less ancient, as far as we can trace them and as far as a final decision can now be passed upon them, (1) which present as an essential part of themselves, not simply by quotation or by a mistake which is plainly attributable to mere careless blundering, some detail or another which involves something that is palpably not true, such, for instance, as a reference to a fictitious king as the authority from whom a record has emanated, or such as the attribution of a fictitious pedigree to a real king in similar circumstances, or such as a date, not necessarily wrongly recorded in respect of its details (a point that may or may not be of importance), which is known to be false, or can be recognised as false through its being incompatible with the evident true period and general nature of the particular record; (2) which, by the characters in which they have been written, or in any other way, shew that they are not original synchronous vouchers for the matters recited in them, and which also disclose some feature or another which makes us recognise that they are not reproductions, that have received the official imprimatur, of such vouchers; (3) which, in any way whatsoever, are to be recognised as having been put together in such circumstances that, whether they were drawn up from actually fraudulent motives or not, they can only be characterised as counterfeit documents which are essentially forgeries. There are plenty of records, — like the Managôḷi inscription of A. D. 1161 with a passage in it dated in A. D. 1142,[32] and like the Ablûr inscription of A. D. 1104 with a passage in it dated in A. D. 1101,[33] and like the Sîyaḍôṇî inscription, in Central India, with passages in it which present no less than ten dates ranging from A. D. 903-904 to 968-69,[34] — containing passages of various dates, which, we can recognise, were not engraved on the stones consecutively from time to time according to the recorded dates, but were brought together and put on the stones, for the unification of titles, at the time of the latest date given in each case. Such records may be appropriately described in the terms applied by Prof. Kielhorn to the Sîyaḍôṇî inscription, which he has defined as "a collective public copy of a series of deeds." The passages of them which contain the earlier dates, are not original synchronous vouchers for the matters recited in them. And they are not unquestionable and conclusive authorities for those matters; for the reason that mistakes may always be made in compiling such records. But when, as in the Managôḷi, Ablûr, and Sîyaḍôṇî instances, we can see that the introduction of the passages containing the earlier dates has been more or less officially authorised, and there is nothing of an obviously suspicious nature in those passages, then we cannot well class the entire records as spurious records, and thereby stamp them as possibly of a dishonest nature. And, among records of this sort, there are some which include passages that do present false or fictitious matter, but which, nevertheless, are not to be classed as spurious on that account. For instance, at Amînbhâvi, in the Dhârwâr district, there was, some fifty years ago,[35] a stone inscription of A. D. 1113, including passage which asserts that grants were made to a temple there in A. D. 566 or 567 in the time of the Western Chalukya king Pulakêśin II. This false date, forty years before even the commencement of the reign of Pulakêśin II., was of course taken, together with the assertions connected with it, from some spurious record or incorrect archive. But there is nothing of a suspicious nature about that part of the record which belongs to the year A. D. 1113. We can see that the official who authorised the drawing up of the whole record in that year, accepted as genuine and correct the spurious record or incorrect archive relating to A. D. 566 or 567, and allowed it in good faith to be incorporated in the entire record. And there is no reason for stamping the entire record itself, put together in A. D. 1113, as a spurious record. So, also, at Kûdlâpura, in the

[30] See page 212 below.
[31] See page 217 below, note 65.
[32] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 9.
[33] *Ibid.* p. 213.
[34] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 162.
[35] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 358, note 1.

Mysore district, there is an inscription,[36] which purports to have been written and engraved in A. D. 1148, and which includes a passage that asserts a previous grant of the village in A. D. 104 by "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga." Here, it is extremely doubtful whether the entire record is a genuine record, really drawn up in A. D. 1148. But we waive that point at present. And, assuming that the entire record was really drawn up in A. D. 1148, we have only to say that, in respect of the assertions about the year A. D. 104, it simply puts forward, in good faith, a false statement successfully palmed off on the officials of A.D. 1148 by someone who was interested in setting up a previous assignment of the village, and that the entire record is not to be stamped as a spurious record simply because it quotes that false matter; to which we have to add that historically, as regards the Gaṅgas, the entire record, whether genuine or not so, is worthless, except in perhaps shewing that, by A. D. 1148, the specific date of A. D. 104 had come to be connected with the imaginary Koṅgaṇivarman. Again, to take a somewhat different case, at Konnûr, in the Dhârwâr district, there is an inscription,[37] written about the middle of the twelfth century A. D., which purports to record that the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I. made certain grants to a temple at that village in A. D. 860. This record gives a true and correct date for Amôghavarsha I. But it misstates the relationships of some of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings whom it does mention, and omits others whom it ought to have included; and also, — probably from misinterpretation of some verse which we have not as yet found in a genuine record, — it places at the head of the Râshṭrakûṭa genealogy a purely fictitious person, whom it calls Prichchhaka-rāja. And, in view of these mistakes in connection with the Râshṭrakûṭas, we do not know how far it may be trusted in respect of what it says regarding the feudatory family of the Mukula princes. It does not, however, make any pretence of having been written and engraved on the stone in A. D. 860. It distinctly asserts that it is only a reproduction of a copper-plate charter, which, presumably, did claim to have been written and issued in A. D. 860, and quite possibly was so written and issued. We accept that assertion, and account for the mistakes in the record by assuming either inability to decipher the characters of the original charter correctly, or indifference about taking the trouble to read it carefully. And, therefore, while setting the record aside as unreliable for historical purposes, we do not stamp it as a spurious record in the sense in which the records included in the list are spurious. Again, at Naregal in the Rôṇ tâluka, Dhârwâr district, there are two inscriptions[38] which might easily be taken as seeming to connect dates in A. D. 949 and 950 with the Western Chalukya kings Vikramâditya VI. (A.D. 1076 to 1126) and Perma-Jagadêkamalla II. (A. D. 1138 to 1149) and with a feudatory of those kings. But that is not their real purport. The first of them recites that, in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-(Vikramâditya VI.), and while the Sinda prince Permâḍi I. of Yelbarga was governing his hereditary territory, a religious discourse was held, in the course of which Permâḍi I. decided that every religious grant ought to have its charter.[39] And it then proceeds to state that, in Śaka-Saṁvat 872 (current), in A. D. 949, a temple of the Mûlasthâna god was founded at Narayaṁgal, and a village-headman named Muṇḍeyara-Śrîvantagâvuṇḍa gave some land to a Brâhman for the purposes of that god, as a grant to the god Paramêśvara. This record does not really purport to connect the given date with Vikramâditya VI. and Permâḍi I. It only puts it forward as the alleged date of the founding of the temple, and of the granting of the first property that is claimed by the record. The second of these two records recites, according to strict interpretation, that, in the reign of Jagadêkamalla II., and while the Sinda prince Permâḍi I. was governing his hereditary territory, in Śaka-Saṁvat 872 (expired), in A. D. 950, a resident of Nareyaṁgal, named Hiriyakannasina-Tippaṇayya, gave some land to a Brâhmaṇ for the god Tippaṇêśvara. By literal translation, this record does put forward the given date as a date of Perma-Jagadêkamalla II. and

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[36] Ep. Carn. Vol. III., Nj. 110.

[37] Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 25.

[38] Published, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 224, No. 1, and p. 239, No. 2; and see Dyn. Kan. Dists. p. 575, and, regarding the details of the dates, Vol. XXIV. above, p. 12, No. 173, and p. 5, No. 144.

[39] The words, in text line 38 ff., — Permmâḍidêv-arasar . . . . purâtanam=appa dharmmamgalam pratipalisutta dharmma-prasamgam=âd-allı dharmmamgalg=ella sâ(śâ) sanam=âgal-vêrkkum=emdu kâruṇyam-geyyal, — should be rendered by "Permâḍidêvarasa . . . . while preserving the ancient ordinances, was kind enough, on the occasion of a discourse about religion, to say that there ought to be a charter for all religious gifts, and thereupon." And then, to introduce what follows, there should be understood any such words as "it was placed on record that."

Permâḍi I., because it does not include the passage about the propriety of providing all religious grants with their charters. But it was obviously intended to be read in connection with the other record, and to be understood as implying that it was put on the stone under those same circumstances. And it, evidently, simply puts forward the alleged date of a grant made before the time of the above-mentioned king and prince. Accordingly, whatever may be the truth here, as in the Konnûr inscription, as to the alleged facts, these two records, also, are not to be classed as spurious records. On the other hand, there are two inscriptions at Lakshmêshwar (Nos. 37 and 38 in the list), written during the eleventh century A. D., which recite grants alleged to have been made to local temples in A. D. 687, 723, 730, 735, and 968-69, and which do not put forward any such explanation as that given in the Naregal inscription, and do not suggest in any way that they are merely copies or substantial reproductions of original records, but read distinctly as if the various passages were written and engraved in those years. It is quite possible that these two records recite real grants, brought together for the unification of titles. And, to what has been already said elsewhere about them,[40] — in the way of pointing out that, though they are spurious records, they are questionable as dishonest ones only in so far as they may put forward fraudulent claims to property, and in so far as the writers of them may have substituted names of properties and grantees and other details, to suit their own purposes, for other names and details standing in original genuine charters, — it may be added that the omission to introduce the names of *saṁvatsaras* in the dates of the Western Chalukya passages of A. D. 687, 723, 730, and 735, is decidedly suggestive that genuine original charters may have been reproduced in those passages, and may have been transcribed correctly as well as intelligently. But we know, from the characters, that the various passages were not written and engraved on these stones at the times at which, from the absence of any hint to the contrary, they distinctly purport to have been written and engraved, and that, therefore, they are not original synchronous vouchers for the matters recited in them. Also, the irregular order in which the passages were arranged, indicates pretty plainly that these records were not drawn up under any official supervision : on one of the stones, there stands first a passage of A. D. 968-69, then there comes an undated passage, apparently intended to belong to the period A. D. 609 to about 642, and then follows the passage of A. D. 735 ; on the other, the passages stand in the order of A. D. 723, 730, 968-69, and 687. And further, that one of them which commences with the passage of A. D. 968-69, presents in that passage a part of the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree as an essential part of the record, and thus introduces matter which we know to be false and which shews that that passage was at any rate not simply reproduced from a genuine record of A. D. 968-69. And these facts stamp that record as a spurious one, and bring its companion into the same category. Again, the Dêvagêri inscription (No. 29 in the list), which is referable to the tenth century A. D., probably records a perfectly genuine bit of local history of that period. But it is preposterously and falsely dated in A. D. 600 ; and it reads as if it was drawn up and engraved in that year. And these facts turn it into a spurious record. So, also, the Gaṭṭavâḍi inscription (No. 45) may recite items of local interest which are true and correct for the period to which it really belongs. But, whereas it was really drawn up and engraved at some time about A. D. 1000, it is falsely and still more preposterously dated in A. D. 192-93 ; and it reads as if it was drawn up and engraved then. And these facts make it, also, a spurious record.

In examining the list, we detect one noteworthy point in the fact that, out of a total number of fifty-nine spurious records, **only five are on stone (Nos. 28, 29, 37, 38, and 45); all the rest are on copper-plates.** The reason for this is not far to find. The stone records of India mostly stand in very conspicuous places. Even spurious records on stone would have to be exhibited in the same way. And, — except occasionally inside the precincts of temples, the establishments of which might include individuals qualified for each step in the manufacture of such records, — both the preparation and the erection of them would entail a great amount of publicity, and the connivance of many more persons, including at least village-officials, than those actually interested in the successful accomplishment of the fraud. On the other hand, the fabrication of a copper-plate charter, which remains in

[40] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. [illegible]

obscurity in private hands until the time when it is actually wanted for production, is a hole-and-corner business, easily confined to one or two accomplices, — one of whom, the artisan who does the engraving of what is traced on the plate by the writer, need not know anything about the purport of what he is doing. And, for these reasons, the spurious records of India, or at any rate such of them as were fabricated from fraudulent motives, will, no doubt, always be found far more frequently on copper than on stone.

Another point which attracts attention, is, that, though the spurious records are found in many different provinces and districts, **we have obtained a comparatively large number of them from Mysore.** Out of the total number of fifty-nine, no fewer than nineteen (Nos. 41 to 59) come from that province and belong to it; while two more certainly (Nos. 10 and 40), — and perhaps also a third (No. 11), — belong properly to that same province, as they claim to convey villages in the territories from which the province has been formed, and they must have originated there and travelled from those villages to the places where they have been found.[41] Thus, twenty-one, at least, of the fifty-nine spurious records originated in Mysore.[42] And the spurious records of Mysore include some of the most barefaced specimens (Nos. 41 to 44), purporting to be nearly five thousand years old. It does not necessarily follow that the practice of fabricating spurious records was always more rife in Mysore than in other parts of the country: we can only compare the numbers of known specimens; and we do not know how many spurious records still remain to be discovered and allocated elsewhere as well as there. But the fact stands, that Mysore, or some particular part of it, has on various occasions been markedly prolific in the production of epigraphic forgeries, — roughly about nine centuries ago, and in connection with certain historical occurrences which have been glanced at above. And, apparently, some neighbouring part of the country has, somewhat later, been still more productive of the same class of documents; since Mr. G. R. Subramiah Pantulu tells us that the forgeries of the Vijayanagara series are probably nearly as plentiful as the genuine grants, which, he says, are themselves extremely numerous.[43]

And finally, **fifty-six, at least, out of the fifty-nine spurious records shewn in the list, distinctly claim to be title-deeds of landed property.** As has already been intimated, they are not necessarily all fraudulent title-deeds, fabricated in order to substantiate false claims. But, at the best, they are all spurious title-deeds, not issued by the authorities by whom they purport to have been issued. **Thirty-seven** of these spurious title-deeds (Nos. 1 to 11, 22 to 27, 30, 32 to 36, 39, 40, 42

[41] We have a pointed instance of the way in which copper-plate records are liable to travel, in the Vakkalêri plates, which contain a charter issued by the Western Chalukya king Kîrtivarman II in A. D. 757 (*Ep. Ind* Vol. V. p. 200). The grant was made, and probably the plates themselves were prepared and issued, at a camp at a certain town in the Shôlâpur district; namely, at Bhaṇḍâragavitṭage on the northern bank of the Bhîmarathî, which is the modern 'Bhundarkowteh' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), and the 'Bhandar Kavtha' of the same sheet, N.E. (1886), — (representing, no doubt, Bhaṇḍâra-Kauthêm) — on the north bank of the Bhîmâ, in lat. 17° 27′, long. 75° 44′, about twenty miles south-west from Shôlâpur. The charter conveyed a village in the immediate vicinity of Hângal in the Dhârwâr district. The grantee must have resided somewhere close to the property that was given to him, and must have had the plates in his possession at his residence. And the plates have eventually come to light from a village in a distant part of Mysore. — The fact is, the find-places of the copper-plate records frequently have no connection with the records themselves, and do not help us except in indicating the localities in which we may look first in endeavouring to identify places named in those records. The fact that a record on copper is found at a certain place, does not establish the sovereignty, in that part of the country, of the king who made or authorised the grant, unless the property itself, granted by him or by his authority, is identified there. And we shall have, some day, to rename all the copper records according to the properties that they conveyed. The so-called Vakkalêri plates would be more correctly described as the Suḷḷiyûr grant.

[42] The records make this quite clear, even when the villages claimed by them cannot be actually identified.

[43] Vol. XXVII. above, p. 277. — We must, of course, await further information, before we can allocate the forgeries of the Vijayanagara series; we have to learn where they come from, and to determine the places in which they originated. — As regards any question of general comparison, according to the numbers actually before us, Madras presents, up to date, nominally twenty specimens (Nos. 2 to 21), without including any of the Vijayanagara series. The Madras Presidency, however, is a very large territory. Out of the twenty specimens obtained in it, one certainly (No. 10), and perhaps also another (No. 11), originated in Mysore. And ten others (Nos. 12 to 21) really reduce themselves to only two separate and distinct acts of forgery, — one represented by the two plates dated in A. D. 1086, and the other by the eight plates dated in A. D. 1089. — The Bombay Presidency presents seventeen specimens (Nos. 22 to 38), spread over the Presidency itself and the Native States which are more or less inherent parts of it.

to 44, 46 to 48, 53 to 55, and 57 to 59) **claim grants of entire villages.** And **nineteen** of them (Nos. 12 to 21, 28, 31, 37, 38, 41, 49, 50, 52, and 56) **claim allotments of land not amounting to entire villages. One other** (No. 45) seems to be a record of the same kind, as it **apparently claims to define and mark out lands set apart as the remuneration attached to the office of village-headman.** And to this list of fifty-six or fifty-seven spurious title-deeds, we ought in all probability to add one more (No. 51); but we may set that aside as undetermined, on the grounds that the essential part of it is illegible. Only **one** of the total number of fifty-nine spurious records, namely the Dêvagêri inscription (No. 29), does not claim any landed property, but purports to be **the certificate of the right to perform a certain sacrifice.** Fifty-six, at any rate, of the fifty-nine shewn in the list, are spurious title-deeds. **Fourteen of them claim religious grants.** Of these one (No. 3) names a Śaiva priest as the donee, on behalf of a village-god; one (No. 26) does not name any individual donee, but claims a village for the purposes of the worship of a form of Śiva and for usufruct by ascetics residing in the temple of the god; another (No. 41) similarly does not name any individual donee, but claims the grant of a property to ascetics for the purposes of the worship of the god Sîtârâma; five (Nos. 23, 24, 27, 32, and 34) claim grants of villages to Brâhmaṇs for the purpose of the celebration of certain specified sacrifices; five (Nos. 31, 35, 37, 38, and 40) claim grants of villages and lands to Jain priests on behalf of Jain temples; and one (No. 57) claims the grant of a village on behalf of a Jain temple, perhaps with, perhaps without, the indication of a Jain priest as the actual donee. **Forty-two of the records have no connection with religion, but claim properties on behalf of private individuals.** One of them (No. 7) specifies a minister as the donee; one (No. 28) claims a grant of lands to village-headmen; two (Nos. 46 and 49) claim grants, to the son of a village-headman and to a banker or merchant, in recognition of prowess in battle; another (No. 48) claims a grant to the son of a village-headman in recognition of some personal service apparently rendered in battle; twenty-seven (Nos. 1, 2, 4 to 6, 8 to 11, 22, 25, 30, 33, 36, 39, 42, 43, 44, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, and 59) claim grants to Brâhmaṇs for themselves; and the remaining ten (Nos. 12 to 21) claim other individual properties. And **one more** (No. 45), which, again, has no connection with religion, **seems to claim property partly as a private and partly as an official holding,** as it apparently purports to mark out and define land attached to the hereditary office of village-headman.

These remarks complete all that need be said for the present about the spurious records. There are certain **other records, which are of doubtful authenticity or value.** Some of them will probably, on fuller examination, have to be included in the list of spurious records. Some of them are, by their own admission, reproductions of original records; and we have only to decide how far the historical and other matters put forward in them may be accepted as authentic. And others of them, while not admitting that they are reproductions, plainly are such, with, in some cases, the evident introduction of matter that cannot have been in the originals. And there are also **genuine records which have been tampered with,** in order to make them serve purposes other than those originally intended by them. A pointed and easily recognisable instance of this last class of records, is the Sâmângaḍ grant of A. D. 754.[44] It originally granted a certain specified village in the Koppara five-hundred district. The historical matter in the record has not been tampered with; nor the date of it; nor the name and other particulars of the original grantee; nor even the name of the district. But the name of the village that was granted, and the names of the villages mentioned in defining the boundaries of it, have been altered. And so, though we can identify the substituted villages, we are not able to say that the identifications are of any use, from the geographical point of view, in locating the district. The records of doubtful value will be dealt with on some subsequent occasion.

[44] Vol XI. above, p. 108; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 390. So, also, the Paithaṇ grant of A. D. 794 was tampered with in respect of the names, *etc.*, of the grantees (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 108, note 7); and the Dêoli grant of A. D. 940 was tampered with in respect of the village granted and its boundaries and district, as well as in respect of the name, *etc.*, of the grantee (see *id.* Vol. V. p. 189, note 2). For a spurious record apparently treated in the same way see note 47 on page 214 below.

A LIST OF SPURIOUS INDIAN RECORDS.

BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

Gayâ District.

1. — **The Gayâ plate**, which claims that Samudragupta (Early Gupta) granted to a Brâhman, duly specified by his name and *gôtra* and *śâkhâ*,[45] **a village named Rêvatikâ** in the Gayâ *vishaya*, in the (Gupta) year 9, in A. D. 328. — Published, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 254.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Gañjâm District.

2. — **The Chicacole plates**, which claim that Dêvêndravarman, son of Anantavarman (alleged Eastern Gaṅga of Kaliṅganagara), granted to three hundred Brâhmaṇs,[46] **a village named Tâmarachheru** in the Varâhavartanî *vishaya*, in the year 51 of the Gâṅgêya race, in A. D. 641-42. — Published, Vol. XIII. above, p. 273; and see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 297, note 6.

3. — **The Chicacole plates**, which claim that Satyavarman, son of Dêvêndravarman (alleged Eastern Gaṅga of Kaliṅganagara), granted to a *Gurava* or Śaiva priest, as an *agrahâra* of the *grâmadêva* or tutelary village-god and as a *Śaivasthânaḷu* or Śaiva property, **a village named Târugrâma** in the Galela *vishaya*, in the year 351 of the Gâṅgêya race, in A. D. 941-42. — Published, Vol. XIV. above, p. 10; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 297, notes 6, 8.

4. — **A set of plates** which claims that Prithivivarman, son of Mahindravarman (alleged Eastern Gaṅga of Kaliṅganagara), granted to a Brâhmaṇ **a village, the name of which is doubtful**, in the (?) Janôra *vishaya*.[47] — Published, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 198.

Vizagapatam District.

5. — **The Alamanda plates**, which claim that Anantavarman, son of Râjêndravarman (alleged Eastern Gaṅga of Kaliṅganagara), granted to a Brâhmaṇ **a village named (?) Medelâka** in the Tirikatu *vishaya*, in the year 304 of the Gâṅgêya race, in A. D. 894-95. — Published, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 17; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 297, note 6.

Kistna District.

6. — **The Pedda-Cherukûru plates**, which claim that a king Vishṇuvardhana (Eastern Chalukya of Veṅgî; apparently Vishṇuvardhana II. is intended) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **an agrahâra named Ikshu or Ikshupura**, of which he was a resident.[48]

7. — **A set of plates** which claims that Vishṇuvardhana-Tàla (alleged Eastern Chalukya of Veṅgî) granted to a minister of his named Kuppanayya, of the Pallava lineage or of the lineage of Pallavamalla, **a village named Śrîpuṇḍi** (with perhaps some other properties) in the Velanâṇḍu *vishaya*.[49]

Karnûl District.

8. — **The set of plates** which claims that Vikramâditya I. (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **two villages named Aguṇṭe and Tebuṁḷaûra**. — Published, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 229, 240; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 365, note 1.

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[45] Except when the contrary is noted, it may be understood that the records always give names and other details, sufficient to fix the identity of the alleged grantees more or less fully, and so to enable the holders of the records to establish their claims by producing pedigrees or other evidence.

[46] Here the alleged grantees are simply mentioned as "three hundred Brâhmaṇs of the Vâjasanêya *charaṇa* and many *gôtras*"

[47] There are some indications, in lines 8 and 12 to 14 of the text, that, in addition to the record being originally a fabrication, it was subsequently tampered with, so as to claim a property other than that which was at first claimed by it.

[48] This record is mentioned in Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol I. p. 84. I quote it, however, from ink-impressions, for which I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch.

[49] I quote this record, also, from ink-impressions received from Dr Hultzsch.

North Arcot District.

9. — **The Udayêndiram plates,** which claim that Nandivarman, son of Skandavarman (alleged Pallava of Conjeeveram), granted to a Brâhmaṇ **a village named Kâñchivâyil** in the Aḍeyâra *râshṭra.* — Last published, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 142; and see *Dyn. Kan. Dists.* p. 320, note 6.

Tanjore District.

10. — **The Tanjore plates.** which claim that Arivarman, *i. e.* Harivarman (alleged Western Gaṅga of Talakâḍ), granted to a Brâhmaṇ **the village of Orekôḍu**[50] in the group of villages known as the Maisunâdu seventy, in the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 169 expired, in A. D. 248. — Published, Vol. VIII. above, p. 212, and see Vol. XXIV. above, p. 10, No. 166, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 159 (No. 1), 161, 169, and Vol. V. p. 174.

Coimbatore District.

11. — **The Kômaraliṅgam plates,** which claim that Ravidatta (an alleged descendant of Punnâtarâja or of the kings of Punnâṭa) granted to some Brâhmaṇs **a village named Puṅgisoge** in the east-central district in the Kuḍugûr *nâḍ* in the Punnâdu *vishaya*, and other villages, or shares in other villages, named Kolûr, Kodamûku, Dvatogeyanûr, Tânagundûr, and Paṭṭal.[51] — Published, Vol. XVIII. above, p. 362; and see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 163, note 2.

Miscellaneous.[52]

12 to 21. — **Ten plates in the Central Museum at Madras,** of which the general purport is as follows. They recite that a certain Vîra-Saṅgudaiyân (alleged Chôḷa) had constructed an *agrahâra* for Alakaiyyar, Aḷakayyar, or Alakappayyar, and an *agrahâra* for Dirunnipuram-Kiḍaṇamâchcharinayan; but another king came and destroyed the *agrahâras,* and, on the sites of them, dug a tank, and constituted a district named Pañchapennênâḍu, Pañchapaṇânâḍu (or something like that), consisting of four divisions, one of which was **a village named Mantaveṭṭu,** Mantavêḍu (or something like that).

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[50] This is the modern Varakôḍu, in the Mysore district and tâluka.

[51] Kômaraliṅgam, or Kumâraliṅgam, is the 'Comarlgum' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 62 (1840), in lat. 10° 29', long. 77° 25', in the south of the Coimbatore district. The record, however, has not necessarily any connection with that part of the country, except in respect of having been found there And the details given in it distinctly allocate it elsewhere. — Punnâdu or Pûnâd is well known as the name of a six-thousand province, — (on the point that it was a six-thousand, not a ten-thousand, see *Ep. Ind* Vol VI. p. 63, note 7), — which was a division of the territories of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâd. The Punnâdu or Pûnâḍ six-thousand included some of the extreme southern parts of Mysore, below the Lakshmantîrtha and the Kâvêrî, inclusive of the Guṇḍlupêt tâluka The Kudugûr *nâḍ* of this spurious record seems likely to be identical with the Kuḍugu *nâḍ* of certain other records. An inscription of A. D. 1315 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 58) places in the Kuḍugu *nâḍ* the village of Kaṇṇâgâla, in the Guṇḍlupêṭ hôbḷi, which appears to be the 'Cunagaula' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 61 (1833), and the 'Kannagal' of the same sheet, N.W. (1894), about six miles towards the south-west from Guṇḍlupêt. An inscription of A. D. 1497 (*ibid.* Gu. 11) speaks of "the Terakaṇâmbe *nâḍ* which is the Kuḍugu *nâḍ*." Terakanâmbe still exists, as a town about six miles east of Guṇḍlupêt. And it thus becomes possible that the Kodamûku or Koḍamûku of the spurious record may be the modern 'Kodasoge,' about seven miles towards the south-east from Guṇḍlupêt. This identification, of course, cannot be looked upon as at all final, especially, as we cannot find, in that neighbourhood, any others of the villages mentioned in the record. And we have still to decide whether the Punnâḍu or Pûnâḍ six-thousand was the whole of the Punnâḍu country, or was only a part of it. However, the record specifies "the people of the ninety-six-thousand *vishaya*," that is to say the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand of the Western Gaṅgas, as the witnesses to the grants asserted by it. And this closely connects the record with Mysore. — The grant purports to have been made when Ravidatta was encamped at a town named Kitthipura, probably by mistake for Kîrtipura. This town is not necessarily to be placed either in the Kuḍugûr *nâḍ* or in the Punnâdu *vishaya.* Mr. Rice has proposed (*Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 312, note 6, and Vol II pp. 223, 260) to identify it with the modern Kittûr, a large village on the right bank of the Kabbani, about seven miles south of Heggaḍadêvankôte in the Mysore district, and twenty-seven miles towards the west-north-west from Guṇḍlupêt And, as there is an inscription at Kittûr, dated in A D 1079 (*Ep. Carn* Vol. IV, Hg 53), which speaks of the place as "the eternal town Kîrtimahânagarapura which is Kittûr," the proposal seems likely to be correct.

[52] A remark in *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 137 indicates that there are three more spurious copper-plate records in the Museum at Madras, the contents of which are still to be made known. And the same volume seems to include three other spurious records on copper; namely, page 107, No. 20, a plate in the District Court of Madura, which purports to be dated in A. D. 1533; page 152, No. 12 of the plates in the Madras Museum, which purports to be dated in A. D. 1456: and page 181, No 25, not dated; they do not appear to contain any matter of any particular interest from the historical point of view.

And they then either claim the subsequent re-allotment of portions of the said village, or else specify portions of it as belonging to alleged descendants of alleged original grantees.[53] Two of these plates connect with Vîra-Śangudaiyân the date of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4187 (expired) and Śaka-Saṁvat 1008 (expired), in A. D. 1086; and the other eight give a date three years later, in A. D. 1089. — Published, *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 137 ff.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Kâṭhiâwâr.

22. — **The Dhiniki plates**, which claim that Jâikadêva (of the Saurâshṭra country) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **the village of Dhênikâ**[54] in the Bhûmilikâ *maṇḍala*, in Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 (expired), in A. D. 738. — Published, Vol. XII. above, p. 151; and see Vol. XVI. p. 197, and Vol. XIX. p. 369, No. 190, and the concluding remarks about it on p. 371.

Kaira District.

23. — **The Umêtâ plates**, which claim that Dadda II. (Gurjara of Broach) granted to a Brâhmaṇ for sacrificial purposes **the village of Niguḍa**[55] in the Kamaṇîya sixteen-hundred *bhukti*, in Śaka-Saṁvat 400 (expired), in A. D. 478. — Published, Vol. VII. above, p. 61; and see Vol. X. p. 279, Vol. XVII. p. 184, Vol. XVIII. p. 91, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 312, note 7.

Broach District.

24. — **The Ilâô plates**, which claim that Dadda II. (Gurjara of Broach) granted to a Brâhmaṇ for sacrificial purposes **the village of Râiva**[56] in the Akulêśvara *vishaya*, in Śaka-Saṁvat 417 (expired), in A. D. 495. — Last published, Vol. XIII. above, p. 115; and see Vol. X. p. 279, Vol. XVII. p. 193, note 37, Vol. XVIII. p. 91, Vol. XXIV. p. 10, No. 165, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 312, note 7.

Khândêsh District.[57]

25. — **The Pimpaḷnêr plates**, which claim that Satyâśraya (*i. e.* Pulakêśin I. or II.; Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) granted to some Brâhmaṇs **the town of Pippalanagara**,[58] in Śaka-Saṁvat 310 (expired), in A. D. 388-89.[59] — Published, Vol. IX. above, p. 293; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 344, note 6.

Nâsik District.

26. — **The Nirpan plates**, which claim that Tribhuvanâśraya-Nâgavardhana, son of Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman (alleged younger brother of Pulakêśin II.; Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi), granted **the village of Balegrâma**[60] in the Gôparâshtra *vishaya* for the worship of the god Kapâlêśvara and for usufruct by the ascetics[61] residing in the temple of that god. — Last published, Vol. IX. above, p. 123; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 357, and note 1 on p. 358.[62]

[53] Some of them name the alleged holders; the others apparently leave it to be assumed that the person who could produce one of the plates should be taken as the possessor of the property named in it.

[54] This is the ruined village, known as "old Dhiniki," in the Ôkhâmaṇḍal division, and Bhûmilikâ is Bhûmlî, Bhûmbhli, or Ghûmlî, a deserted capital in the Barḍa hills (see Vol. XII. above, pp. 152, 153, 154).

[55] This is the modern Nagôd, near Kamrêj or Kâmrêj (Kamaṇîya) which is somewhere near Surat (see Vol. XVII. above, p 184, and note 5).

[56] This is the modern Râyûmâl, in the Aṅklêshwar tâluka (see Vol. XVII. above, p. 193, note 37).

[57] See also note 69 to No. 33 on page 217 below.

[58] This is the modern Pimpalnêr itself, the head-quarters of the Pimpalnêr tâluka.

[59] The explanation of this date may possibly be found in the Kalachuri or Chêdî era, with the epoch of A. D. 248-49, which, we know, was still current in the northern territories of the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi up to A. D. 739; for, A. D. 248-49 + 310 = A. D. 558-59, in the true period of Satyâśraya-Pulakêśin I.

[60] This is the modern Belgaon-Tarâḷhâ, in the Igatpurî tâluka.

[61] No names or any other details are given.

[62] The characters of this record are good; and the language and orthography are mostly correct. But the record allots to Pulakêśin II. the well known charger of his son Vikramâditya I, Chitrakaṇtha, which, moreover, it misnames Kaṇṭhachitra And, if only for that reason, the record must now be finally relegated to the list of spurious records. The Dharâśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman whom it puts forward, seems to have been evolved out of the real person of that name, a son of Pulakêśin II.

Ratnâgiri District.

27. — **The Kândalgaon plates,** which claim that Pulakêśin II. (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) granted to a Brâhmaṇ for sacrificial purposes **a village named Pirigipa** in the territory of Rêvatidvîpa,[64] in the fifth year of his reign, in A. D. 614. — Published, Vol. XIV. above, p. 330; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 358, note 1.

Belgaum District.[65]

28. — **A stone inscription at Śrîrangpur** near Saundatti, which claims that Satyâśraya of the Chalukya race (meaning, no doubt, Pulakêśin I. or II.; Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) granted **some land** to the village-headmen of Modalûr[66] as remuneration for the discharge of their duties, in the Vilambin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 31 (expired), in A.D. 109. — Not yet published.

Dhârwâr District.

29. — **A stone inscription at Dêvagêri,** which records that the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* [Śâ]ntivarman, of the Mâṭûra race, came to the village of Palarûr in the Kâlayukti *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 522 (expired), in A.D. 600, and granted to the villagers **the right to perform a certain sacrifice,** in return for their supplying forage for his horses and elephants. — Not yet published; noticed in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 172, and note 2.

30. — **The Kurtakôṭi plates,** which claim that Vikramâditya I. (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **the village of Kuṛutakûṇṭe**[67] in the Beḷvola *vishaya*, in Śaka-Saṁvat 530 (or 532) expired, in A. D. 608 (or 610). — Published, Vol. VII. above, p. 217; and see Vol. XVIII. above, p. 285, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 365, note 1, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 176, note 1.

31. — **The Sûḍi plates,** which claim that Bûtuga II. (Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ), at the request of his mistress Dîvaḷâmbâ, granted to a Jain **some land at Sûṇḍî**[68] in the Sulvâṭavî seventy (*i. e.* the Kisukâḍ seventy) for the purposes of a Jain temple at that village, in the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 860 expired, in A. D. 938. — Published, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 158; and see Vol. XXIV. above, p. 187, No. 75, note 13, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 167, note 2.

Miscellaneous.

32. — **The set of plates, in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,** which claims that Dharasêna II. (Maitraka of Valabhî) granted to a Brâhmaṇ for sacrificial purposes **a village named Nandîaraka or Nandîsaraka** in the Kantâragrâma sixteen-hundred *vishaya*, in Śaka-Saṁvat 400 (expired), in A. D. 478. — Published, Vol. X. above, p. 277.

33. — **A set of plates,**[69] which claims that a king Kṛishṇa (evidently intended, as mention is made, before him, of Dantidurga, Amôghavarsha, Gôvinda, and Padigadêva, *i. e.* Baddigadêva, Vaddigadêva, to be Kṛishṇa III., Râshṭrakûṭa of Mâlkhêḍ) granted to eighty-four Brâhmaṇs[70] **a village or other place named Khairôḍhisthâna,** in Śaka-Saṁvat 633 (current), in A. D. 710. — Not yet published.

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[64] Rêvatîdvîpa was a territory which took its name from the ancient form of the name of the modern Rêḍî in the Vengurla tâluka (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 347, and note 2).

[65] At Hirê-Kummi and Sattigeri in the Parasgaḍ tâluka of this district, and at Surkôd or Surkôr in the neighbouring Râmdurg State, there are spurious copper-plate charters, without dates, which purport to have been issued by a king Krishṇa-Kanhara who is intended for the Râshṭrakûṭa king Krishṇa III They have been noticed in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 550, note 6. But I have not any further details about the contents of them.

[66] This is the modern Madlûr, close to Śrîrangpur. — The record does not put forward the names of the village-headmen.

[67] This is the modern Kurtakôṭi itself, in the Gadag tâluka.

[68] This is the modern Sûḍi itself, in the Rôṇ tâluka.

[69] Apparently from Khândêsh or somewhere in that direction. They were sent to me, for examination, by the Rev. J. E. Abbott, in 1887. As regards the date put forward in them, with Śaka-Saṁvat 633 (expressed in words) there is coupled the Sâvvedhârî (*i. e.* Sarvadhârin) *saṁvatsara.* But Sarvadhârin would be Ś.-S. 613 current by the northern luni-solar system, or Ś.-S. 611 current according to the southern luni-solar system. The name appears to be a mistake for Sâdhâraṇa, which would be S.-S. 633 current according to the southern luni-solar system.

[70] No names or other details seem to be given.

Baroda State.

34. — The **Bagumrâ plates**, which claim that Dadda II. (Gurjara of Broach) granted to a Brâhmaṇ for sacrificial purposes **the village of Tatha-Umbarâ**[71] in the Tatha-Umbarâ *âhâra*, in Śaka-Saṁvat 415 (expired), in A. D. 493. — Published, Vol. XVII. above, p. 183; and see Vol. XVIII. p. 91. Vol. XXIV. p. 11, No. 170, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 312, note 7.

Kôlhâpur State.

35. — **The Alṭêṁ plates**, which claim that Pulakêśin I. (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) granted to a Jain priest for the purposes of a Jain temple at Alaktakanagarî (Alṭêṁ), the chief town of a seven-hundred district in the Kuhuṇḍi *vishaya*, **allotments of land at Narindaka and other villages, and also Rûvika and three other entire villages,**[72] in the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 411 expired, by mistake for 411 current or 410 expired, in A. D. 488. — Published, Vol. VII. above, p. 209, with a lithograph in Vol. VIII. p. 340; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 344, note 6, and Vol. XXIX. above, page 273.

36. — **A set of plates from Waḍgaon,** which claims that a king Amôghavarsha, by whom it means Indra III.[73] (Râshṭrakûṭa of Mâlkhêḍ), granted to a thousand and one Brâhmaṇs[74] **the village of Yeleyavâpi**[75] in the Mallaka thirty in the Karahâṭa four-thousand *vishaya*, in Śaka-Saṁvat 720 expired, in A. D. 798. — Not yet published; noticed in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 416, note 6.

Miraj State.

37. — **The stone inscription at Lakshmêshwar,** within the limits of the Dhârwâr district, which claims that Nolambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. (Western Gaṅga of Talakâḍ) in Śaka-Saṁvat 890 (expired), in A. D. 968-69, and Vikramâditya II. (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) in Śaka-Saṁvat 656 expired, in A. D. 735, granted **allotments of land at Puligeṟe or Pulikaranagara,** *i. e.* at Lakshmêshwar itself, to Jain priests for the purposes of Jain temples at that place, and that Durgaśakti (alleged Sêndra), in the time of Satyâśraya, meaning, apparently, Pulakêśin II. (Western Chalukya of Badâmi, A. D. 609 to about 642), granted **some land** for the purposes of one of the same temples.[76] — Published, Vol. VII. above, p. 101; and see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 80 f., and page 211 above.

38. — **Another stone inscription at Lakshmêshwar,** which claims that Vijayâditya (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) in Śaka-Saṁvat 645 expired, in A. D. 723, and again in Ś.-S. 651 expired, in A. D. 730, and Nolambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. (Western Gaṅga of Talakâḍ) in Ś.-S. 890 expired, in A. D. 968-69, and Vinayâditya (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi), in Ś.-S. 608 expired,

[71] This is the modern Bagumrâ itself, in the Palsâṇa tâluka of the Nausârî district; see where published, page 184.

[72] For the identification of almost all the villages, in the neighbourhood of Alṭêṁ, see Vol. XXIX. above, p. 273 ff.

[73] I have previously treated this record as claiming to have been issued by Amôghavarsha II., son of Indra III. (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs* p. 416, note 6). The case, however, is as follows. The record takes the genealogy from Dantidurga to Indra III. Then, after two verses about him which contain nothing of any importance, there comes the passage:—Yaś=cha . . . . . śrî-Kîrttinârâyaṇaḥ . . . . . . śrî-Manujatrinêtrah . . . . śrî-Râjamârttaṇḍah . . . . . śrî-Rattakaṁda[r*]ppah samabhavat Sa cha paramabhaṭṭârakah śrîmad-Amôghavarshadêvah . . . . . . Yeleyavâpi-nâma-grâma[m*] mahârâjâdhirâjah . . . . . . dattavân. And, comparing the corresponding passages in the Sânglî grant of A. D. 933 (Vol. XII. above, p 250, text line 23, and p. 251, line 35 ff.) and the Kharḍa grant of A. D 972 (*ibid.* p 265, line 26, and p. 266, line 37 ff.), we now see that the record puts forward Amôghavarsha, wrongly, — with Kîrtinârâyaṇa and Râjamârtaṇḍa and Rattakandarpa, correctly (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 176), — as a *biruda* of Indra III, and that it thus claims to have been issued by Indra III. — It may be added that the record asserts that, when he made the grant, Amôghavarsha, *i. e.* Indra III., had come to Kurunda for the festival of his coronation. This place is mentioned, in the same connection, as Kurundaka, in the Nausârî grants of Indra III., issued in A. D. 915. It is evidently the modern Kurundwâḍ, about twenty-three miles on the east of Kôlhâpur.

[74] The alleged grantees are mentioned as "Mâdhavachauvveradîkshita of the Kannaḍa lineage and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, together with a thousand Brâhmans;" no other details are given.

[75] This is the modern Yelâvi, in the Tâsgaon tâluka of the Sâtârâ district.

[76] In this case, no individual grantee is named.

in A. D. 687, granted **allotments of land at Puligere or Pulikaranagara** to Jain priests for the purposes of a Jain temple at that place. — Noticed, Vol. VII. above, p. 111; and see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 80 f., and page 211 above.

NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

39. — The Haidarabad plates, which claim that Vikramâditya I. (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **a village named Chintakuṇṭha** in the Kaṇṇa *vishaya.*— Published, Vol. VI. above, p. 75; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 364 (No. 4) and note 8, and *Gottinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 341.[77]

PROVINCE OF COORG.

40. — The Merkâra plates, which claim that Avinîta-Koṅgaṇimahâdhirâja (alleged Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ) granted to a Jain priest for the purposes of a Jain temple at Taḷavananagara, *i. e.* Taḷakâḍ, **the village of Badaṇeguppe**[78] in the Eḍenâḍ seventy in the Pûnâḍu six-thousand, in the (Śaka) year 388 (expired), in A. D. 466. — Published, Vol. I. above, p. 363, and, *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 1; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 282, Vol. XXIV. above, p. 11, No. 169, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 160 (No. 4), 162, 168, 170, and Vol. V. p. 174, and Vol. VI. p. 66, note 7.

MYSORE STATE.

41. — The Bhîmankaṭṭi or Tîrthahaḷḷi plates, which claim that the epic king Janamêjaya granted to the ascetics (presumably Brâhmaṇs) of the locality,[79] for the purposes of the worship of the god Sîtârâma, **some land constituting a property named Munivṛindakshêtra**[80] in the place called Sîtâpura-Vṛikôdarakshêtra on the west of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, in the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, the year 89 (current) of the Yudhishṭhira-Śaka or era of Yudhishṭhira,[81] in B. C. 3014. — Published,

[77] When I edited this record, in 1877, I considered that, at any rate as far as line 34, the characters appeared to be genuinely antique (Vol. VI. above, p. 75). More recently, in 1895 or 1896, I have said that, in consequence of the type of the characters and the partial corruptness of the language, the authenticity of this grant is not altogether free from suspicion (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 327, note 4, and p. 364, note 8). Prof. Kielhorn has expressed the opinion that the mistakes in the verses do not justify the suspicion that the plates may be a forgery, and that the ease with which the true readings can be restored tends to prove that the verses were taken from a correct copy of the grant (*Gottinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 345). We may waive that point. But, while the record is, no doubt, an early fabrication and may quite possibly refer to a real grant, the bad shapes of the characters, and the irregularities in the writing, — which are not affected in their general features by the fact that the lithograph is a manipulated reproduction, and not an actual facsimile, — suffice to shew that the record is not the original, synchronous, and official voucher for the matters set forth in it. And it must, therefore, be finally stamped as spurious.

[78] This village still exists, under the same name, in the Châmrâjnagar tâluka of the Mysore district.

[79] Their names, *etc.*, are not put forward.

[80] Tîrthahaḷḷi is the head-quarters of the Tîrthahaḷḷi tâluka in the Shimoga district, on the north bank of the river Tuṅgâ, about thirty-five miles above its confluence with the Bhadrâ. The Bhîmankaṭṭi *math* is four miles higher up the river, above Tîrthahaḷḷi (see *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II. p. 486). And the passage defining the boundaries enables us, with the help of the details shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827), to locate just there the Munivrindakshêtra, which is defined as being, amongst other things, on the west of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, meaning here the Tungâ) as it flows to the north.

[81] According to the popular view, as exhibited in the Native almanacs of the present day, the era of Yudhishṭhira is the first three thousand and forty-four years of the Kaliyuga, that is to say, the period from the beginning of the present age in B. C 3102 to the commencement of the so-called Vikrama era in B.C. 58; see, for instance, the passages about eras in the introduction to Ganpat Krishnaji's *Pañchôṅg* for Śaka-Saṁvat 1799 (expired), = A. D. 1877-78. On the other hand, according to the astronomer Vriddha-Garga, as reported by Varâhamihira (died A. D. 587) in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, xiii. 2, the duration of the era of Yudhishṭhira was two thousand five hundred and twenty-six years; and Kalhaṇa, quoting Varâhamihira's verse in his *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, i. 56, shews, by a previous verse, 52, that by him at least, in A. D. 1148-49, it was understood that the era began (and the commencement of the reign of Yudhishṭhira took place) two thousand five hundred and twenty-six years before the commencement of the Śaka era in A. D. 77; that is to say, that the era began in B. C. 2449 or 2448 (see Vol. XVIII. above, p. 66). The mention of the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara* in the date put forward in this record, shews that the date was put together according to the popular view, with B. C. 3102 as the commencement of the era. — Buchanan has mentioned two inscriptions at the temple of Madhukêśvara at Banawâsi in North Kanara, of which, according to the accounts of them given to him, one is dated in the year 168 of the era of Yudhishṭhira and claims that

Vol. IV. above, p. 333; and see Vol. I. p. 378, *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscrs.* No. 30, *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 251 and Introd. p. 70, and *Mysore* (revised edition), Vol. II. p. 427.

42. — **The Bêgûr plates**, which claim that, at the beginning of the *sarpayâga* or snake-sacrifice, Janamêjaya granted **ten villages**[82] to a thousand and three-hundred Brâhmaṇs[83] of Bêgûru in the northern Eḍenâḍu seventy in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province. — See Vol. VIII. above, p. 91, *Mysore Inscrs.* Introd. p. 70, and *Mysore* (revised edition), Vol. II. p. 427.

43. — **The Kuppagaḍḍe or Sorab plates**, which claim that, at the point of the snake-sacrifice called *pûrṇâhutisamaya*, Janamêjaya granted **the ten villages which constituted the village of Pushpagaḍḍe**[84] to two thousand Brâhmaṇs[85] of Pushpagaḍḍe in the Eḍenâḍu seventy in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province.[86] — See Vol. I. above, p. 375, Vol. VIII. p. 91, *P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 32, *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 238 and Introd. p. 70, and *Mysore* (revised edition), Vol. II. p. 427.

44. — **The Gauj or Anantapur plates**, which claim that, at the point of the snake-sacrifice called *pûrṇâhutitadaṅgasamaya*, Janamêjaya granted **the twelve villages which constituted the village of Gautamagrâma**[87] to thirty-two thousand Brâhmaṇs[88] of Gautamagrâma in the Sântaḷige

a grant of land to the god Madhukanâtha was made by 'Simhunna Bupa' of the family of Yudhishṭhira, and the other is dated in Vikrama-Saṁvat 96 (*Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. III. p. 231). He has also mentioned (*ibid.*) three inscriptions at Baḷagâmi in Mysore, of which two were represented to him as being dated in the reign of Yudhishṭhira himself, and the third was represented as being dated in Śâlivahana-Śaka-Saṁvat 90 in the reign of 'Trenetra Cadumba' And he has said (*ibid.* p. 411) that the Jains of Śravaṇa-Belgola gave him a copy, on palm-leaves, of what they said was a copy of a record on copper dated Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 600 in the reign of 'Râjá Mulla, king of the South.' It is difficult, however, to say whether these statements really indicate the existence of any such spurious records, or whether they are simply based on ignorant or fraudulent readings of genuine records of probably about the eleventh century A. D., or on gratuitous insertions or additions as in the case of the imaginary date inserted in a reading of one of the Kôlhâpur inscriptions (see page 206 f. above). — Mr. Sewell has mentioned an inscription on stone at 'Vupputuru,' in the Kistna district, "professing to date from the 2,000th year of the Kaliyuga, and to be a grant of a village by "Triṇetra Pallava" (*Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 85). We have, however, no further details of it.

[82] The full text of this record has not been published; and so the names of the ten villages are not yet available for identification. There is, however, no reason for expecting to find them anywhere except in the immediate neighbourhood of Bêgûr itself, which is in the Shikârpur tâluka of the Shimoga district.

[83] Names, *etc.*, are put forward only in respect of four of them.

[84] As can be recognised from an identification of some of the ten villages themselves, and of some of the surrounding villages named in the passage defining the boundaries of them, Pushpagaḍḍe was the former name of Kuppagaḍḍe itself, which is in the Sorab tâluka of the Shimoga district.

[85] Names, *etc.*, are put forward only in respect of four of them.

[86] In Vol. I above, p. 375, this record is represented as claiming to have been issued in "the year 111." That, however, is only based on a supposition that, in the expression *katakamutkalita*, the syllables *ka, ta, ka* mean 1, 1, 1, according to the Katapayâdi system (for which, see Vol. IV above, p. 207). In the same way, a suggestion has been made that the *ka, ta, ka, m* imply 1, 1, 1, 5, giving a clue to Śaka-Samvat 1115 (expired), = A. D. 1193-94, as the real date of the concoction of this record and some others in which the same expression occurs (see *Mysore Inscrs.* Introd. p. 71, and *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II. p. 427). But we have no reason to suspect anything of the kind. — It seems, by the way, doubtful now, whether the above-mentioned expression should be divided, as hitherto, into *katakam* and *utkalita*, 'unbound, loosened, opened, blossoming, appearing,' *etc.*, or whether we should divide it into *kaṭaka* and *mutkalita*, — a word with the sense of 'sent, impelled,' which Prof. Tawney has brought to notice in his translation of the *Kathâkôśa*, Pref. p. 22. In either case, however, the meaning is simply "a camp was pitched," as remarked on a previous occasion (Vol. XIV. above, p. 141).

[87] As can be recognised from an identification of nearly all the surrounding villages named in defining the boundaries of the property that is claimed, Gautamagrâma is the modern Gauj itself, which is in the Shikârpur tâluka of the Shimoga district.

[88] Names, *etc.*, are put forward only in respect of four of them. — These thirty-two thousand Brâhmaṇs of Gautamagrâma are a reproduction or imitation of the thirty-two-thousand Brâhmaṇs or *Mahâjanas* of Tâlgund, in the Shikârpur tâluka, who are mentioned in records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. at Tâḷgund: the records speak of them as *dvâtriṁśat-sahasra-dvija-samâja*, "the congregation of thirty-two-thousand Brâhmaṇs" (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 219, line 46-47, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 192), and *mûvattirchchhâsirvar=mahâjanamgal*, "the thirty-two-thousand *Mahâjanas*" (*ibid.* line 53), of Sthâṇuguḍhagrâma-(Tâḷgund); and one of them (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 221, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 196) attributes the origin of them to "thirty-two households of Brâhmaṇs (*vipra*), purified by twelve-thousand *agnihôtra*-sacrifices," whom Mukkaṇṇa-Kaḍamba brought to the south from the *agrahâra* of Ahichchhattra and established at the great *agrahâra* of Sthâṇuguḍhapura, which he made.

thousand in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province.[89] — See Vol. I. above, p. 377, and the text and lithograph in Vol. III. p. 268, Vol. VIII. p. 91, *P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 31, *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 232 and Introd. p. 70, and *Mysore* (revised edition), Vol. II. p. 427.

45. — **The Gaṭṭavâḍi stone inscription**, which claims that, during the reign or rule of a certain Erehavemmaḍi, the village-headman and others[90] of Goṭṭevâḍi united for, apparently, the purpose of **defining and marking out lands that were set apart as remuneration for the duties of the office of village-headman,** in the Aṅgiras *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 111, by mistake for 114 (expired), in A. D. 192-93. — Published, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 199; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 301, note 1 (No. 1).

46. — **The Tagaḍûru plates,** which claim that Harivarman (alleged Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ), granted to the son of a village-headman, as a reward for prowess displayed in the battle of Heñjeṟu, **a village named Abbâgâl**[91] in the Toṟebaḍagarenâḍu *vishaya*, in the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 188 expired, by mistake for 170 expired, in A. D. 249.[92] — Published, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 122; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 301, note 1 (No. 2).

47. — **The Muḍiyanûr plates,** which claim that Malladêva-Nandivarman (alleged Bâṇa) granted to twenty-five Brâhmaṇs[93] **the village of Muḍiyanûr**[94] in the Hodali *vishaya*, in the Vilambin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 261 (current), in A. D. 338. — Published, Vol. XV. above, p. 172; and see Vol. XVII. p. 339, and Vol. XXIV. p. 10, No. 167. — This record is, in part at any rate, a palimpsest.

48. — **The Harihar plates,** which claim that an unnamed son of Vishṇugôpa (alleged Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ) granted to the son of a village-headman, in recognition of some service rendered by him in apparently the battle of Heñjeṟu,[95] **the village of Dêvanûr**[96] in the Kârenâḍ district, in the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*, coupled with, apparently, Śaka-Saṁvat 272 (expired), in A. D. 351. — Published, Vol. VII. above, p. 173; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 293, Vol. XXIV. above, p. 181, No. 4, note 3, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 159 (No. 2), 162, 170, and Vol. VI. p. 74.

49. — **The plates, in the Museum at Bangalore,** which claim that Vîra-Noṇamba (alleged Châlukya of Kalyâṇapura) granted to a leading banker or merchant of a village named **Haluhâḍi**[97] in the Kundunâdu seventy in the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand province, in recognition of prowess displayed in the battle of Heñjeṟu, **some lands** (at that village), in the Târaṇa *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 366 (expired), in A. D. 445. — Published, Vol. VIII. above, p. 94; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 296 and Introd. p. 70, *Mysore* (revised edition), Vol. II. p. 427. Vol. XXIV. above, p. 9, No. 163, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 467.

50. — **The Mallohaḷḷi plates,** which claim that Koṅgaṇirâja or Koṅgaṇimahârâja, son of Mâdhava II. (alleged Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **some land** which is perhaps

[89] In Vol. I. above, p. 377, this record, also, is represented as having been issued in "the year 111" Note 86 above, however, applies here again.

[90] No names are put forward.

[91] The name Toṟebaḍagarenâḍu means "the district on the north bank of the river." The village claimed, Abbâgâl, is either Chik-Abbâgâlu or Doḍ-Abbâgâlu, near the north bank of the Kâvêrî, and about four miles on the east of Sosile which is in the Tirumakûḍlu-Narasîpur tâluka of the Mysore district

[92] Or, we might say, "in Śaka-Samvat 188 expired, in A. D. 267. coupled with the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* by mistake for the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*"

[93] Names, *etc.*, are put forward only in respect of four of them.

[94] Some of the place-names mentioned in this record are not unique. But, as was pointed out by Mr. Rice (Vol. XV. above, pp. 172, 174), the village claimed is Muḍiyanûr itself, in the Mulbâgal tâluka of the Kôlâr district.

[95] The text has *He[ñ]jeṟan=iṟidhu(du)*, "having pierced Heñjeṟu."

[96] As was pointed out by Mr. Rice (Vol VII. above, p. 171), this is Dêvanûr in the Nañjangûḍ tâluka of the Mysore district.

[97] This is, most probably, the 'Halvadi' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 60, S. W. (1893), in the Maṇḍya tâluka of the Mysore district.

specified as lying below the tank of a village named Milur, in the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, the twenty-ninth year of his reign. — Published, Vol. V. above, p. 136; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 289, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 160 (No. 3), 162.

51. — **The plates, in the Museum at Bangalore,** which claim to record a charter issued, in the third year of his reign, by Koṅgaṇimahârâja, son of Koṅgaṇimahâdhirâja son of Mâdhava II. (alleged Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ): the concluding portion of this record is said to be quite illegible; but the last words of the legible portion make it practically certain that it claimed to record **a grant of some kind or another** to a Brâhmaṇ who was a resident of a town named Mahâsênapura.[98] — Published, Vol. VII. above, p. 174; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 294, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 160 (No. 5).

52. — **The Mallohaḷḷi plates,** which claim that Durvinîta (alleged Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **a property called Îśvarasthâna at a village named Bempur**[99] in the Keḷale *nâḍ*, in the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, the thirty-fifth year of his reign. — Published, Vol. V. above, p. 138; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 291, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 160 (No. 6), 163.

53. — **The Hosûr plates,** which claim that Satyâśraya, *i. e.* Pulakêśin II. (Western Chalukya of Bâdâmi), at the request of an alleged daughter or son named Ambêrâ or Ambêra, granted to thirty-one Brâhmaṇs[100] **a village named Periyâḷa** in the Koṇikal *vishaya.* — Published, Vol. VIII. above, p. 96, with a lithograph in Vol. IX. p. 304; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 298, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 358, note 1.

54. — **The Haḷḷegere plates,** which claim that Śivamâra I. (Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ) built a bridge or dam across the Kiḷine river on the north of Keregôḍu in the Keṛegôḍu *vishaya*,[101] and took two villages named Kodugoḷa and Beḷkare on the south of that river and two villages named Bembampâḷ or Bembappâḷ and Puṇusepaṭṭi on the north of the river, and made of them **a village named Pallavataṭâka,** and divided that new village into sixty-six shares, which he then granted to thirty-one Brâhmaṇs, in Śaka-Saṁvat 635 expired, in A. D. 713, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign. — Published, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 301, note 1 (No. 3).

55. — **The plates, in the British Museum,** which claim that a certain Eregaṅga, who may be represented as a governor under Śivamâra I. (Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ) or may perhaps be intended for Śivamâra I. himself, divided into three shares and granted to Brâhmaṇs[102] **a village named Panekôḍupâḍi,**[103] which — (we must understand from the record) — was in either the Toṛenâḍu five-hundred, or the Koṅgaḷnâḍ two-thousand,[104] or the Male thousand. — Published, Vol. XIV. above, p. 229; and see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 160 (No. 9), 163, 169.

56. — **The Hosûr plates,** which claim that Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa (Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ) granted to a Brâhmaṇ **some lands at four villages named Eḷaṁ-Gûḍalûr, Maṛiyâchi-Gûḍalûr, Paṛuvi, and Śrîpura,** in Śaka-Saṁvat 684 expired, in A. D. 762. —

[98] This town is mentioned again, as the residence of one of the alleged grantees, in the Haḷḷegere plates, No. 54 below. The name may be another form of the name Kârttikêyapuram, which occurs in the case of a village in the Kârveṭinagar zamîndârî in the North Arcot district, Madras, or it may be the Sanskṛitised form of some vernacular name now beginning with *doḍḍa* or *hirê*.

[99] This may be 'Bevur' in the Closepet tâluka of the Bangalore district; or it may be 'Begur,' in the Nelamaṅgala tâluka of the same district.

[100] No names are given; we are only told that thirteen of them belonged to the Âtrêya *gôtra*, five to the Kauśika *gôtra*, three to the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, three to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*, three more to the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, two to the Śâvaṇṇika (Sâvarṇika) *gôtra*, one to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and one to the Śaunaka *gôtra*.

[101] It seems likely that the Keṛegôḍu of this record is Keregôḍu in the Maṇḍya tâluka of the Mysore district.

[102] The original actually says "to the Kâsapa (Kâśyapa) *gôtra*," — meaning, no doubt, to some Brâhmaṇs belonging to that *gôtra*, no other details are given.

[103] This is probably the modern 'Hanagod,' on the Lakshmaṇtîrtha river, in the Huṇsûr tâluka of the Mysore district.

[104] This was really an eight-thousand province, see page 208 above.

Published, *Madras Jour. Lit. Sc.*, 1878, p. 138; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 284. Vol. XXIV. above, p. 11, No. 171, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 160 (No. 7), 170, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 302, note 2.

57. — **The Dêvarhaḷḷi plates,** — formerly known as the Nâgamaṅgala plates, — which claim that Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa (Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ), at the request of Paramagûḷa-Prithuvi-Nîrgundarâja, granted for the purposes of a Jain temple called Lôkatilaka[105] founded by Kundâchchi, wife of Paramagûḷa-Prithuvi-Nîrgundarâja, at a town or village named Śrîpura, **a village named Ponnaḷḷi** in the Nîrgunda *vishaya*, in Śaka-Saṁvat 698 expired, in A. D. 776-77, in the fiftieth year of his reign. — Published, Vol. II. above, p. 155, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ng. 85; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 287, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 160 (No. 8), 163, 164.

58.—**The Gañjâm plates,** which claim that, with the consent of the *Yuvarâja* Mârasiṁha-Ereyappa, alleged son of Śivamâra II. (Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ), two alleged Pallava princes Nijarâma and Nayadhîra, sons of Kali-Noḷambâdhirâja-Kolliyarasa, granted to a Brâhmaṇ **a village named Tipperûr.** — Published, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160.

59. — **The Gaḷigêkere plates,** which claim that Raṇavikramayya, alleged son of Râjamalla Western Gaṅga of Taḷakâḍ), granted to a Brâhmaṇ **a village named Koḷa-Nellûr.** — Published, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yd. 60.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 183.)

CHAPTER IX.

Medinian Revelations up till the Battle of Badr.

FEATURES common to Meccan and Medinian revelations — Differences of both classes — Muhammed's attitude towards the Jews — Revelations of the period.

The features common to Meccan and Medinian revelations are few but important. They comprise — similarity of diction and form, the same aggressiveness of tone, the tenets of the religion and the doctrines of its ethical code. If we had no other critical aid, it would frequently be quite impossible to distinguish between Medinian and later Meccan revelations. Moslim authors on the subject are unreliable, if not directly misleading, and the anecdotes which they relate in connection with many revelations must be received with caution. Medinian addresses, like the Meccan ones, abound in declamatory, narrative, and parabolical passages. Many of these have been handed down as Medinian, though it is doubtful if they should so be classified, and there is not sufficient evidence to justify their removal from their present position in the official text. The legislative revelations are less difficult to place, as those bearing on ritual (except some on prayer and almsgiving), or legal matters are of distinctly Medinian origin.

The Medinian portions of the *Qorân* must not be criticised from the same standpoint as the Meccan ones, on account of the altered circumstances under which they appeared. It is impossible to get a clear insight into the events connected with the Meccan sermons; therefore so far as they are concerned, we have no satisfactory background to work upon. The case is different as regards the Medinian revelations, which are illustrated by facts recorded in exegetical and historical works. Unfortunately the authors of these works were remarkable for religious zeal, rather than for their capacity for distinguishing between truth and fiction, whilst many of the authorities on whom they relied were not always veracious. Thus, a large number of Medinian revelations have been linked with persons and

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[105] No individual grantee is named, unless we are to understand that the village was actually conveyed to the Jain priest Vimalachandrâchârya, at whose suggestion the grant purports to have been made or the temple was built.

affairs with which, in reality, they had no connection, whilst the resemblance between various military expeditions is responsible for a certain confusion which defies all attempts at disentanglement. We may hope to be more successful in matters exegetical, and it must be conceded that the better a passage is understood the greater is the chance of ascertaining to what it refers, and the place to which it belongs in the order of revelations.

Another difference between the two chief portions of the *Qorân* is due to the change which had taken place in the author himself. His aims were not precisely the same as they had been. Whilst the teachings promulgated in Mecca affected the church exclusively, many of the Medinian ones were devoted to the organisation of the State. Without the Hijra Islâm would probably never have outstepped the limits of a religious sect, and might at best have lingered on within an insignificant and powerless minority. **Muhammed's merit as founder of the State is not less than as the creator of the faith.** The most powerful ethical idea cannot be effective for any length of time, unless it is established on a material basis, because those who are called upon to uphold and propagate it, are in most cases actuated by personal interests and inclinations. The people who will accept the true and the ideal for its own intrinsic value alone are rare, but many will receive it when tendered in a gilded casing, or when they are compelled to do so. In Medina, Islâm was fortunate enough to be able to employ both methods in the furtherance of its objects, and this is the secret of its rapid progress all along the line.

Finally, in contradistinction to the Meccan revelations, the Medinian ones unfold the network of **the hierarchic constitution**, comprising religious as well as administrative measures. Under the care of Moslim theologians it developed into a minutely worked out code of laws which, similarly to the Jewish one, holds the whole life of the believer under its sway, drawing purely legal matters within the province of religious decision. The first impulse towards this course of action in Islâm was, however, given by Muhammed himself. For, without it he would not have been able to achieve the most urgent reforms. By intermixing juridical expositions with pastoral admonitions[76] he placed the former above the ancient customs of his country.

There are, however, other circumstances, which could not fail to affect the general tone of Muhammed's utterances as soon as he entered the precincts of his new abode. Having been invited to come by many of the leading citizens, his life was not only safe, but he became possessed of a worldly power which was absolute within the circle of his admirers. His wish was a command, his censure condemnation. Speaking with the authority of a man who was blindly obeyed, his eloquence lost its excited character, and assumed the calm tone of a legislator. "Obedience to Allâh and His Messenger" is the *Leitmotiv* of nearly all Medinian speeches.

As for the new adversaries of Islâm, they were divided into two large groups of very different nature. Those Arabs who adhered to the old pagan belief were not such fanatic opponents as the Meccans, because Islâm endangered no institution which was a source of wealth or influence to them. Only sundry chiefs, who feared that the spread of Islâm might deprive them of their power, offered individually an obstinate resistance. Many antagonists belonging to this class, not having the courage to resist the growth of Islâm openly, agitated against it secretly, whilst showing outward submission, but even they saw the power slip gradually out of their hands. It did not take the Prophet long to recognise the real attitude of **the "Hypocrites,"** as he styled them, and the trouble they gave him during the whole remainder of his life is faithfully reflected in the virulent rebuffs he administered to them from time to time.

The foes Muhammed feared most were **the three Jewish clans**, which had settled in and around Medina. Circumstances had not only favoured the spread of their faith among the Arabs, but had also drawn the ties of kinship closer through intermarriage with their pagan compatriots. By keeping in touch with their religious literature they had gradually acquired the leadership in spiritual matters, and they still maintained it, although their temporal influence had received a severe check shortly before Muhammed crossed their path.[77]

[76] Cf. Qor. ii. 282 sqq. and often

[77] *Beitraege*, p. 47 *sqq*.

Wherever the Jews wandered, in the *Diaspora*, they took with them at least those portions of the Old Testament, which form part of the liturgy. These not only comprise the Pentateuch, but also such sections of the Prophets, as were selected for Haftârôth, the Psalms[78] and the Five Scrolls.[79] One of the consequences of this practice was the preservation of the Hebrew language both for prayer and study, and however much most Jews of the Ḥijâz may have adopted manners and customs of the Arabs, and although many lived in great ignorance,[80] Hebrew was never forgotten among them. Of this unmistakeable evidence exists. From a tradition repeated on various occasions by AlBokhâri[81] we gather, that the Jews in Arabia read the Tôrâh in Hebrew, but interpreted the same to the Moslims in Arabic. — From this, first of all, we may conclude, that the Pentateuch — probably the whole of the Old Testament — was studied and publicly interpreted in the [Bêth] "Midrâs."[82] When Muhammed heard of this, he was so perplexed, that he did not know, at first, what policy to pursue. He therefore simply forbade his followers either to confirm or to refute the Jewish interpretation, giving as his reason that the Jews had alteıed the law, written the Tôrâh with their own hands, and stamped the same as God's original work.[83] The less discreet Abu Bakr, however, could not abstain from entering the shoool-house by force and assaulting the Rabbi engaged in teaching.[84] From these traditions which receive confirmation from yet another one,[85] we gather, that the Jews in Medina not only practiced writing, but made copies of the Tôrâh, and endeavoured to work upon the Moslims in private and public discussions. From the concluding words of the tradition mentioned above, as well as from many verses of the *Qorân*, it is certain that they also had at their disposal the Mishnâh, which is traced back by Rabbinical teaching to oral communication given to Moses on Sinai as a supplement to the written Law."[86]

From several almost literal quotations from the O. T. in the *Qorân* the question arose, whether an Arabic translation of the former existed in Arabia. Whilst Sprenger[87] is convinced that this was the case, or that at any rate certains portions of it had been translated, Prof. De Goeje, in a recent article,[88] arrives at a negative result. The latter theory is undoubtedly correct. Had such a version existed, Muhammed would have certainly succeeded in procuring one, and his renditions of Biblical passages would consequently have been more verbal, and less intermixed with *agâdic* ornamentation. Since this was not the case, we must assume that he gained the bulk of his Biblical knowledge from intercourse with the people. In his earlier years he may have had opportunities of seeing Hebrew books, but, not being a skilled reader, misread several words.[89] These he subsequently rendered in a corrupt fashion. He had scarcely set foot in Medina, when he took pains to display before the Jews a grand knowledge of the Bible and later Jewish writings, which he had picked up secretly.

It is almost certain that the Jews in Arabia were acquainted with an Aramaic version — either Targûm or P'shîttâ — of the Pentateuch. Through Talmudical channels Aramaic elements penetrated their religious terminology, and even their name **Yahûd** is an Aramaic form.[90] We may gather from

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[78] The Tôrâh and Psalms are further mentioned in the verses of the Jewish poet AlSammâk in his dirge on Ka'b b. al Ashraf who had been assassinated by order of Muhammed. *Cf.* R. E. J. VIII. p. 22.

[79] As to Canticles *cf.* Ch. II. [80] *Qôran*, ii. 73. [81] IV. pp. 221, 250.

[82] Hish. p 362 Through misunderstanding on the part of some traditionists the term *midrâs* is applied to the lecturing Rabbi, Hish. pp. 354 and 378; *cf. Beitr.* p. 52.

[83] Bokh. *ibid.*; according to *Qôr.* ii. 73. [84] Hish. *ibid.*; R. E. J. *ibid.* p 13

[85] Hish. p. 393. The Jews made Muhammed umpire in an adultery case, but opinions disagreeing, Abd Allâh b. Salâm (see below) had a copy of the Tôrâh brought, and pointed the verse out which commanded the culprit to be stoned; *Beitr.* p. 54. Although this tradition must be taken with caution, because of its tendency to make Abd Allâh prominent, the kernel seems to be genuine. [86] Abôth, I. 1. [87] *L. c.* I. p. 132.

[88] *Semitic Studies* in memory of Dr. A. Kohut, p 180 *sq.* The quotations given in this article as well as in that of M. Schreiner, *ibid.* p. 495 *sqq.*, only give a small fraction of the material existing on this question. — Ps. cxi. 10; *cf.* AlMaıdâni, *Ar. Prov.* iii. p. 29 بَدْءُ الحكمة خوف الرّب Prov. i. 7; Cantic. v. 2; *cf.* Hish. p. 375, *Kâmil* ed Wright, pp. 77, 741; AlShahr. p. 165 *l.* 2 fr. b. = Deutr. xxxiii. 2. The same verse, differently translated, see Schreiner, *ibid.* p 503, acccording to Almâ verdi. *Cf.* Ibn Ḥazm, Pt. I., who gives numerous translations from the Pentateuch, and J Q. R. xiii. p. 222 *sqq.*

[89] See Ch. I. [90] See Ch. II.; also *sabt* (Sabbath) represents the Aramaic form.

this that the Arab Jews possibly exercised a certain indirect influence on the construction of the Talmud. Some paragraphs in the Mishnâh refer exclusively to the Jews of the Peninsula. It was considered lawful for them to live in Bedouin tents,[91] and their women were permitted to go out on Sabbath wearing a veil.[92] The Talmud also alludes to the custom of circumcision among Arabs,[93] and twice mentions Arab foot gear.[94]

The maintenance of the spiritual — and probably also commercial — intercourse with the centres of Jewish culture in Palestine and Babylon prevented the process of assimilation beyond the external conditions of life, although as far as these were concerned it was complete. At this period the Jewish standard prayers had long been settled, and it is certain that they also constituted the prayers of the Arab Jews, probably in the original Hebrew. These Jews, however, did not produce any liturgical compositions of their own, at least none survive either in Hebrew or in Arabic. But they have left a large number of poems in pure Arabic, containing a few allusions to Biblical books.[95] Otherwise these poems do not differ in style and tone from those of the pagan Arabs, and are of about the same stamp. Finally it is to be remarked that they preferred Arab names to Hebrew ones, and in a list handed down by Ibn Isḥâq only few specifically Jewish names are to be found.[96] This corresponds to a custom found among Jews everywhere in the diaspora, but in Arabia it was more prevalent, because they numbered among themselves many proselytes who did not change their names or those of their children when converted.

There is a good deal of evidence that the art of writing was practised to some extent among the **Jews of North Arabia**, and that not only they themselves wrote Arabic in Hebrew square characters but also several Christian Arab tribes who lived near Syria.[97] Other Arab reports trace the invention of the Arab alphabet back to the same origin.[98] A tradition handed down in the name of Zeid b. Thâbit, Muhammed's secretary, informs us that the latter ordered him to learn the *kitâb*[99] of the Jews, which he did in two weeks so satisfactorily, that he wrote to the Jews [letters dictated to him by Muhammed] and read the letters they wrote to him. From this we can safely conclude that in North Arabia Arabic was written in square characters long before any other form was used, and it is only in continuance of this custom that Jewish authors of Arabic works during the Middle Ages used the same. The majority of Jews living at present in Arabic-speaking countries have little or no notion of the Arabic alphabet.

In spite of the wealth and influence ascribed to **the Arab Jews**, they could never forget that they were living in exile; for before the rise of Islâm they were frequently reminded of this fact by buffets and petty tyrannies.[100] This position must have been anything but pleasant, because they were always longing for Messianic deliverance. The two Arab tribes of AlAus and AlKhazraj, their fellow-citizens in Medina, were perpetually at loggerheads, and the various Jewish inhabitants were distributed on both sides. Being rather inclined to peaceful handicraft, palm-culture, and trade, these everlasting feuds and occasional raids on their property were not to their taste, and they used to say: "The time is near, when a prophet is to come, whom we will follow, and with his help we will defeat you."[1] Moslim tradition connects this word of hope somewhat remotely with Muhammed, and it is possible, that the rumours of the new prophet, which had reached the ears of the inhabitants of Medina, were looked upon by some Jews as the culmination of their hopes. But the essence of the tradition is probably only an echo of some paragraphs in the Jewish prayer-book which refer to a Messianic future. However, as soon as the Medinian Jews heard of the Meccan prophet, they considered it

[91] Ohol. xviii. 10.

[92] Sabb. vi. 4.

[93] Abôd. Zar. 27vo; Yeb. 11vo. Arabs called "Tayyittes" because the tribe of Tayy was the one nearest to Babylon (*cf Beitr*. p. 49).

[94] Yeb am. 102ro; Sabb. 112vo.

[95] *Cf Beitr*. p. 61.

[96] *Cf*. R. E. J. VIII. p. 11.

[97] *Cf*. Renan, *Hist. des lang. Sém*. I. p 348; Sprenger, *l. c*. I. p. 131.

[98] *Fihrist*, p. 4, where groups of Hebrew (or Syriac) letters are mistaken for names of persons.

[99] Evidently not "book," but "writing." The tradition is given Khamîs, I. p. 464.

[100] *E. g*., by the Ghassanide prince Abu Jubeila (about 500) and by AlḤârith b. Abi Shamir who pillaged Kheibar (about 530); *cf*. R. E. J. VII. pp. 172-5.

[1] Hish. 286 and 374.

worth while to make enquiries concerning his person and mission, but the accounts of these enquiries and their results as given by tradition are so eccentric that they deserve little credence,[2] at least as regards many of the details. Now if the Medinian Jews were interested in Muhammed, he was at least equally concerned about them, and sought to win them over either by persuasion or force. Shortly before the Hijra six Medinian Arabs made a pilgrimage to Mecca. Muhammed at once questioned them whether they were friends of the Jews.[3] When invited in the following year to emigrate to Medina, it appears that one of the conditions made by Muhammed was that the alliances with the Jews should be dissolved.[4] From the resistance which Muhammed experienced from the Meccans who were ignorant in religious matters, he could easily gauge what a struggle was in store for him with the "People of the Book." The friendly sentiment he expressed towards the Jews in some of the earliest Medinian revelations[5] seems to have been an attempt to soothe a dangerous rival, rather than a desire to show sympathy for a cognate faith. Also the Jews on their part are said to have made enquiries about the new Messias, but what they had learnt on this occasion, as well as what they found out later on personal observation, showed that a struggle was imminent. Muhammed's having come to Medina by invitation must have led him to believe that the pagan population of that city would be won over with comparative ease. He was aware that the Jews lived in exile, and languished under the wrath of Allâh. This conviction furnished him the cue for remonstrances, and he was not loth to remind them as often as possible that they were "cursed." The alleged friendly attitude Muhammed assumed towards the Jews is peculiarly illustrated in the following list of abusive titles which he hurled at them during the Medinian period : —

Sûra ii. 6.[6] Allâh has sealed their hearts.
8. They try to deceive Allâh.
9.[7] In their hearts is sickness.
11.[8] Doers of evil.
13.[9] Satans.
15.[10] Those who buy error for guidance.
17.[11] Deaf, dumb and blind.
82.[12] Allâh has cursed them.
259. Their patrons are Ṭâgût.[13]
iii. 177. They have murdered the prophets undeservedly.[14]
iv. 53. They devise lies against Allâh.[15]
v. 85. The bitterest foes of the Believers.
xlvii. 27. Those who turn their backs, after guidance has been manifested to them.
lvii. 15. Allâh is wrath with them.

In addition to these unflattering epithets we have to mention others of a more general character such as : "Those who disbelieve," which refers to Jews and Christians indiscriminately, or "the Possessors of the Book," those to whom the Book (or the "Knowledge") was given, and finally : "The worst of beasts in the eyes of Allâh are the unbelievers " (viii. 57)."[16]

One of the most frequent of the derogatory descriptions of the Jews is that "Allâh has cursed them." With this Muhammed evidently wished to show off his acquaintance whith those passages of

[2] *Cf.* R. E. J. *ib.* p. 191 *sq.* [3] Hish 286-8 ; 293. [4] *Ibid.* 296. [5] *Q.* ii. 49 ; *cf.* v 73.

[6] Already in Meccan revelations, *e. g.*, vi. 46; *cf.* xlii. 23 with the variation: "sealed his hearing," xlv. 22.

[7] Only in Medinian passages. This confirms the verses lxxiv. 31-34 to be *Medinian*. *Cf.* Isaiah i. 5.

[8] *Cf.* V. 201; v. 69 and xvii. 4, altogether about 30 times in the *Qorân*.

[9] See Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, p 106 *sq.*

[10] With the variation: "they barter my signs away for a little price," ii. 38, 73, 169; v. 48, 105; ix. 97 *cf.* Romans i. 25.

[11] *Cf.* V. 166, xlvii. 25. Ḥassân b. Thâbit, *Diw.* p. 45, l. 8, فهم عمي من التورية بور

[12] With the variation : "the curse of Allâh is upon the infidels," ii. 83 and often, *cf.* iv. 55, xlvii. 25.

[13] *Cf.* V. 65. [14] *Cf.* ii. 85, iii., 77; Lam. ii. 20; Matth. xxiii. 34.

[15] *Cf* iii. 88 ; also vi. 21, 93, 145 (Meccan), *etc.* [16] Refers also to the Jews, *cf* iv 54-5 and below.

the Pentateuch which deal with the subject,[17] in order to impress upon them the feeling that they were forsaken by God, but had now an opportunity of being redeemed if they acknowledged his mission.

After these preliminary remarks we now enter upon the discussion of **the Medinian revelations**, and begin with those which, form *Sûra* ii., and which, according to both ancieant and modern authors, represent the oldest speeches held in Medina. As to the first section (vv. 1-19*a*) the Moslim Commentators leave undecided whether it refers to the Jews or "Hypocrites,"[18] but since the latter are not mentioned in the whole of the *sûra* at all, it is probable that in the section in question the former are alluded to.[19] It is hardly likely that these "Hypocrites" were prominent at that time. Cant is always slow to detect. Those Medinians who, from political motives, had embraced Islâm whilst waiting an opportunity to shake it off again, were careful to appear as good Moslims in Muhammed's eyes, and we cannot wonder if he was somewhat credulous. A positive evidence, however, also exists that the verses in question refer to the Jews.[20] Verse 6 is a reproduction of Isaiah vi. 6, and vv. 10-11 repeat the old reproach launched against the "Sons of Israel" in a Meccan revelation (xvii. 4). Finally the phrase (v. 12), "shall we believe as fools believe?," evidently reproduces words actually spoken by some Jews who ridiculed Muhammed, whilst the "Satans" (v. 13) represent the Rabbis who abetted such behaviour. The two parables, with which the address concludes, are similar in tendency to that which precedes.

The portion following (vv. 19*b*-37) is in no way connected with the address just discussed, since v. 24 in which the use of the minutest animals in illustration of parables[21] is justified, cannot refer to *mathals* mentioned in the verses 16-19*a* which deal with fire and lightning. Nöldeke is inclined to reckon this address as belonging to the Meccan period, but the renewed challenge (v. 21), to produce anything like the *Qorân*, is evidently directed against the Jews. In v. 25 Muhammed denounced certain practices of the Jews, it having appeared to him that they had broken laws laid down in the Tôrâh.[22] This was the old reproach of having altered the Law, and it gave Muhammed an opportunity of saying that they "did evil on earth."[23] After this the story of Adam[24] is repeated with such details as could only be appreciated by a Jewish audience. The words: "We celebrate Thy praise and hallow Thee" (v. 28), recall the words of the "santification" in the Jewish prayer-book.[25] To this speech another is joined in which the **Banû Isrâîl** are addressed (vv. 38-58), but where the **Jews are meant.** They are told that they "recite the Book." This probably refers to the custom of reading portions of the Bible during public worship. They are also reminded of the miraculous delivery of their ancestors from Pharaoh's bondage (vv. 46-47), of Moses' forty days' stay on the mountain, of the making of the golden calf (v. 48),[26] and the grant of the protecting clouds, the Mannah and the quails. Then follows a verse (55) which has puzzled all interpreters, and has not even yet been satisfactorily explained.[27] I now believe that the Commentators are right in considering that the 'city' mentioned in the verse refers to Jerusalem, whilst the words, "enter ye the gate worshipping, and say *ḥiṭṭa*, we might forgive you your sins," describe the moment when the High Priest on the Day of Atonement entered the "Holy of Holies" in the Temple.[28] The word *ḥitta* is probably taken from the formula of confession of sins recorded in the Mishnâh (Yômâ iii. 8; iv. 2; vi. 2). The "alteration"[29] for which Jews are again blamed in connection with this matter is probably of liturgical character, since the formula just alluded to has a different text in the ordinary prayer-book, but Muhammed lost no opportunity of repeating the hackneyed reproach as often as possible.

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[17] Levit. xxvi. 14-43; Deut. xxvii. 15-26; xxviii. 15-66.

[18] V. 13 permits a reference to the "Hypocrites," but see v. 71.

[19] Nöldeke, *Q.*, p. 128, refers v. 1-19*a* (قدير) to the "Hypocrites" and therefore place the address in the earlier part of the year 2 H. — V. 8-9 and 13 need not be referred to the *munâfiqûn*, because they can just as well aim at the Jews.

[20] *Cf.* V. 17 and vi. 46.

[21] *Cf.* Ch. VIII.

[22] *Cf.* Ch. VIII.

[23] This expression probably caused the address to receive its place in the *sûra*.

[24] *Cf.* vii. 10-18, xv. 28-44, xvii 63-68, xx. 115, xxxviii 71, 86.

[25] So called *Qedûshâ*.

[26] See Geiger, *l. c.* pp. 154-5; *cf.* vii. 147-155. V. 52 was misunderstood by Geiger. In the *Qorân* it is the people who desire to see God, whilst Muhammed confounded Exod. xx. 19 with xxxiii. 18 and Numb. xvi. 33-35.

[27] My own previous endeavour (*Beitraege*, p. 54) included.

[28] Levit. xvi. 12; Mishnâ, *Yômâ*, v. 1. *Qor.* iv. 153: the same command is given in connection with the words "we held over them the mountain at their compact."

[29] The Commentaries endeavour to explain the "alteration" in a different way.

The compilers of the *Qorân* have placed between this address and the following one a verse (59) which stands detached, and represents an attempt to bring Jews,[30] Christians and "Sabaeans" on a line with Believers. The same verse, though shorter by a few words, occurs again in a longer speech (*S.* v. 73), where it has equally little connection with the text. The verse can only be explained as a casual remark made at a moment when Muhammed relaxed his hostile attitude, and hoped to win dissenting monotheists by kindness. It is very improbable that Muhammed spoke in this way more than once, or later than the second year. The verse is, therefore, instructive to show the way in which the *Qorân* was compiled. It was kept in memory, and communicated to the compilers in two slightly varying versions, which both had places allotted to them in Medinian speeches. There can be no doubt that the verses v. 71-88[31] also belong here, containing, as they do, a call to the prophet to preach, which resembles that in the earlier Meccan period. There was ample reason for the repetition of that call. In Mecca Muhammed had preached only to his own people. The Medinian audience, however, was less homogeneous, and included numerous Jews and Judaeo-Arabs. Lest these should imagine that his ministry was addressed exclusively to the pagan inhabitants of Medina, the "Messenger" is commanded to preach (v. 17); for if he did not do so, Allâh would not hold him free from men. The next verse shows that these words were also meant for the "Possessors of the Writ," who were sadly in want of a new message, since they neglected to "stand fast by the Tôrâh and the Gospel and what had been revealed to them by their Lord." The preacher is quite aware that his appeal will only increase their rebellion and unbelief, but must not feel annoyed at it (*ibid.*). As to the Jews, they had, in spite of the covenant made with them, either disbelieved, or murdered their prophets[32] (v. 74), being struck with blindness and deafness (75). In a similar manner the Christians fell into disbelief by identifying Allâh with the Masîḥ, whilst the latter had only taught them to worship Allâh, his and their Lord (v. 76). Allâh cannot be One of Three, but only One (v. 77), and the Son of Mary is but a Messenger like those before him (v. 79). One sees clearly that v. 73 forms a complete contrast to all verses just discussed, and owes its place among them only to some accident. The rest of the speech is in the same tone, except that in the last verse (85) the Jews are styled the bitterest foes of the Believers, whilst the Christians stand as "nearest in love to the Believers." This spark of kind feeling towards the Christians is undoubtedly due to the gratitude Muhammed felt for the King of Abyssinia for having protected a number of early Meccan Believers in Islâm. Muhammed perhaps flattered himself that this hospitality was only the beginning of still closer relations, and possibly an ultimate acceptance of Islâm. It is further probable that the words in question were also meant for the Christian Arabs, some of whom had been moved to tears when hearing recitations from the *Qorân* (v. 86). This assertion was probably based on a real incident out of which Muhammed made as much capital as possible (v. 87-88).

The address (*S.* ii. 60-77) which seems to come next consists of various sections, each of which begins with the phrase: We "took" a covenant with you (vv. 60, 77, 78, 87).[33] The whole sermon records laws given to the Israelites, but the speaker first recalls their transgression which brought about **the transformation of the desecrators of the Sabbath into apes** (v. 61). The interpretation of this verse has caused considerable embarrassment both to the traditionists and modern authors. Geiger has remarked that in Jewish writings no trace is to be found of such transformation.[34] The Talmud speaks of the transformation of a class of sinners into apes and evil spirits,[35] but I doubt whether Muhammed knew of this legend. The matter seems to me to rest on a misunderstanding on the part of the compilers, or those who copied the revelations from the original notes. The word in question, *qîradatah* [قِرَدَةٌ], is recorded in the dictionaries as plural of *qird*, meaning an **ape**. If we read *qirdân* [قِرْدَان], "vermin" (and in the architype of that passage the difference between these two readings was probably difficult to distinguish), the verse would be a mistaken rendition of Exod.

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[30] As to the term الذين هادوا see Ch. II.; *Beitraege*, p. 16.

[31] V. 73 on account of v. 72, "Possessors of the Writ."

[32] *Cf.* ii. 85, iii. 177, and above.

[33] V. 77 has "the children of Israel;" v. 87 repeats: "and we held the mountain over you" (*cf.* iv. 153), which is taken from the Midrâsh that God when giving the law on Sinai took the children as a pledge (*Shir Hashirîm R.*)

[34] *L. c.* p. 184.

[35] Sanhedrin, fol. 109vo.

xvi. 20, 24. The mistake was probably caused by the circumstance that the transformation of living human beings into apes seemed much more fitting than into worms. Now the reason of the transformation is, in the *Qorân*, disobedience in connection with Sabbath, which is the same cause as mentioned in the Pentateuch. Instead of the food left over night, Muhammed has the disobedient persons transformed. The words, "those who go too far," are perhaps a rendering of Exod. xvi. 29, and refer to a given space of ground in the sense of the Rabbinical interpretation (*Mishnâh, Erûbhin*, ii. 3). The tales invented by the Moslim traditionists for the purpose of explaining the verse do not concern us now any further.

It is rather surprising to observe the knowledge which Muhammed suddenly betrayed regarding the ordinance of the **"red heifer"** (v. 63-68), as this practice had fallen into desuetude long before his time. Whoever taught him about it probably also explained the purpose of that ritual. Muhammed, however, seems to have forgotten this, and confounded the cow of Numb. ch. xix. with the calf of Deut. xxi. 1-9. The reason for reproducing this law in a very broad dialogue seems to be that it left an impression, that even Moses himself had occasionally to ask information from God (Numb. ix. 8 and ch. xxvii.). — Attached to this passage is the reproach (v. 69) that the people had "hardened their heart so that it was like a stone or even harder for verily of stones are some from which streams burst forth, *etc.*," which comparison is but a reflex of Exod. xvii. 6 ; Numb. xx. 10.[36]

"Some of you," Muhammed continued (v. 70), "hear the speech of Allâh, then they alter the same." This verse stands in connection with another (v. 87) which probably belongs to the same sermon, and contain the following words: "They say 'we have heard,' but disobey *(sami'nâ wa-'âṣainâ)*." On a somewhat later occasion (*S.* iv. 48) we read the same reproach, *viz.*, some Jews *(min alladina hâdû)* alter the words from their places[37] and say : *we have heard but disobey*, and hear! that which cannot be heard,[38] *etc.* (49). But had they said : *We have heard and obey*,[39] and hear! and look upon us! it would have been better for them and more upright, *etc.*

The verses just quoted throw a flood of light upon the way which Muhammed had pursued to gain his knowledge of the Pentateuch. The reproach that the Jews had altered the Law becomes a standing phrase, but the strange rebuke that they should have bluntly admitted shriving disobedience to the divine command is much more than a reminiscence of the frequent murmurings of the people of Israel in the desert, and the censures passed upon them in consequence. We have here a most interesting misinterpretation of the words of the Pentateuch (Deut. v. 27) *weshâma'nû we'âsînu*[40] "and we will hear and do [it]." Muhammed had, on some previous occasion, heard, or possibly read, these words, and from their resemblance to Arabic words thought that he understood them. He therefore identified *'âsînû* with Arabic *aṣainâ*[41] which gives the opposite sense. Now it appears that some years later Muhammed became aware of his mistake. To correct it was, however, impossible, since the true version did not suit his purposes at all. He therefore replaced the faulty word by "we obey," placing this avowal into the mouth of the Believers "who believe in Allâh, His angels, His Books, and His Messengers (we make no difference between any of His Messengers) and they say : We hear and obey" (*S.* ii. 285), *etc.* The Commentators see in this verse an allusion to those Medinian pilgrims who had an interview with Muhammed shortly before the Hijra,[42] and invited him to exchange his place of abode with theirs. It is, however, clear that Muhammed owed the correction of his mistake to some converted Jew. The verse in question can not therefore have been revealed till the year 8 or 9 of the Hijra, or shortly before Muhammed's death.

[36] *Cf.* v. 16.

[37] عن مواضعه. The word الكلم is according to AlDâni one of those in which the *Alif prolongationis* is omitted. AlBeidhâvi also records the reading الكلم ; see v. 16.

[38] غير مسمع Palmer: "Do thou listen without hearing" does not render the original accurately.

[39] *Cf.* ii. 285, see below ; *cf.* v. 10 ; xxiv 50.

[40] Likewise instructive for the pronunciation of sibilants ; see Ch. VI.

[41] *Cf.* V. 247 where Moses says to the Israelites هل عسيتم, and xlvii 24.

[42] See I. Hish. pp. 286-288. *S.* v. 11 seems to refer to the same persons.

The next address (vv. 98-115) contains the verse on which **the principle of Abrogation**[43] is based, and touches also upon a subject which formed an important factor in Muhammed's subsequent conduct towards the Jews, *viz.*, his discussions with the Rabbis. These controversies have been preserved in a large number of traditions, but many of them were made in order to serve as explanations for verses in the *Qorân* not accounted for otherwise. By comparing himself to Moses (v. 102) who also had to listen to questions asked in a rebellious spirit,[44] Muhammed removed the chance of any disrespect which might have resulted from such questions, and turned the affair into another proof of his prophetship. "Do you," he asked, "wish to question your Messenger, as Moses was questioned in former times?" The Jewish custom of restricting the use of the name of God,[45] alluded to above, led the Prophet to make a grave charge of irreverence (v. 108). He represented this self-imposed restriction as a law forbidding the name of God in places of worship, and took the same opportunity of intimating the necessity of **changing the Qibla from Jerusalem to Mecca** (v. 109).[46] In another address delivered for a similar purpose, corrupted Christianity and Judaism are contrasted with Abraham's pure monotheism.[47] On the ground of this supposition, and in spite of the anticipated objection of "the fools among men" (v. 130), the alteration of the *Qibla* was made law (vv. 138-147).[48]

With v. 163 commences **a series of ritual prescriptions**[49] which comprise things lawful or unlawful for food, the law of retaliation or the acceptance of a fine instead, the rules concerning the will of a dying person, and the regulations for the fast of **Ramadhân**. The prohibition of "eating" solid food during this month concludes with a metaphorical admonition not to "eat your wealth among you vainly" (v. 187).[50]

There can be no doubt about the date of the group of regulations (introduced by the phrase: "They will ask thee"),[51] which now follows, because one of them refers to the raid which Abd Allâh b. Jahsh undertook at the behest of Muhammed two months before the battle of Badr, towards the end of the month of Rajab. Muhammed saw himself obliged to condone the violation of the sacred month as best he could. It is more difficult to fix the right date of the regulations contained in the vv. 224-243,[52] as it seems that they were placed here solely on account of their legislative character.

The next address (vv. 274-268) was, like the preceding one, delivered with a view to teach contempt of death in the struggle with the Meccans whom Muhammed had now resolved to attack. Believers must devote their lives as well as their fortunes to the holy cause. The various paragraphs of the sermon are illustrated with instances from the records of the past. Verse 244 evidently stands in connection with 261, both containing recollections of the vision of Eezek. ch. xxxvii.,[53] and teaching the revival of the dead by the will of Allâh. The sketch of the election of Saul which is confounded with the story of Gideon, and of David's combat with Goliath, have a similar tendency. A set off against the rather feeble tone of the exhortation is the fervent style of verse 256 which, under the name "Verse of the Throne," is held as one of the holiest revelations of the *Qorân*.[54] The speaker reminds his hearers of Abraham who informed his aggressor without fear, that it was Allâh who revived the dead, and was therefore favoured with the vision related in Gen. ch. xv. This

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[43] See Ch I [44] Probably alluding to Exod. v. 12-21; Numb. xiv. 3; Ch. XVI., *etc.*

[45] It is hardly justifiable to refer the verse to the Ka'ba and the endeavours of the Qoreish to prevent Muhammed from holding a service there in the sixth year after the Hijra. The text speaks of "places of worship." The phrase, أن يذكر فيها اسمه, recalls Exod. xx 24. [46] See Nöldeke, p. 131. [47] V. 128-135; V. 129, *cf.* 134.

[48] Vv 148-157 are justly placed by Noldeke after the battle of Uhud, but v. 153 belongs to a much later revelation on pilgrimage (see also vv. 185-199) Muhammed not only performed the ceremonies himself when he made the pilgrimage in the year 7, but encouraged others to follow his example. See Moslim quoted by Sprenger, III. 522, rem. As to V 154 see I. Hish. p. 332.

[49] Noldeke only mentions three, but there are four.

[50] Nöldeke regards V. 184 as a fragment of a long revelation, but this is not necessary.

[51] See AlBeidh., *etc* Sprenger, III. 107 *sq.* Nöldeke detaches vv. 212-3 but without valid reason, as they form an introduction to v 214. The subtlety of the discussion is characteristic of the situation.

[52] V 241, see Noldeke, p. 134 [53] See Palmer, and *Beitraege*, p. 80.

[54] V. 257a should be compared with Abôth, II. 23: Make not thy prayer compulsion.

tale, however, is in so far modified, as "the two birds," although divided in many pieces, are brought to life again. The importance of spending one's fortune for the purposes of the holy war is finally illustrated by two parables.[55]

The section vv. 269-281 hardly offers any clue as to its date. The repeated admonition to give alms only explains the reason of its place after a speech of similar tendency. V. 271 seems to be an answer to some Jewish scoffer who had told the fugitives that Islâm would keep them in poverty for ever. "The devil" is one of those mentioned in v. 13. The allusion that the evil-doers have no helpers (*anṣâr*, v. 273) is evidently an attempt to draw the Medinian Moslims, who had received the honouring title of **Anṣâr**, away from their Jewish allies. The latter Muhammed was not bound to guide (v. 274). These words perhaps belong to the period following the battle of Badr, when affairs already began to assume a more settled aspect. The regulations with regard to money transactions mentioned in the same speech seem to belong to a time, when the spoils of victory had increased the wealth of the Believers.

(To be continued.)

AN UNPUBLISHED XVIIITH CENTURY DOCUMENT ABOUT THE ANDAMANS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

SINCE communicating **Capt. John Ritchie's remarks on the Nicobars** to this *Journal* under the title of "An Unpublished Document about the Nicobars, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 341, I have discovered that it formed part of a MS. in the India Office entitled **"Remarks | upon the Coast and Bay of | Bengal, | The outlets of the Ganges and interjacent rivers, | according to Surveys by | John Ritchie | Hydrographical Surveyor to the Honourable the | United India Company."** This MS. now numbered C. 10, is endorsed on the cover as follows :— Captain Ritchie's Nautical Remarks for which I have given a Receipt to the Secretary the 25th March 1820, **Jas. Horsburgh."** It relates to the work done by Ritchie in **1771.**

The contents of the MS. are as follows :—

Contents.

[55] Vv. 263, 265, 267, see Ch. VIII.

For the present purpose I shall content myself with communicating the contents of pp. 111-129 relating to the Andamans and Narcondam, nowadays included in the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

To his general volume Capt. Ritchie prefixes some quaint introductory remarks in the self-depreciatory fashion of his day, which are here reproduced:— "Prefaratory to the remarks, it is necessary to observe, that the first part relative to the head of the Bay of Bengal ; from point Palmiras to the southern extremity of the Coast of Chittigong, are observations, made in the Course of a regular Survey: it is hoped therefore, that these will be found tollerably complete, the latter part, which begins with the coast of Aracan, contains broken remarks upon a running survey : these are very lame, but if the writer should ever be enabled to make any addition to them, the most trivial parts shall be expunged, to give place to others of greater importance. As to the language, *the Will must be taken for the deed*, the writer being very sensible of his inability that way. Writing is neither his talent, nor profession, and the remarks, *in their present form*, are only the work of a few days."

Great Andaman Island together with the Situation of Narcandam with respect to Negrais, etc.

Great Andaman Island,[1] is situated from 11° 20′, to 13° 35′ north Latitude, being 135 miles long, and how broad I cannot tell; at the South end where I had opportunity to examine it, the width at a mean is about 20 miles, but towards the middle it must be a great deal broader. The Island is generally mountainous, and in some places very high, particularly a double peek'd hill at the east side [**Saddle Peak**], which I have seen at 70 miles distance the whole Island is covered, or rather loaded, with **Timber**, except where the hills are nearly perpendicular, and there the rains washing the earth down, shews it to be of a reddish colour.

There is, no doubt, **continued soundings between the Coccos, and Andaman ;** altho we had one cast with no ground, at 80 fathams. The eastern part, of the north end of the Island, bears from the middle of **little Cocco** S. 25 Wt, and the distance is 30 miles. I do not here mean, the little Island [**Landfall Island**], at the north end of Andaman, which lies in the same direction from Cocco, but the distance to it is only 23 miles : it is said that there is a very good passage [**Cleugh Passage**] between Andaman and this Island, but I can say nothing of it from my own knowledge. The bank which joins Cocco's and Andaman, extends about 25 miles to the eastward of the Islands, in the parallel of the passage, but along the east side, of the Andaman, there is no soundings at the northern part ; except perhaps, very near the land, where it has not yet been sounded. The course of the shore for about 20 miles from the north end of Andaman along the East side, is S. ½ Et nearly: this part seems to be broken into divisions, if we might judge from the two mouths, or inlets, which appear upon the eastern shore [**Cadell Bay and Port Cornwallis**]. The land hereabout is high, and very scraggy, rising almost perpendicular from the water. In the Latitude 13° north, there is a very fine inlet [**Stewart Sound**], with two Islands at its mouth ; the northermost of which is pretty large and rises gradually on all sides, to a moderate hill ; it is every where covered with trees, very thick ; and at a distance, appears as if only covered with grass. The Southern Island is very small, with open scraggy trees upon it. The inlet bends round to the southward, behind a point upon the left hand side of entrance, and seems to promise a good Harbour [**Bacon Bay**]. It was my intention, to examine this place closely, altho' I had much to do, and little time to do it in; but happening to come to it in the evening, and there being no soundings in the offing, nor any probability, that we could get into anchoring depth before night, or rather before dark ; we were obliged to ply in the offing, untill morning, and daylight shew'd us, that we were drove 10 miles to the southward by a Current : this untoward circumstance, was unlucky enough at this juncture, and we endeavoured to repair it by Plying to windward, for two days, and nights, under every sail the Vessel could bear ; it was all in vain, the wind and current was too much to struggle with ; and

[1] [The five main islands forming to this day "the Great Andaman" were to Ritchie all one island. — ED.]

vardhdhanasya; of the propagator of the family of the householder Srî-Vishṇuvarman.' What follows looks like **lirita**, which may be meant for **likhitaṁ**, 'the writing.' I cannot make out the two short inscriptions in the first line. To this I have only to add that the characters of the lower inscription are very archaic and that inked estampages of the inscriptions might perhaps enable me to read the whole of them."

Later on Dr. Hultzsch wrote to me as follows: — "The only **photographs** which show traces of letters are Nos. 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 13.[3] Of these No. 9[4] contains four modern Kanarese characters which look like **Srîdhapupa** (?); No. 10[5] may perhaps contain a short inscription in cave characters, but in order to be quite certain about it and to attempt a reading I should require an estampage. Nos. 1, 6, 7, and 13 contain two lines of writing,[6] the second of which was transcribed in my letter[7] of the 30th June 1897. In the first half of the upper line, the second, third and fourth letters are **lapuli** and the two last **kâri**. It is very probable that an estampage made with thick country paper would enable me to read the whole line. To the right of the second line No. 1 shows the signature of a certain C. Kannan in modern Malayâlam characters. **The characters of the inscription in two lines are early Chalukya or even pre-Chalukya, say about 500 A. D.**" In reference to the above remarks I may note that the C. Kannan was the work of one of my own men.

After examining the estampages (very kindly reproduced in the Plate of inscriptions attached to these Notes) made by his Kanarese Assistant, **Dr. Hultzsch** reported as follows:[8]—

"About the beginning of the year 1896 Mr. F. Fawcett, Superintendent of Police, Malabar, discovered a very remarkable natural cave near Sultan's Battery in the Wynaad. The walls of the cave are covered with rude fanciful drawings and bear **five short inscriptions. Four of these are in archaic characters.** One of them[9] runs: — 'The writing (?) of the propagator of the family of the householder Srî-Vishṇuvarman.' Another[10] reads **Palaṁpulinânaṁtakâri** (?) in archaic characters, which are perhaps a little more recent than those of the first inscription. The two next[11] are unintelligible to me, but decidedly archaic. The fifth, if it deserves the name, is in comparatively modern Kanarese letters and begins with *Srîdê*." In the above remarks Dr. Hultzsch, however, does me too much honour. I did not discover the Cave, its existence having been known for at least 12 or 15 years past to residents in the neighbourhood.

Dr. Hultzsch has been kind enough to give his attention again to the inscriptions, and under date 5th October 1900 has favoured me with the following note which I here insert: — "On yet further consideration I would make the following remarks on **inscription No. 1.** The ending *varman* is restricted to the names of members of the Kshatriya caste. Hence Vishṇuvarman was probably a chief or king. Further, the inscription does not give the name of the person whose writing it professes to be. Accordingly I propose to correct it into: — '**Srî-Vishṇuvarmma[ṇaḥ*] Kuṭumbiya-kula-var[d]dhanasya li[kh]ita[ṁ*]**; the writing of the glorious Vishṇuvarman, the propagator (*i. e.*, descendant) of the Kuṭumbiya family. The word Kuṭumbiya will now have to be taken as the proper name of Vishṇuvarman's family, while I had originally understood it to be a corruption of *kuṭumbin*, a householder. The inscription No. 2 is perhaps Tamiḻ and meant for '**pal-puli tâṉ-antakâri**; he who himself has made an end of many tigers.' "

Excavations during the second visit were made all along the walls of the Cave to a depth of 3½ to 4 feet in order to uncover all the carvings. In addition a section was cut to a depth of 7 feet right across the Cave proper to ascertain if there were any traces, lying under the floor, of former habitation, such as tools, weapons, vessels, religious or other symbols. None were.

[3] Of these photographs Nos. 1, 6, 7 and 13 are represented by Plate I. Figs. 1 and 2, Plate II. Fig. 1: No. 9 by Plate VI. Fig. 2: No. 10 by Plate VI. Fig. 1.

[4] Plate VI. 2. [5] Plate VI. 1. [6] Plate I. 1 and 2, Plate II. 1. [7] Quoted in the preceding paragraph.

[8] Madras *Government Orders* Nos. 1062, 1063, Public, dated 10th August 1897, paragraph 14.

[9] Plate I. Figs. 1 and 2, and Plate II. Fig. 1. [10] Plate I. Fig. 1, top line. and Plate II. Fig. 1.

[11] Plate I. Fig. 2, top, right = Plate II. Fig. 1, top, right; Plate VI Fig. 1.

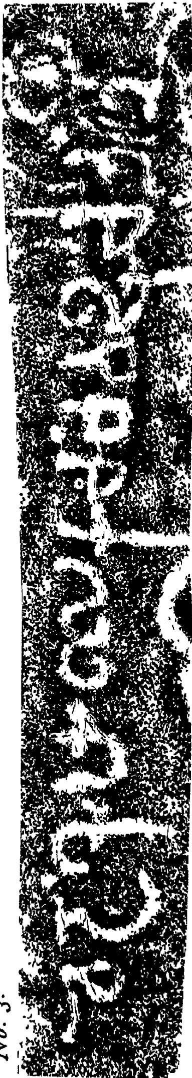
Cave Inscriptions near Sultan's Battery.



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.

E. HULTZSCH.

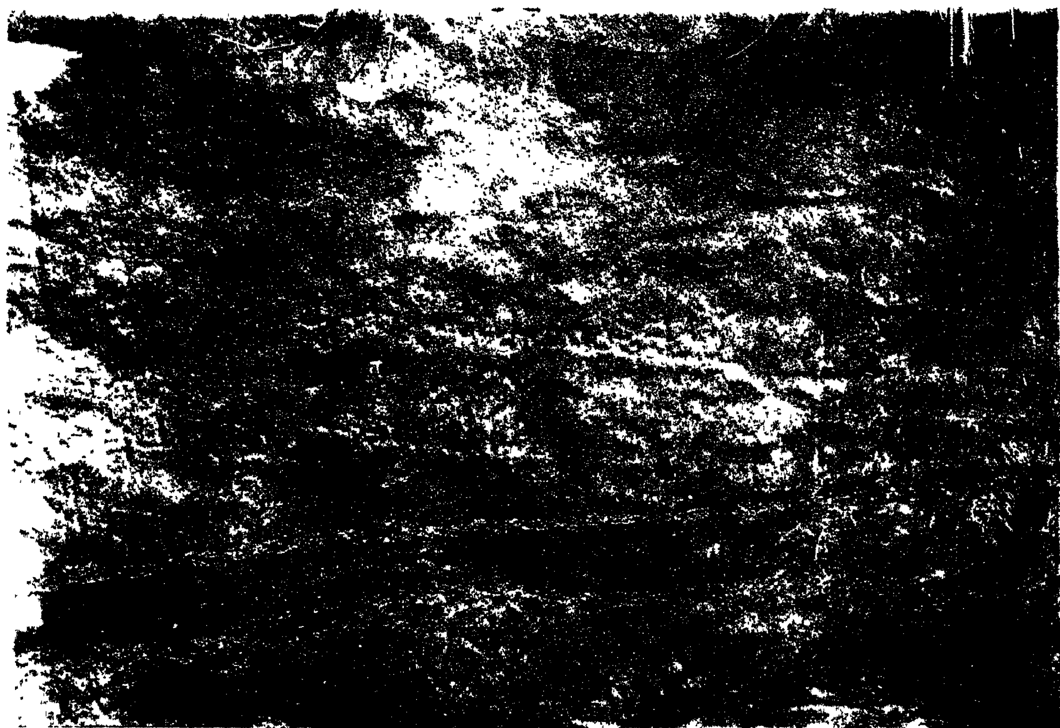
SCALE ONE-NINTH.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Edakal Cave, Plate I. Fig. 1.



Plate I. Fig. 2.



F. FAWCETT, PHOTO. NO SCALE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO.

however, found. There was, in fact, nothing whatever found in the soft, fine vegetable mould of the floor, and at 7 feet we came to fragments of broken rock, whereon we stopped work.

The presence of the mould on the floor underneath the roof-rock gives indications of an apparently great age for the carvings on the walls, for it is four feet deep, and can only have come in from the top through the interstices in the rocks. It was certainly not brought in through the entrance, a fact of which we satisfied ourselves on the spot. Now as the rainfall here is not more than 70 inches per annum, the mould must have taken a long time to accumulate to a depth of four feet, and the whole accumulation must have taken place after the rock carvings had been completed and indeed after the place had been abandoned.

Unfortunately, I was unable to take all the photographs of the carvings on the same scale, because this was not possible without first emptying the Cave of its floor of mould, an obviously impossible course for such an object. Also, as may be easily understood, the photographs were taken under great difficulties of light and position. Indeed, in the Cave proper the exposures ranged from 20 to 45 minutes, and artificial light was for obvious reasons out of the question. However, in other respects the time of year chosen was the most favourable for taking the photographs. At any other season than the few weeks immediately before or after Christmas one runs a great risk of rain and fever on this hill-top, and would also have a less favourable light for photography, as it is only at this particular time of year that the sun shines into the Cave through the S. W. opening overhead and gives anything approaching a reasonable light throughout it. But then again the days are then short, as we found to our cost, for we were unable, owing to failing light, to photograph the whole of the objects. Nevertheless, the portion omitted was not of any importance in comparison with that of which we secured a representation.

The carvings clearly represent human and animal figures and objects for human use and symbols, but they so run into each other and are so closely placed together that it takes a protracted and close study to make anything of them. The most interesting features of the sculptures are the frequent human figures with a peculiar head-dress. (See nearly all the plates.)

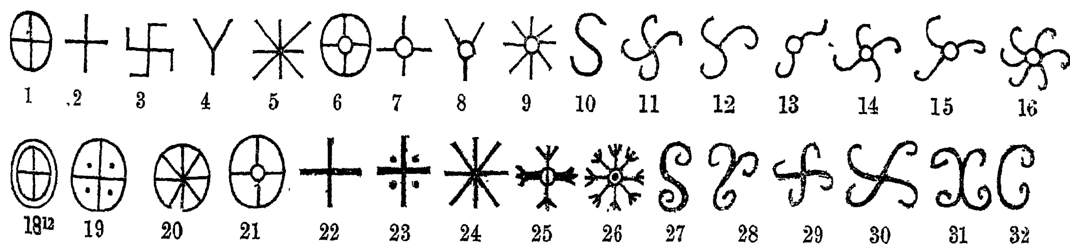
There are several rather indistinct figures of animals. The usual Indian symbols are of frequent occurrence, *e. g.*, the *swastika* in various forms on most of the Plates, and specimens of the familiar circular "sun-symbols." There is evidence also of some magic squares, such as one is familiar with in all Oriental fortune-telling. No doubt such things would be introduced as protecting charms, just as in modern times we see them used everywhere in India.

For the better information of the reader all the recognised figures and symbols have been picked out and reproduced as separate sketches. The clearest way will be to examine each Plate and figure separately with the help of the skeleton sketches given below.

Plate I., Fig. 1.

This is from a photograph taken before the excavations and shows some of the inscriptions on the South wall together with some symbols.

The symbols are what are usually known as the "sun and fire symbols," *vide* the late Mrs. Murray-Ainslie's papers on Asiatic Symbolism, *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 61 ff., 89 ff., 117 ff., 217 ff., 258 ff., 321 ff. It will further the present enquiry to repeat here the 32 sun and fire symbols she gives in Plate I. of her paper, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 66.



[12] No. 17 is not reproduced here.

The whole of these may be taken to be developments in various directions of the cross, and for Indian investigations of the *swastika*. The specimens in this figure are .

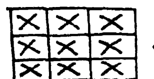
There are also two **magic squares** .

Plate I., Fig. 2.

This fig. is a continuation of the **inscriptions** in fig. 1. It contains one **symbol** of the *swastika* type .

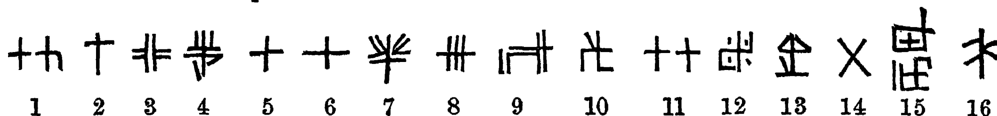
Plate II., Fig. 1.

This figure gives the whole of the **inscriptions** shown in part in Plate I. The photograph was taken after the excavations. It is much more fruitful in **symbols** than the previous Figs.

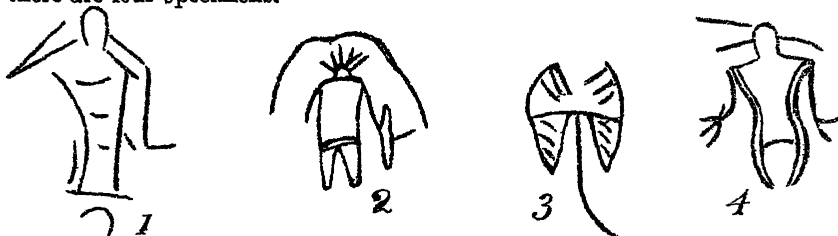
There are two good instances of **magic squares**  .

There are also at the bottom of Fig. 1 two figures of animals which may be taken to be deer or dogs , and another close by the magic square .

The *swastika* turns up in 16 different forms of "**sun-symbols**":—



We also here begin to see those **human figures** which are of such interest. In this Fig. there are four specimens.



Of the above, Nos. 1 and 4 I take to be women. No. 3 shows the lower limbs clad in the fashion of South India in the present day. No. 2 appears to be a man with a feathered head-dress carrying a bow or some such weapon. Assuming the weapon to be a bow, **it may be conjectured** that possibly the artists of the drawings were ancestors of the present **Moḷḷu Kurumbars** of the neighbourhood — Vêdas as they sometimes call themselves.

There is also a childish representation of an **animal** that may be a dog or any animal of the chase one may fix upon. In Plate V., fig. 2, it turns up again in a different light with another that may be taken to be a deer.



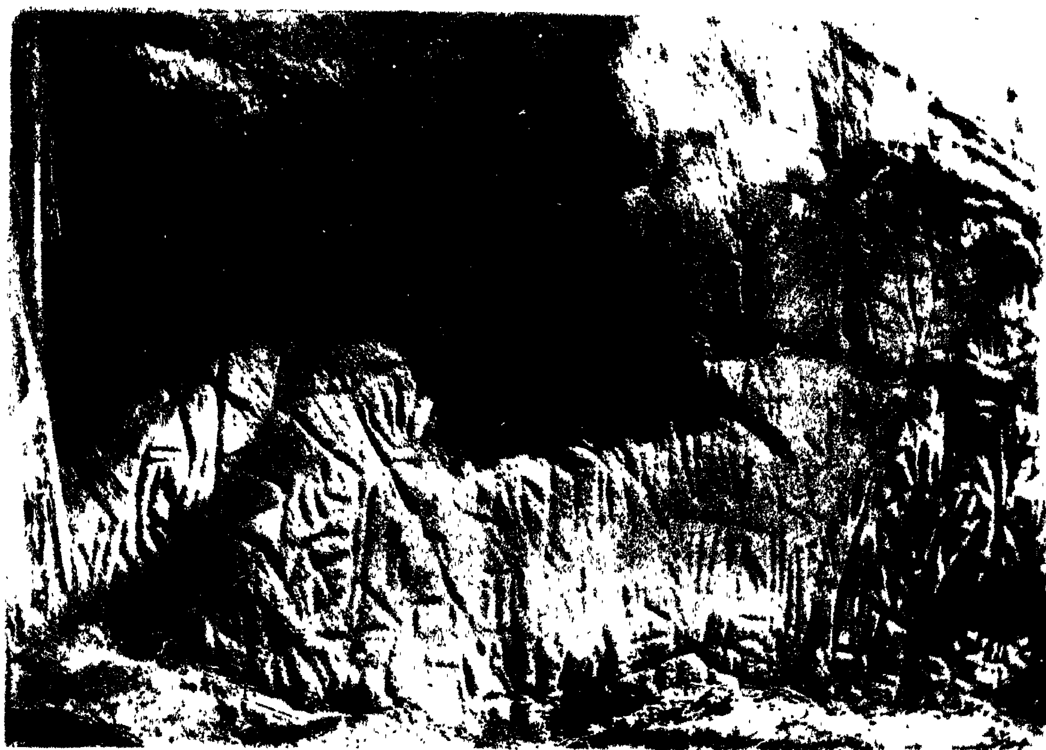
Plate II., Fig. 2.

This is from a photograph taken of the South wall before the excavations, giving a clear impression of the general appearance of the wall in sunlight with the tree shadows across it. The whole wall stands up in relief and the actual appearance of the carvings to the eye are well given. The method does not, however, lend itself to investigation and the carvings are repeated in the next Plate (III., fig. 1).

Edakal Cave, Plate II. Fig. 1.



Plate II. Fig. 2.



F. FAWCETT, PHOTO. NO SCALE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO

Edakal Cave, Plate III. Fig. 1.



Plate III. Fig. 2.

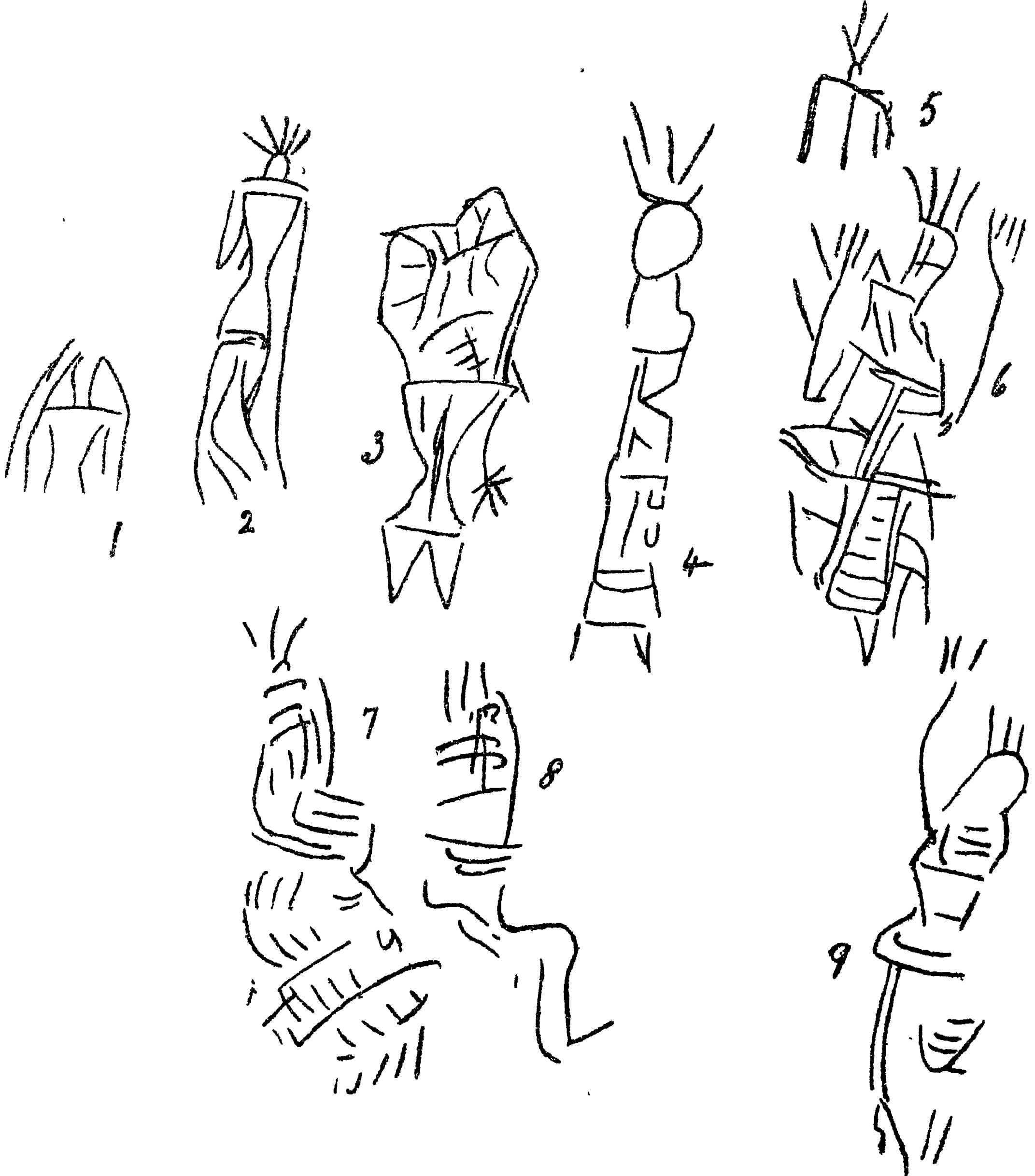


F. FAWCETT, PHOTO. NO SCALE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO.

It will be sufficient to say that of the figures explained under Plate III., fig. 1, Nos. 2 and 4 come out more naturally and clearly in this plate, but No. 5 does not show truly at all and looks like a *swastika*.

Plate III., Fig. 1.

This repeats the last fig. and is from a photograph taken after the excavations. It was so taken as to show the carvings in their entirety. The interest in this Plate lies in the representations of **human beings.** There are nine distinct specimens.



Nos. 1 and 2 I take to be women. Nos. 3, 4, 6, and 9 I take to be men dancing in masks or masked head-dresses. No. 5 is an outline figure high up on the wall. Nos. 7 and 8 seem to be persons seated. The head-dresses, the masks, the dancers and the seated figures may **represent an ancient "devil-dance"** of the country, much as it is still conducted among the

Tuluvas of the neighbouring Districts to the Northward,[13] and throughout Southern India, but especially in Tinnevelly. All this gives force to another conjecture as to the identity of the cave carvers that may well be made. A conjecture that is supported by the distinct cincture round the loins of the female figure and its very narrow waist. In fact the carvings may be merely the work of any one of the "devil"-worshipping castes or tribes of the neighbourhood in a past more or less — probably more — remote.

Plate III., Fig. 2.

This shows another part of the South wall after the excavations. There are six human figures to be made out.

No. 1 is a man dancing in a masked head-dress. Nos. 2 and 5 are also dancing figures. Nos. 3 and 4 I take to be seated figures. No. 6 is a woman in a long garment.

There are also seven specimens of the "sun-symbol" type :—

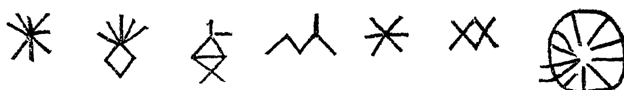


Plate IV., Fig. 1.

This is a photograph of the darkest part of the Cave. It represents part of the Southern wall. The photograph has been taken too close for making out the figures. The human

[13] *Vide Ind. Ant.* Vols. XXIII, XXIV, XXV. and XXVI. and especially the Plates facing Vol. XXIII pp 19, 38, 186; Vol. XXIV. p. 220.

Edakal Cave, Plate IV. Fig. 1.



Plate IV. Fig. 2.



F. FAWCETT, PHOTO. NO SCALE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO.

figure given below can, however, be made out on the analogy of those in the previous Plates.

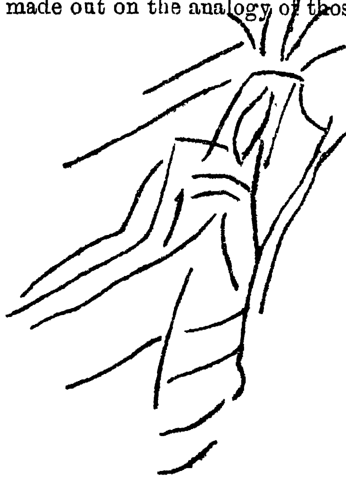


Plate IV., Fig. 2.

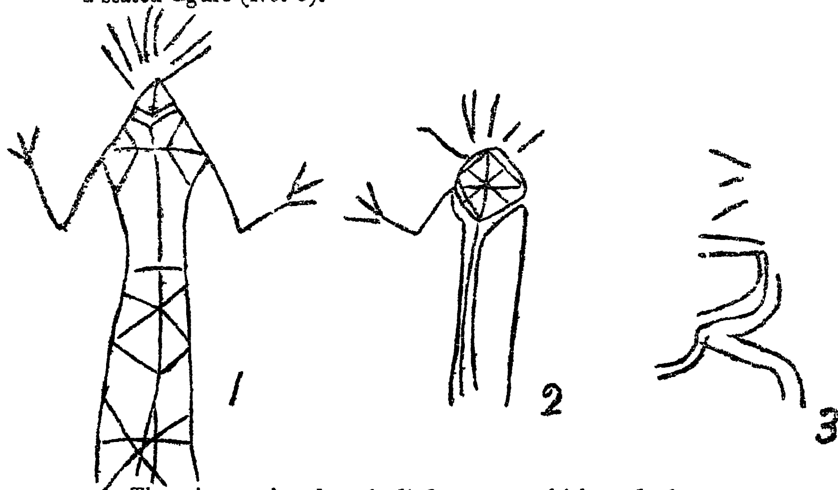
This repeats the outer portion of the preceding Fig. in a better light. In it is to be seen the **human figure** just mentioned, which can now be seen to be that of a man fully clothed carrying a palm branch. Next it is the representation of a figure with a masked head-dress, dancing (No. 2). Higher up is a very primitive form of the female type already seen (No. 3).



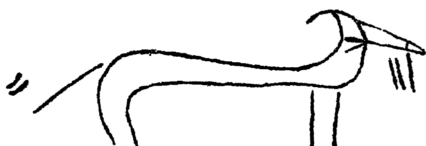
Plate V., Fig. 1.

This is from a very dark photograph of the North wall. On it, however, the following symbols appear :— .

There are two clear **masked dancers,** Nos. 1 and 2, and signs of what may be meant for a seated figure (No. 3).



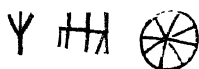
There is a curious long-bodied **animal,** which no doubt represents a hunting dog :—

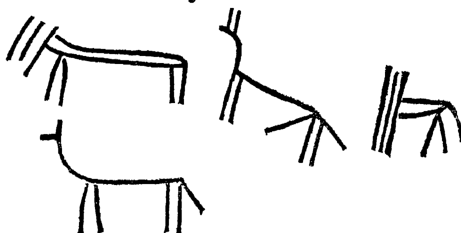


The **circular " sun-symbols "** again appear in a more or less distinct form :—



Plate V., Fig. 2.

This is a more distant and more general view of the same carvings as appear in part in Plate II., fig. 1, and in Plate III., fig. 1, and contains the same symbols and figures, human and animal. In addition the following seven **symbols** can be made out :—  . And also the following **additional animal,** which may be taken as a deer :—  . There are further to be made out in the shadow **several animals** which are almost certainly deer :—



Edakal Cave, Plate V. Fig. 1.



Plate V. Fig. 2.



F. FAWCETT, PHOTO. NO SCALE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO.

Edakal Cave, Plate VI. Fig. 1.

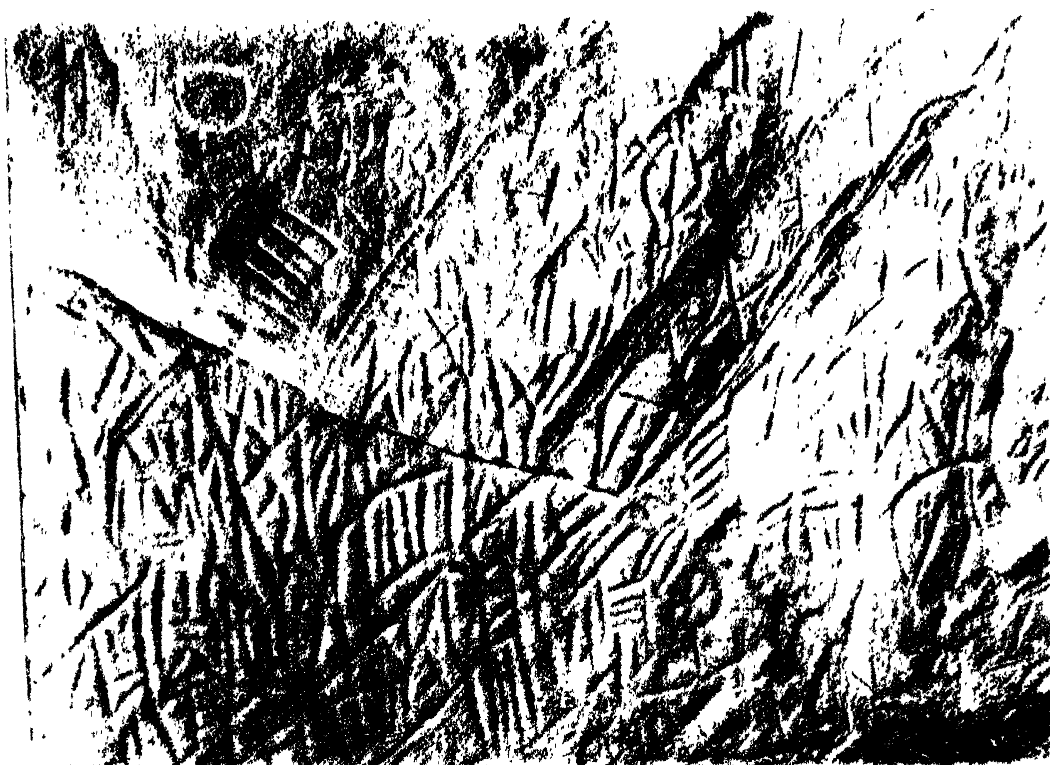
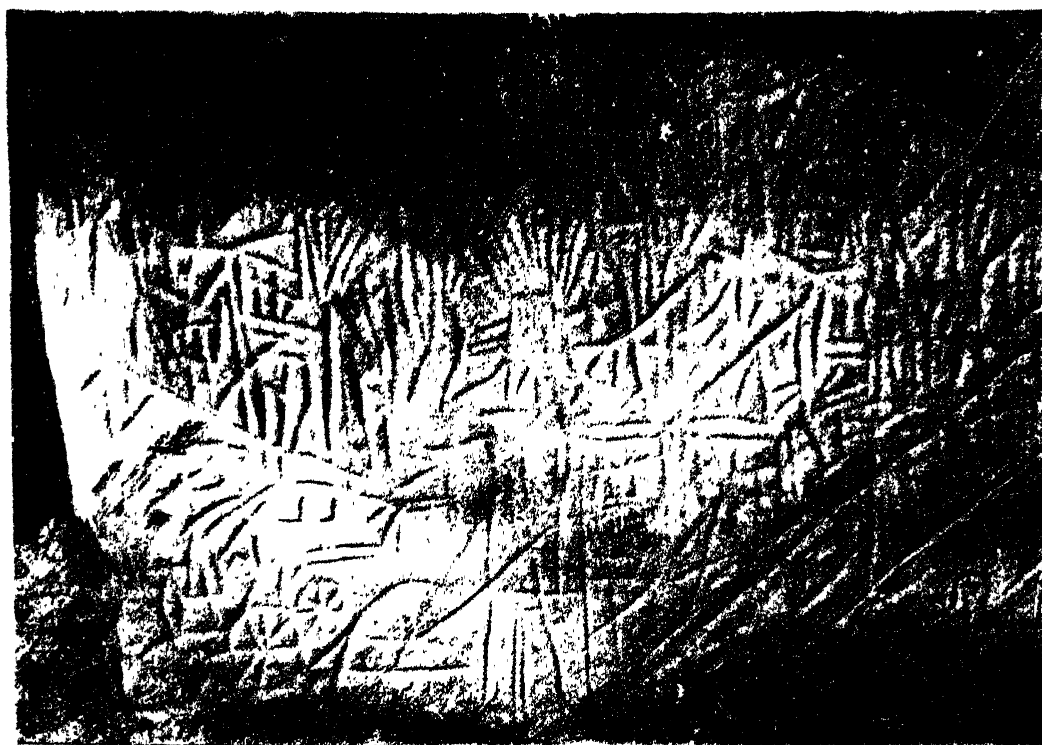


Plate VI. Fig. 2.



F. FAWCETT, PHOTO. NO SCALE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO.

Plate VI., Fig. 1.

This is rather too near a view of the North wall, showing an **inscription.** In it are to be seen two forms of the *swastika* + 卐, and one **magic square** ⊞, and two "**sun-symbols**"



There are at least eight **human figures** : Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5, I take to be women, Nos. 2, 6, 7, and 8 to be masked dancers.

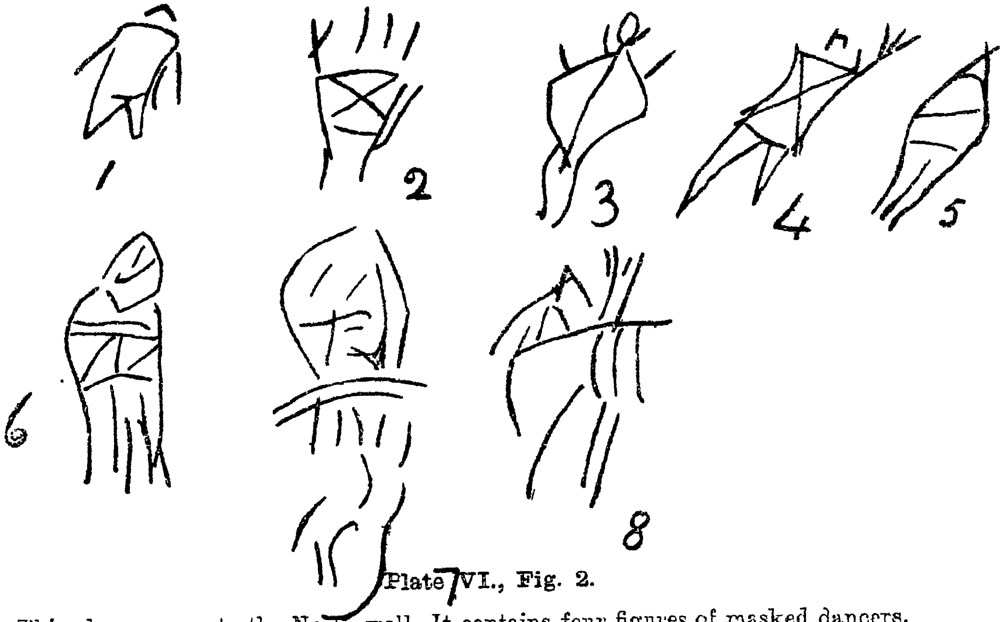
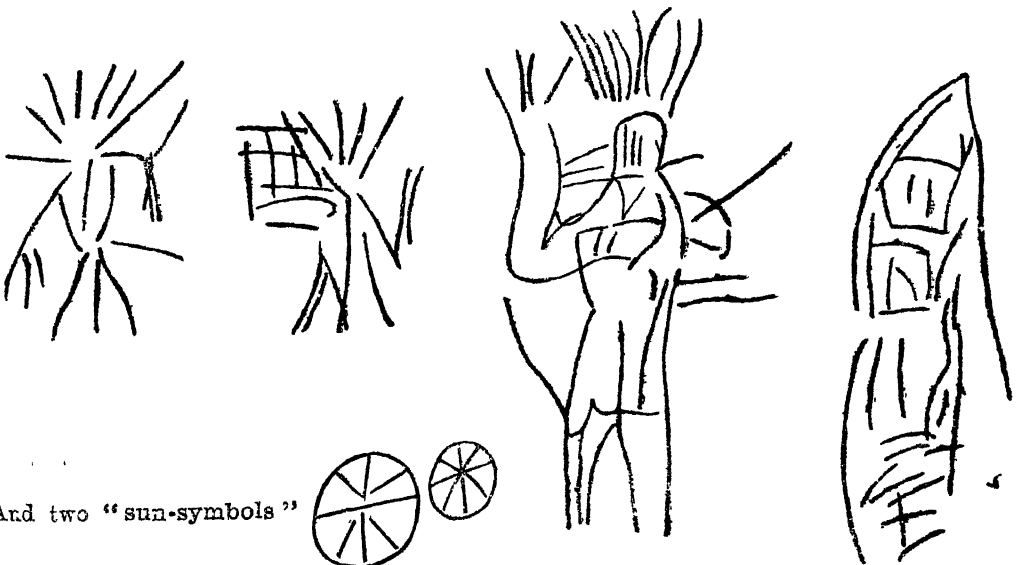


Plate VI., Fig. 2.

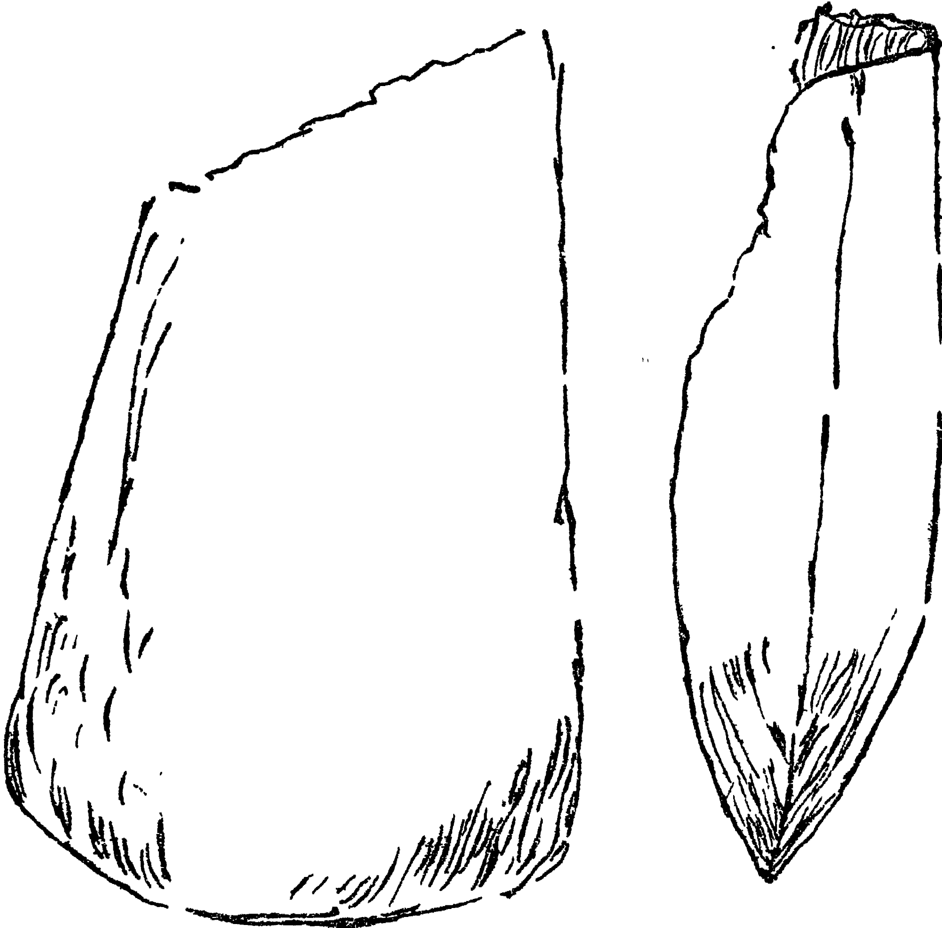
This also represents the North wall. It contains four figures of masked dancers.



And two "sun-symbols"

The above somewhat minute examination of the Plates brings out the following points on the subject of the correct method of reproducing these carvings. It is of little use for any but a preliminary examination of such things to reproduce them by direct photography. The difficulties of getting the camera into a proper position and the tricks played by the light on the carvings preclude all hope of accurate representation. Just as in the matter of reproducing inscriptions so as to make them properly legible, it is necessary to reproduce the carvings by ink estampages and then by carefully taken photographs on a greatly reduced scale, but accurately to scale nevertheless.

Mr. Bruce Foote points out to me that the figures and other carvings on the walls of the Edakal Cave have have not been cut out or chipped out but scraped in. This is a most interesting fact, for careful examination has shown that there is nowhere any evidence of chipping or chiselling, the indentations in the surface of the hard rock, giving shape to the carvings, having been produced by the most laborious scraping. Instruments such as might have been used in the work of scraping in the carvings are still to be found under the earth in all parts of the Wynaad. On the ridge of Edakalmala itself I found a quartz flake, and Mr. Colin Mackenzie found in 1890, on his coffee estate, about five miles distant to the S. E., a fragment of a well-shaped and polished celt, of which I here attempt a sketch.



Thus far as to the immediate neighbourhood. In the same region and in spots not far distant I have found pieces of worked quartz in small stone cists, containing, within earthen jars, remains, which are probably human, together with iron and other things. There is in my mind no doubt as to genuineness of the worked quartz specimens and I have the support in this opinion of Mr. J. Allen Brown and Mr. Bruce Foote. Further evidence of the presumable

makers of the carvings are to be found in numerous stone circles, marking the East, situated to the West of the Edakalmala. I suspect that they contain human remains. Their proximity to the Cave gives them a special interest in the present connection, and I much regret that my official avocations prevented me from making an examination of them with a view to establishing their connection or otherwise with the carvings in the Cave.

The curious reluctance of the **Kurumbars** to approach the Cave, combined with the simultaneous want of reverence for it both on the part of the Paniyas and the local Hindus, who are, however, very small in numbers and not long resident in the Wynaad, might tempt one to hazard the theory as to the carvings being the handiwork of Kurumbars of a by-gone day. It should, however, be remembered that the Paniya is a particularly fearless individual, while the Kurumbar is the reverse. The mere existence of the mysterious carvings in the silent unfrequented Cave would suffice to inspire the Kurumbar with a kind of awe and make him afraid to have anything to do with it.

With these remarks as to the possible makers of the curious scraped rock-pictures in the Edakal Cave I leave my subject for the present, satisfied with having been able to draw public attention to what may eventually prove to be a point of value to the student of South Indian anthropology.

LETTERS FROM PORTUGUESE CAPTIVES IN CANTON, WRITTEN IN 1534 AND 1536.

With an Introduction on Portuguese Intercourse with China in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century.

BY DONALD FERGUSON.

Portuguese Intercourse with China in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century.

WHEN Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, **the Chinese** had for many years previously ceased to voyage further west than Sumatra. The first Portuguese visitors to Calicut heard rumors there of this "white" race of people that had formerly carried on a regular trade with India;[1] but it was not until eleven years later that representatives of the most westerly and most easterly countries of the great Eurasiatic continent actually met. When **Diogo Lopes de Sequeira** sailed from Lisbon on 13th February 1508, to "discover" Malacca, he carried with him a lengthy set of instructions from the king **Dom Manoel**, one of which was as follows[2]: —

> Item. — You shall ask after **the Çhijns**, and from what part they come, and from how far, and at what times they come to **Mallaca**, or to the places at which they trade, and the merchandise that they bring, and how many ships of them come each year, and regarding the fashions of their ships, and if they return in the year in which they come, and if they have factors or houses in Mallaca or in any other country, and if they are wealthy merchants, and if they are weak men or warriors, and if they have arms or artillery, and what clothes they wear, and if they are men great in body, and all other information concerning them, and if they are Christians or heathens, or if their country is a great one, and if they have more than one king amongst them, and if there live amongst them Moors or any other people that do not live in their law or faith, and, if they are not Christians, in what they believe or what they adore, and what customs they observe, and towards what part their country extends, and with whom they confine.

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[1] See *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* (Hak. Soc.), p. 131.

[2] See *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional, etc.* (Lisbon, 1892), pp. 194-195; *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, Ser. 3 (1843), p. 490.

On arriving at **Malacca on 11th September 1509** Diogo Lopes found lying there **three or four junks of Chinese**, with whom the Portuguese seem at once to have got on friendly terms; but an opportunity for carrying out the king's orders did not offer itself, owing to the hostility of the Malays; and Diogo Lopes was obliged to return to Portugal in 1510 with this part of his commission unfulfilled.

When, **on 1st July 1511, the Great Affonso de Albuquerque** anchored **off Malacca** with his fleet, he found there **five junks of Chinese**, who proved as friendly to the Portgueese as those met with two years previously had been. In fact, their captains offered their assistance to the Portuguese commander in his attack on the city of Malacca;[3] and were of great help in conveying Albuquerque's envoys to and from Siam; and also carried back with them to China a very favourable report of the character and prowess of the Lusitanians.[4] The immediate result of this was, that the uncle of the fugitive king of Malacca, whom the latter had sent as ambassador to the king of China to beg him for help against the Portuguese, was put off with excuses, and ultimately died with the object of his mission unaccomplished.[5] Albuquerque, while sending ambassadors to Siam and elsewhere, for some reason abstained from sending any Portuguese expedition to "discover" China.[6]

The two years that followed Albuquerque's departure from Malacca were occupied with almost continual fighting and unrest; but **in 1514** there was an interval of comparative quiet, and advantage appears to have been taken by the new governor of Malacca, **Jorje de Albuquerque**, to dispatch a **pioneer expedition to China**.[7] Regarding this first visit of the Portuguese to China we have scarcely any details, the Portuguese historians being almost silent on the subject. Barros is the only one of those that mentions the visit, and he does so casually,[8] after chronicling the arrival at Canton, **in June 1521, of Duarte Coelho** in a junk from Malacca, when the Portuguese were being dangerously threatened by a Chinese fleet. Duarte Coelho, he tells us, was induced to stop and help his compatriots "principally for love of Jorge Alvares, who was a great friend of his, who was so weak, that eleven days after the arrival of this Duarte Coelho he died, and was buried at the foot of a *padrão* of stone with the arms of this kingdom,[9] which he the same Jorge Alvares placed there a year before **Rafael Perestrello**[10] went to those parts;

[3] *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque* (Hak. Soc.), III. p. 98.

[4] *Ibid.* III. pp. 114, 152 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* III. pp. 131-134. (*Cf.* also cap. xc. of Mendez Pinto's *Peregrinaçam.*)

[6] Barros (*Dec.* III., II. vi.), says that Albuquerque, while at Malacca, sent "messengers" to China, among other places. Perhaps he refers to the Chinese mentioned above. In the *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, tom. I., are the following references to the Chinese: — On p. 433, in the *Sumaryo das Cartas, etc.* (written before 1511), we read: "Item: that men whom he sends in the ships of Mallaca go to the Chyns." On p. 64, in a letter to the king, dated 1st April 1512, giving a detailed account of his expedition to Malacca, Albuquerque mentions having taken from a Javanese pilot a large map with the names of places in Malay characters, which map, unhappily, was lost in the *Flor de la Mar*. However, a tracing had been made of a portion, which tracing he sends to Dom Manoel, showing, *inter alia*, "the navigation of the Chins" (but not China itself apparently). On p. 75, in a letter dated 20th August 1512, Albuquerque, after referring to the three kinds of silk, — from Ormuz, Sumatra, and China, — proceeds: — "A sample of all three is sent to your highness; that which your highness shall be most pleased with and by which most profit shall be made there, as great a quantity thereof as you desire shall be sent to you, because your troop-ships, which if it please your highness shall each year go laden with pepper from Malabar to the Chins, shall bring no other merchandize but silk, gold and rhubarb, for the junks of Malaca are already mixed up with Chins, and go there and come, and it is not such a long navigation as they make you think there, but is a very short journey, only these enemies of the faith always delight in obscuring all the riches of India." Lastly, on p. 138, in a letter dated 30th November 1513, Albuquerque tells the king that "the Chins are servants of your highness and our friends."

[7] Birdwood (*Report on the Old Records in the India Office*, p. 168) says:—"In 1508 the island of Socotra was taken, and the island of Sumatra first visited; as also was China in 1508-9, the date of the first discovery of that country, from the sea, by Europeans." I do not know what is Birdwood's authority for this latter date, which is certainly wrong.

[8] *Dec.* III., VI. ii.

[9] This stone pillar is referred to in the letter of Cristovão Vieyra given below (f. 105v.). Regarding these *padrões* see *Journ. of First Voy. of Vasco da Gama* (Hak. Soc.), p. 169. None of these memorial stones erected by order of Dom Manoel in newly discovered countries has lasted to modern times.

[10] Regarding this man and his visit to China see *infra*. Burton (*Camoens: Life and Lusiads*, IV. p. 549), with characteristic rashness, asserts: "The 'Middle Kingdom' . . . . was opened by Perestrello (1511-12), who first conducted a ship to China under a European flag." Other writers on China have fallen into the same error.

in which year that he was there, he buried a son of his, who had died. And although that region of idolatry consumes his body, yet since for the honor of his fatherland he set up at the ends of the earth that *padrão* of his discoveries, the memory of his sepulture shall not decay, so long as this our writing shall endure."

The earliest contemporary writer who refers to this visit of the Portuguese to China is the Italian **Andrea Corsali,**[11] who, in his letter to Duke Giuliano de Medici, dated **6th January 1515**, says[12] :—

> The merchants of the land of China also make voyages to Malacca across the Great Gulf to get cargoes of spices, and bring from their own country musk, rhubarb, pearls, tin, porcelain, and silk and wrought stuffs of all kinds, such as damasks, satins, and brocades of extraordinary richness. For they are people of great skill, and on a par with ourselves *(di nostra qualità)*, but of uglier aspect, with little bits of eyes. They dress very much after our fashion, and wear shoes and stockings *(? scarpe e calciamenti)* like ourselves. I believe them to be pagans though many allege that they hold our faith or some part of it. During this last year some of our Portuguese made a voyage to China. They were not permitted to land; for they say 'tis against their custom to let foreigners enter their dwellings. But they sold their goods at a great gain, and they say there is as great profit in taking spices to China as in taking them to Portugal; for 'tis a cold country and they make great use of them. It will be five hundred leagues from Malacca to China, sailing north.

This pioneer voyage is also referred to by another of the Italians then in the Portuguese service, **Giovanni da Empoli,**[13] who, writing from Cochin on **15th November 1515**, says[14] : —

> From Malacca have come ships and junks . . . . They have also discovered China, where men of ours have been who are staying here: which is the greatest wealth that there can be in the world. The confines reach to High Tartary, and are called Balascia.[15] They are all white people like ourselves; they dress like Germans with all their fashions of garments, such as fur-lined caps and jerkins. There are inclosed lands like ours, and houses of stones like ours: they have great order and law, and are very friendly towards us. The country abounds with all fine white silk, and it costs thirty cruzados the *cantaro;* damasks of sixteen good pieces, at five hundred reals the piece; satins, brocades, musk at half a ducat the ounce, and less. Many pearls of all sorts in great abundance; and many caps, so that from there to here there is made on them a profit of thirty to one. There come from there amazing things; and to tell the truth, I relate to you nothing of what there is there. The ships bring spices from there; so that every year there comes from Zamatra some sixty thousand *cantara* of pepper; and from Coccin and the land of Mallibari fifteen to twenty thousand *cantara* of pepper alone: it is worth fifteen or even twenty ducats the *cantaro.* In like manner, ginger, mace, nutmeg, incense, aloes, velvet, our gold thread, coral, woollen cloths, robes. There come from there *somedrom,*[16] cloths like ours, much white alum, and good vermilions: many horses and large carts are in their country. Everything is sold by weight, both merchandize and provisions, and live and dead animals; all by weight. They have many grains: the great things are so many that come from there, that they are amazing; so that if I do not die, I

[11] Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither* (Hak. Soc.), I. p. cxli., was the first to draw attention to this fact.

[12] I quote Yule's translation as given *in loc. cit.*

[13] Regarding whom, see *Archivo Storico Italiano, App.*, III. pp. 9-91.

[14] *Arch. Stor. Ital., App.*, III. pp. 85-87. Compare with this account the wonderfully accurate description of China (from hearsay) given by Duarte Barbosa *(Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, Hak. Soc., pp. 204-207).

[15] Badakshan.

[16] I cannot explain this word, which is probably a copyist's error.

hope before I leave here to take a leap thither to see the Grand Khan, who is the king, who is called the king of Cathay; for by land one makes a journey of three months on horseback, all along a river,[17] as is the Rhine, crowded here and there with populous towns and cities, at the end of which one arrives at Zeiton,[18] which is the said king's who resides there.[19]

This year there will go ambassadors[20] to the king with presents[21] of value, and I hope to send thither a quantity of pepper and other things; and the result of all you shall know.

The writer of the above had recently arrived in India in the fleet of the new viceroy, **Lopo Soares de Albergaria**, which, sailing from Lisbon on **7th April 1515**, included among its company, according to Barros,[22] "**Simão d'Alcaçova**, son of Pero d'Alcaçova, in a ship of private owners for China, of which **Fernão Peres d'Andrade**,[23] who went with Lopo Soares, was to go as captain-major of this China voyage, and with him **Jorge Mascarenhas**, son of João Gonçalves Montans, and **Joannes Impole**, a merchant. To whom Lopo Soares was to give ships in India for Fernão Peres to make this discovery of the country of China." Before this expedition under Fernão Peres de Andrade reached India, however, another man of Italian origin in the Portuguese service, **Rafael Perestrello**,[24] had made a successful voyage to China.

His brother, Bertolameu Perestrello, having been appointed[25] by Affonso de Albuquerque factor of Malacca, Rafael had accompanied him with orders "to discover China." It was not until after his brother's death in 1515, however, that he was able to undertake the voyage,[26] which he accomplished in a junk belonging to a native merchant at Malacca named Pulate, taking with him a number of Portuguese.[27] We have no details of this visit; but we are told that when Fernão Peres was at Malacca in July 1516 anxiety was being felt there regarding Perestrello and his companions, who, it was feared, had been detained as prisoners in China. A few weeks afterwards, however, anxiety was changed to envy, for the junk returned to Malacca carrying a rich cargo, on which a profit of twenty to one was made. The welcome information was also brought, "that the Chins desired peace and friendship with the Portuguese, and that they were a very good people."[28]

Fernão Peres de Andrade left Cochin in **April[29] 1516**, and arrived at the port of Pasai in Sumatra, where he found **Giovanni da Empoli**, who had preceded him, lading his ship with pepper for China, in company with some Portuguese in junks from Malacca. Unfortunately, by some carelessness or treachery, Empoli's ship took fire, and the whole of the cargo in the hold was destroyed. Fernão Peres, seeing that by this disaster his projected voyage to China would bring much less profit than he had hoped for, resolved to postpone it, and meanwhile to visit Bengal, the "discovery" of which had also been intrusted to him by Dom Manoel. Therefore, after entering into an agreement with the "king" of Pasai for the establishment of a Portuguese factory at that port for the loading of pepper for China, he left for Malacca, where he

[17] The Yangtsz' and the Grand Canal probably.

[18] Chwanchau-fû. (See Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* 'Chinchew.')

[19] An error, of course.

[20] Rather, an ambassador; respecting whom see *infra*.

[21] The original has *prefetti*, doubtless a copyist's blunder for *presenti*.

[22] *Dec.* III., I. i.

[23] Who had been appointed by Albuquerque chief captain of the fleet at Malacca after its capture in 1511. (See *Comment. of Af. Dalb.*, *passim*, regarding him.)

[24] Regarding the Perestrello family, see Amat di S. Filippo's *Biografia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, p. 36. Rafael and Bertolameu Perestrello were connections by marriage (perhaps brothers-in-law) of Columbus.

[25] At the end of 1514 or beginning of 1515 apparently.

[26] Barros (Dec. III., II. vi.) says that he was sent by Jorge de Albuquerque, the captain of Malacca.

[27] Castanheda (III. cxlix.) says "ten," Correa (II. p. 474) has "thirty."

[28] Cast., IV. iv. Barros tells us that in September 1516 Rafael Perestrello arrived at Goa in a brigantine, having shortly before reached Cochin in a ship; "and as he came rich from China where he had been, and was a liberal man, and noble, much people joined him." (See further regarding him in footnote *infra*.)

[29] Ant. Galvão, *Discoveries of the World* (Hak. Soc. ed.), p. 129

arrived, probably, in July 1516. The captain of Malacca, Jorge de Brito, however, offered strong objections to the proposed plan of Fernão Peres, and urged the importance of his going to China at once, if only to learn the fate of Rafael Perestrello and his companions.

Reluctantly, therefore, Fernão Peres consented to go to China with what cargo he could get in Malacca; and he left the latter port on **12th August 1516** in the ship *Santa Barbara*, there accompanying him **Manuel Falcão** and **Antonio Lobo Falcão** in two other ships and **Duarte Coelho** in a junk. Owing to calms, the coast of Cochinchina was not sighted until the middle of September; and shortly afterwards the vessels encountered a storm that compelled them to put in for safety to the coast of Champa.[30] Thence Duarte Coelho, by permission of Fernão Peres, proceeded in his junk to the Menam river, and spent almost a year **in Siam**;[31] while the rest of the company, after touching at Pulo Condore, ran along the coast of the Malay Peninsula to Patani, where Fernão Peres made an agreement with the governor of that place for mutual facilities of trade. Thence the three ships sailed for Malacca, which was reached in October or November 1516.

Learning, on his return to Malacca, of the success that had attended Rafael Perestrello (as mentioned above), Fernão Peres resolved to postpone his intended expedition to Bengal, and to proceed to China as soon as possible. In December 1516, therefore, he left for Pasai,[32] to take in a cargo of pepper; **Simão d'Alcaçova**, one of his captains, going on to India to lade his ship there and return to accompany the fleet to China. Leaving Pasai in May 1517, Fernão Peres returned to Malacca, where he found matters in a very unsatisfactory condition, the captain Jorge de Brito having died, and there being a dispute between Nuno Vaz Pereira and Antonio Pacheco as to which was to succeed to the post. Being unable to reconcile the disputants, and fearful of again losing the monsoon, Fernão Peres left Malacca for China in **June**[33] **1517** with a fleet of eight sail, *viz.*, the *Esphera*, a ship of eight hundred tons commanded by himself, the *Santa Cruz* commanded by Simão d'Alcaçova, the *Santo Andre* commanded by **Pero Soares**, and the *Santiago* commanded by **Jorge Mascarenhas**; a junk belonging to a native merchant in Malacca named Curiaraja, in command of **Jorge Botelho**; two other junks belonging to the merchant Pulate mentioned above, commanded by **Manuel d'Araujo** and **Antonio Lobo Falcão**; and another small vessel commanded by **Martim Guedes**.[34] These vessels were well armed, and carried Chinese pilots.[35]

The fleet arrived at the island of **Tamão or Tamou**,[36] generally called by the Portuguese *a ilha da veniaga* (or *beniaga*[37]), "the island of trade,"[38] at the mouth of the Canton river, on

[30] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*

[31] He arrived at the Canton river in July 1517. (See *infra*.)

[32] Castanheda (IV. xxvii.) alone of the historians relates a serious scandal that was caused by the action of Jorge de Brito, who proposed to use force to prevent Giovanni da Empoli from returning with Fernão Peres to Pasai, which place he had left for Malacca some months before.

[33] Ant. Galvão (*op. cit.* p. 129) says July.

[34] Barros alone mentions this last man in the list of captains, and describes the fleet as consisting of eight sail: Castanheda and Correa say that there were only seven. Ant. Galvão (*op. cit.* p. 129) says that there were "eight sail, Four Portuguese, and the others Malay."

[35] The following details of the visit of Fernão Peres de Andrade to Canton are taken from the accounts in Castanheda (IV. xxvii -xxxi, xl.-xli.), Correa (II. pp. 523-530), and Barros (*Dec.* III., II. vi.-viii.).

[36] See *infra* regarding the identity of this.

[37] Malay *bârniyaga*, (to) trade, traffic, from Skt. *vanijaka*, merchant, *vânijya*, traffic. The word *veniaga* was adopted into the Portuguese vocabulary, and is entered in the dictionaries with the meaning of "merchandise;" also verb *veniagar*, "to sell, traffic." Yule does not record the word in his *Hobson-Jobson*; and in a quotation from Mendez Pinto, *s. v.* 'Lewchew,' he has evidently mistaken it for a place-name. The quotation runs:—"And they" demanding of him whence he came, and what he would have, he answered them, that he was of the Kingdom of *Siam* [of the settlement of the Tanaucarim foreigners, and that he came from Veniaga] and as a Merchant was going to traffique in the Isle of Lequios." The words within brackets are inserted by Yule to supply the deficiency of Cogan's translation; but he has misunderstood the Portuguese, which runs:—"q̃ hia de veniaga como mercador q̃ era para a ilha dos Lequios a fazer sua fazenda." The word *veniaga* is never used by the Portuguese writers by itself as a place name; and *hia de veniaga* simply means "he was going [not *came*] a trading."

[38] *Cf.* Christovão Vieyra's letter *infra*, f. 104.

15th August 1517, passing through the midst of the fleet of Chinese junks that lay off the port to protect the merchant shipping from pirates, and not returning the shots fired at them, which, however, did no damage. At Tamão Fernão Peres found Duarte Coelho, who had arrived from Siam a month before, having had an encounter on the way with some thirty pirate vessels. After applying to the "*pio*" of Lantau for permission to proceed to Canton, and being told that this would have to come from the officials in that city, Fernão Peres, becoming impatient, took his four ships out of port to the mouth of the river, to be ready to sail up it at the earliest possible moment. Unfortunately, however, a sudden storm struck the vessels, which were only saved from shipwreck by the sacrifice of some of their masts. As the Chinese on shore refused to assist the Portuguese to repair their ships, a shift had to be made by a transference of masts from one vessel to another. When this had been completed, Simão d'Alcaçova was left in charge of most of the fleet at Tamão; and Fernão Peres in the ship of Martim Guedes, accompanied by that of Jorge Mascarenhas, and followed by the boats of the other ships, all well armed, crossed over to Lantau. Here he sent Giovanni da Empoli, accompanied by trumpeters and a body-guard, to press the "*pio*" for permission to go to Canton. After a day's delay this was given, and a pilot was furnished; and the Portuguese vessels proceeded up the river to Canton. This was towards the end of September 1517.

In three days the city was reached; and the Portuguese ships anchored off the quay. By order of Fernão Peres, a salute was fired with the cannon, and flags were displayed from the masts. Very soon a message came from the *pu-chêng sz'* of Canton, expressing astonishment at such breaches of Chinese custom; to which the Portuguese captain replied, that he had erred through ignorance, and intended only respect. News of the arrival of the Portuguese was sent by the *pu-chêng sz'* to the *tu-tung*, "*concan*" and "*chumpim*,"[39] who resided in a city[40] some distance inland; and pending their arrival strict orders were given by Fernão Peres that none of his company were to land, all trade being confined to the boats on the river. At intervals of a few days[41] the above-mentioned officials arrived in Canton; and after various communications had passed between them and the Portuguese a day was appointed, when Giovanni da Empoli was sent with much pomp and ceremony, accompanied by a suite and preceded by trumpeters, to explain fully the object of the Portuguese mission. The result of the interview was satisfactory, the Chinese officials promising to write to the emperor respecting the Portuguese ambassador, and granting the latter meanwhile permission to reside on shore. Accordingly, a house was set apart for **Thomé Pires**,[42] his retinue and servants; and the presents for the emperor were placed there under lock and key. Fernão Peres was also invited by the Chinese officials to come on shore; but he declined, saying that he was responsible to his king for the safety of the ships. He asked, however, the favor of a house near the water's

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[39] See *infra* regarding these officials. [40] Wuchau. (See Christovão Vieyra's letter *infra*, f. 120.)

[41] In order the more to impress the Portuguese, the reception of each in turn surpassing in magnificence that of his precursor. (Barros, *Dec.* III., II. viii.)

[42] This man had been chosen as ambassador to China by Lopo Soares after his arrival in India, the king having left the choice to him. Thomé Pires was an apothecary, and having shown himself to be a man of considerable ability had been employed by Affonso de Albuquerque on various missions, which he had carried out successfully. Lopo Soares selected him as ambassador, in the hope that he would bring back information not only of Chinese plants and drugs but of more important matters connected with the land of Cathay. His fate is recounted in the first letter given below. Whether he was able to send any report of his impressions of China to India I do not know: if Correa (II. p. 678) is to be trusted, he did send "a book in which he gave an account of the riches and grandeurs of the king of China, which appeared doubtful of credence." Couto, writing in 1611, says in his *Decada XII.* (cap. iv.):—"And although I have already spoken of this Province of Cathay . . . . I shall further on, with the divine favor, ... give a better description of it, on account of the much more that has nowadays been discovered by the fathers of the Company [of Jesus], who are penetrating to the extremity of China and Cathay, whither no Portuguese ever came, save that ambassador whom Fernão Peres d' Andrade sent to the king of China, who went even to his court, without being able to give an account of that province, nor of any other, because the Chins that conveyed him led him about by different routes, in which they caused him to spend many months, both in order that he might not be able to give an account of anything, and to show him the greatness of that empire."

edge, where he might offer for sale or exchange some of the goods he had brought. This was granted; and the factor, his clerk and a few others were sent to carry on the trade. Under cover of this privilege Fernão Peres sent other men on shore to make their way secretly into various parts of the city, if possible, and report on what they saw.[43]

Two events occurred, however, which caused the Portuguese commander to hasten his departure from Canton. One of these was the receipt of a message from Simão d' Alcaçova to say that he had been attacked by pirates, whom, however, he had been able to beat off. The other occurrence was an outbreak of fever and dysentery among his own company, which lasted throughout the whole of October, and proved fatal to nine men, the most serious loss being that of the factor, **Giovanni da Empoli.** Fernão Peres, therefore, leaving Thomé Pires and his companions at Canton, returned to Tamão at the end of 1517 or beginning of 1518.

While Fernão Peres was repairing his vessels and carrying on trade at Tamão, there came thither some junks of Liukiu islanders, of whom the Portuguese had already heard at Malacca.[44] In order to gain full information regarding these people and the islands they came from, **Jorge Mascarenhas** was dispatched in his ship with Chinese pilots; but, owing to unfavourable weather, he did not get further than Chwanchau-fû, where, however, he laid the foundation of a thriving Portuguese trade.[45]

Duarte Coelho also was dispatched to Malacca to report the success that had so far attended the mission. He arrived there in March; and at once a junk was got ready and sent off, with **Jorge Alvares** in command, to bring back a cargo, and to convey to Fernão Peres the news of war with the Raja of Bintang.

On hearing these tidings Fernão Peres sent off a message overland to Jorge Mascarenhas to request his return, and meanwhile made all preparations for his departure. In due course Jorge Mascarenhas arrived; and Fernão Peres, having ascertained from the officials at Canton that the emperor had expressed his willingness to receive the Portuguese ambassador, sailed with all his fleet at the end of September 1518, and arrived safely at Malacca, one of his ships, the *Santo André*, captain Pero Soares, having been lost in a storm in the Gulf of Cochinchina.

Fernão Peres de Andrade had whilst in China conducted affairs with such skill and tact that he left a very favorable impression of the Portuguese character on the Chinese,[46] and well deserved the profit he derived from the rich cargo that he carried away.[47] All the good effect of his conciliatory conduct was, however, entirely destroyed by the arrogant behavior of the man who commanded the next expedition to China, and who happened to be his own brother.

The arrival, early in 1519,[48] of Fernão Peres de Andrade at Cochin with such a valuable cargo caused no small stir among the captains; and, although Antonio Correa was then under orders to proceed to Malacca and China, on the production by Simão de Andrade of a royal grant authorizing him to go to China after his brother's return Antonio Correa was ordered by the new governor, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, to go to Malacca only, and Simão de Andrade was appointed to the command of the fleet destined for China.

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[43] Barros tells us (*Dec.* III., II. vii.) that one of these men, Antonio Fernandes, took the opportunity one night when the populace were occupied with a feast of lanterns, to climb the city wall and run right round it, counting ninety towers therein.

[44] See *Comment. of Af. Dalb.* (Hak. Soc.), III. pp. xiv. 88.

[45] See further regarding this trade *infra.*

[46] One instance given by Barros (*Dec.* III., II. viii.) is to the effect that before his departure he caused proclamation to be made that if any Chinese had received any injury from or had any claim on a Portuguese he was to come to him and satisfaction should be made.

[47] Barros *(loc. cit.)* says that he entered Malacca "very prosperous in honor and riches, things that seldom go together, because there are few men who by their labors deserve them by the method by which Fernão Peres gained them in those parts." (*Cf.* Ant. Galvão, *Discoveries of the World*, Hak. Soc. ed. pp. 129-130.)

[48] Correa (tom. 2, p. 539) has 1518 (which is impossible), and to this adds other errors.

Simão de Andrade left Cochin in **April 1519**[49] for Malacca, whence he sailed for China accompanied by three junks captained by **Jorge Botelho, Alvaro Fuzeiro,** and **Francisco Rodrigues.**[50] With these four sail he arrived at Tamão in August 1519; and at once began to show the Chinese that he was of a very different temperament from his brother.[51] Under the pretext that the Chinese vessels themselves while lying in port were exposed to the attacks of pirate junks, he built on shore a fortress of stone and wood. Even more offensive to the feelings of the Chinese was the erection by him on an adjacent islet of a gallows, on which he hanged a seaman who had committed some offence, the execution being carried out with all the formalities usual in Portugal. Further, he insisted on the right of claiming precedence for his vessels over others from Siam, Kamboja, Patani, *etc.*, in trading with the Chinese.[52] But what caused the cup of indignation of the Cantonese to overflow was their discovery, after Simão de Andrade had sailed for Malacca, that many of their children, whom they had given in pledge to their creditors, had been kiddnapped by the Portuguese captain and carried away to become slaves.[53]

On arriving at Tamão Simão de Andrade learnt that, in spite of the favorable messages conveyed to his brother by the officials at Canton, the ambassador **Thomé Pires** had not yet received permission from the emperor to wait upon him. At length, however, after the dispatch of messages at intervals on three separate occasions, and the receipt of as many replies, the ambassador was permitted to set out. He and his suite left Canton on 23rd January 1520, proceeding up the river in three large row-boats having silken awnings and flying Portuguese flags. At the foot of the mountain range the boats were left, and the party proceeded across the Meiling Pass in litters, on horseback, or afoot.[54] Thence they journeyed northward, until, in **May 1520**, they reached **Nanking,** where the emperor was then staying. An imperial order was here conveyed to the ambassador, that he was to go on to **Peking,**

[49] Barros (who alone of the Portuguese historians gives us any account of this man's visit to China) says (*Dec.* III., VI. i.), with a rare double inaccuracy, that it was "in April 1518 in the time of Lopo Soares" that Simão de Andrade left India.

[50] Another junk, commanded by Jorge Alvares, was detained by a leak, and was obliged to follow later on in the fleet under Diogo Calvo.

[51] Barros (*Dec.* III., VI. ii.) tells us that Simão de Andrade was "of noble presence, very pompous, boastful, and open-handed; all his acts were performed with great dignity, and to such an extent, that he was the first man that ordered Indians to be taught to play on shawms and to make use of them." (See further regarding him in *Comment. of Af. Dalb., passim.*)

[52] Barros also says (*Dec* III., VI. i.) that a principal official who protested against this action was ill-used under Simão de Andrade's orders. This is confirmed by Christovão Vieyra in the letter given below (f. 105v.). Gaspar da Cruz in cap. xxii. of his book says:—"All the ambassadors that come to China with embassies from kings or princes receive from the king many gifts and favors, and they give them a cap and insignia of a *louthia*, whereby they have great liberties in the country. They may whip and chastise the Chinese themselves, so long as they do not touch a *louthia* lesser or greater: because to touch these is bound to be followed by great inconveniences. This was the cause why, when Fernão Pirez Dãdrade came as ambassador to China, the Chinese rose against him, and he escaped in very doleful dumps, losing several ships: because, having executed unaccustomed justice in China and on Chinese, and it being forgiven him, he thought fit to extend his hand to the *louthias.*" In the translation of this passage in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, III. p. 189, it is said that Fernão Peres "escaped with his hands on his head," which is an almost literal rendering of the Portuguese orig. "*cõ as mãos nos cabellos.*" This expression seems to be a variant of "*com as mãos na cabeça,*" which means "mortified, humbled, amazed, disappointed." But it will be noticed that Gaspar da Cruz, like so many other writers on this subject, has blundered, mixing up Fernao Peres de Andrade, his brother Simão (the real culprit), Thomé Pires (the ambassador), and Diogo Calvo or Martim Affonso (who both lost ships). Purchas recognized that there was some error in this account, but was unable entirely to solve it. (See his marginal note in *loc. cit.*)

[53] Barros *(u. s.)* says that it was reported among the Chinese that the Portuguese bought stolen children and ate them roasted. It will be seen that in the letter of Christovão Vieyra below (f. 105v.) the accusation against the Portuguese was that they stole *dogs* and ate them roasted, — certainly a very venial offence in China!

[54] From this pass Thomé Pires sent a letter to Simão de Andrade announcing his safe arrival there, and stating that Canton was but a small affair compared with other cities he had seen on his journey. (Barros, *Dec.* III., VI. i.) It will be seen from the first letter given below (f. 111v.) that one of the company, Duarte Fernandez, died on the journey.

there to await the emperor's pleasure. To Peking accordingly the party proceeded, arriving there, apparently, in **July 1520.**[55]

In January 1521, the emperor arrived at a small town some two leagues distant from Peking, and there halted to pass sentence on a relative of his who had rebelled against his authority.[56] This man having been duly executed, the emperor proceeded to Peking, which he entered in February 1521. Meanwhile complaints had reached the emperor from various quarters regarding the conduct of the Portuguese. Not only were there representations from the mandarins of Canton and Peking concerning the bad behaviour of Simão de Andrade at Tamão, but another ambassador, one Tuwang Muhammad, had come from the exiled king of Malacca[57] to lay before his suzerain the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the "sea-robbers." To make matters worse, when the sealed letter from Dom Manoel to the emperor was opened, it was found to differ entirely in its language from the letters written by the interpreters under the instructions of Fernão Peres de Andrade. True, the responsibility for these latter was accepted by the interpreters; but the other accusations, it was resolved, should be made the subject of inquiry. The members of the embassy, meanwhile, were ordered not to come near the palace.

While matters were in this state, however, the emperor, who had been ailing since the day after his arrival in Peking, died, in May 1521; [58] and, in accordance with the custom of the country, Thomé Pires was informed that he must at once leave the imperial city; and that when the new sovereign had assumed rule[59] his majesty's pleasure should be communicated to him. Accordingly the ambassador and his suite set out from Peking on 22nd May, and reached Canton on 22nd September 1521.[60]

In the meantime events of serious import had occurred at Tamão. After the departure of Simão de Andrade from Malacca (in September 1520, apparently[61]), the Chinese, as I have said above, were exasperated by the discovery that he had carried off into slavery a number of their sons and daughters. They were not, therefore, inclined to give a very cordial welcome to the next Portuguese vessels that came to the Island of Trade, though at first no ill-feeling was displayed. It was in **April or May 1521** that a fleet of Portuguese vessels from Malacca cast anchor in the port of Tamão. This consisted of a ship[62] from Portugal belonging to **Dom Nuno Manuel** and commanded by **Diogo Calvo,**[63] several other ships from Malacca that had not been

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[55] I infer this from the statement of Christovão Vieyra (f. 1), that on the 2nd of August the ambassador despatched letters to Canton reporting the progress of the mission.

[56] This was the prince of Ning, an uncle of the emperor's, who had taken part in a rebellion some years before. (See Boulger's *History of China*, I. pp. 466, 468.)

[57] Or, rather, his son, the Raja of Bintang.

[58] Wells Williams (*Middle Kingdom*, II. p. 186) makes Chingtih's reign cover sixteen years, 1506-1522; while Boulger (*History of China*, I. pp. 465, 468) states that his reign began in 1505 and that he died in the fourteenth year of it, *i. e.*, 1519!

[59] See Boulger, *op. cit.* (I. p. 469) regarding the trouble that was averted, on the death of Chingtih without an heir, by the prompt and resolute action of the empress Changchi. A grandson of the emperor Chinghwa, a youth of fourteen years, was chosen by the nobles as their new sovereign, and ascended the throne under the title of Kiahtsing.

[60] From the first letter given below (f. 111v.) we learn that a second member of the company, Francisco de Budoya, died on the journey back.

[61] The Portuguese historians do not record the date of Simão de Andrade's departure from China; but in the letter given below Christovão Vieyra states that on 2nd August 1520 the ambassador's party sent from Peking letters which "reached Jorge Botelho and Diogo Calvo in the island where trade is carried on." From this we may infer that when the letters reached Canton Simão de Andrade had already sailed. At any rate we learn from Barros (*Dec.* III., VI. ii.) that he arrived at Cochin at the time that Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was before Diu, that is, probably, early in 1521. One of the first acts of D. Duarte de Menezes on assuming the governorship in January 1522 was to affiance Simão de Andrade to a natural daughter of his own in Portugal and appoint him to the captaincy of Chaul. One of his excuses for this gross job was that Simão de Andrade had shortly before arrived from China very rich.

[62] According to Correa (II. p. 678) it was named *Madanela (i. e., Madalena)*.

[63] Who, with Rafael Catanho and Rafael Perestrello, left Lisbon in 1519 with permission to go to China. Regarding Catanho and Perestrello see the footnote further on.

able to accompany Simão de Andrade, and the junk of Jorge Alvares, which, as mentioned above, had been detained at Malacca by a leak. While the Portuguese were engaged in trading, some at Tamão and others in Canton, news came of the death of the emperor; and orders were at once issued that all foreigners should forthwith leave the country under pain of death. Diogo Calvo and his companions demurred to this, as they had not completed their cargoes; whereupon the Chinese seized and imprisoned Vasco Calvo, Diogo Calvo's brother, and other Portuguese who happened to be then in Canton, and attacked and captured a number of Portuguese and Siamese ships and junks, killing very many persons and imprisoning others. They also formed a fleet of armed junks, and proceeded to blockade Diogo Calvo's ship and the seven or eight Portuguese junks that lay at Tamão.[64]

At this juncture, on 27th **June 1521**, there arrived off Tamão two junks, one belonging to and captained by **Duarte Coelho**, and the other to some residents of Malacca. On learning the condition of affairs, Duarte Coelho was inclined to make his escape, leaving his compatriots to their fate; but, as I have mentioned above, he was induced to stay chiefly from his affection for Jorge Alvares, who was then sick unto death. Two days later the five vessels were beset by a Chinese fleet of fifty junks, the commander refusing all offers of peace, and attacking the Portuguese furiously, only, however, to be beaten off with much loss. After forty days had thus passed, there arrived **Ambrosio do Rego** in a ship with another from Malacca; and these succeeded in joining the other five. There being now not more than eight Portuguese left in any one of the vessels, Duarte Coelho, Diogo Calvo and Ambrosio do Rego resolved that the junks should be abandoned, their crews being divided among the three ships, which should attempt to break through the investing fleet. Accordingly, on the night of 7th September the three ships set sail; but at daybreak on the 8th they were attacked by the Chinese fleet, and a fierce engagement ensued. The Portuguese would probably have had to succumb to superior numbers; but a sudden gale from the north wrought havoc among the Chinese junks and enabled the three ships to soon outdistance the enemy; and in October 1521 they reached Malacca safely.[65]

Such was the state of affairs when Thomé Pires and his companions returned to Canton on 22nd September 1521; and we cannot be surprised that the treatment they met with there was very different from what they had experienced before they left for Peking. The indignities to which they and the other unfortunate captives were subjected are so graphically described by **Christovão Vieyra**, that I need not detail them here. After a farcical show of respect for the members of the embassy, extending over some ten months, these were all imprisoned, and the whole of their property and the presents from the king of Portugal to the emperor were confiscated, the lion's share, as might be expected, falling to the mandarins.[66]

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[64] These and the following details are gathered from the letters given below, and from the accounts in Castanheda (V. lxxx.), Correa (II. p. 678), and Barros (*Dec.* III., VI. i -ii.).

[65] Castanheda, whose brief account of these events was printed in 1553, adds that at Malacca " they reported the news of the rising of China : and regarding this an inquiry was drawn up in Malacca, which was sent sealed to the king of Portugal : in which were set forth clearly some causes of this rising, which, as I have said, I cannot ascertain, and therefore have not related them " Correa's account, written in India a little earlier, is also very meagre ; but Barros whose third *Decade* was issued in 1553, like Castanheda's *Livro V.*, seems to have obtained access to documents not available to the two other historians.

[66] Gonzalez de Mendoza, in treating of the reception of ambassadors in China, says, in bk. III., chap. xxiii., of his work (see also Hak. Soc. ed., I. pp. 159-160) :— " To those that enter the kingdom with this name [of ambassador] for no offence that they commit (even though it be proved against them) do they do any harm ; and it appears to be true, it having been manifested by experience. For when there came to this kingdom one Bartolome [*sic !*] Perez a Portuguese and others his companions, sent by order of the viceroy of India with an embassy from the king Don Manuel, they were accused before the viceroy of the province of Canton by the ambassadors of the king of Malacca (who happened to be there, and came to the court to treat of matters of their king), the which testified that the embassy that the Protuguese had brought was a false one, and that they were spies of the viceroy of India, that they came to view the forts of the city, in order afterwards to come against it and take it, as they had done in many parts of India. And carrying still further their wickedness and damnable intention, they requested the viceroy that he should at

News of these disasters had not reached India when, in **April 1522,** another fleet left Cochin for China: this consisted of four ships,[67] commanded by **Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho**[68] as captain-major, his two brothers **Vasco Fernandes Coutinho** and **Diogo de Mello,** and **Pedro Homem.** Martim Affonso carried a commission from Dom Manoel[69] to conclude a treaty of peace with the emperor of China, and to endeavor to obtain permission to erect a fortress at Tamão, where he was to remain in charge of the officials whom he took with him. On arriving at Malacca in July,[70] however, he learnt of the unfortunate change that had occurred in the relations between the Portugese and the Chinese. Nevertheless, he determined to pursue his voyage;[71] and, at his request and that of the governor of Malacca (Jorge de Albuquerque), Duarte Coelho and Ambrosio do Rego were, much against their wills, induced to accompany the expedition. Accordingly, the four ships and a junk[72] left Malacca on 10th July 1522, and arrived at the port of Tamão in August.[73]

Before reaching the port, however, they were sighted by a Chinese fleet, which bore down upon them, firing off bombards that did the Portuguese no damage. Martim Affonso had given strict orders to his captains to refrain from acting on the offensive; but these demonstrations on the part of the Chinese seem to have led some of the Portuguese to commit acts of aggression for which they were severely called to account by the captain-major.[74] Avoiding an engagement, the four ships entered the port and cast anchor; and Martim Affonso at once sent word to the officials on shore that he desired peace and trade as before. All his overtures were, however, rejected; and some men who landed to get water were roughly handled and had to escape for their lives, leaving their barrels and jars behind. Duarte Coelho, meanwhile, unable or unwilling to accompany the ships into port, had remained at sea, and, fearful of being attacked by the Chinese fleet, sent urgent requests that the ships would come out and join him.

This Martim Affonso resolved to attempt; and he accordingly weighed anchor, the ships of Diogo de Mello and Pedro Homem, which were smaller than the other two, going in front as

once seize and castigate them as such. Who, after having thought thereon, and consulted with the *loytias* of the city, and the judges of his council, ordered them to be seized, and placed in close confinement, taking from them their confessions, with much caution and care: and as in these there was found contradiction (because some of them through fear confessed more than they asked them of, and contrary to what was the truth) by reason of the inquiry he sentenced them to death, and sent the sentence to the council that they might confirm it with intent and desire to execute it. The royal council having seen it, and considered the title with which they had entered the kingdom, not only did not confirm it, but sent at once to order the viceroy to release them and to let them return free to India whence they had come (notwithstanding that the ambassadors of the king of Malaca, who were still at the court, did not get very good service thereby), and to supply them fully with every necessary until they should arrive there: saying in the mandate, that even if all that the aforesaid ambassadors testified were true, and that which they themselves through fear of death had confessed, it sufficed, to do them no harm, that they had entered that kingdom with the title of an embassy." It will be seen that this writer gives a very incorrect statement of the facts connected with the imprisonment of Thomé Pires and his companions.

[67] According to Correa (II. p. 674), Martim Affonso's ship was the *Conceição*, that of Vasco Fernandes the *Gryfo*, and that of Pedro Homem the *Syseiro*. Diogo de Mello was given a ship in India, the name of which is not mentioned.

[68] Not to be confused with Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte.

[69] Who died 13th December 1521. Martim Affonso and his companions left Lisbon on 5th April 1521 in the flee that took out the new governor of India, D. Duarte de Menezes.

[70] After a stay at Pasai, where he installed D. André Henriques as captain in place of Antonio de Miranda, and loaded a large cargo of pepper for China.

[71] Unwilling, doubtless, to lose the chance of making the enormous profits which he had anticipated from the sale of his cargoes.

[72] Barros (Dec. III., VIII. v.) says two junks. Castanheda and Correa, however, mention only one junk, that of Duarte Coelho, as accompanying the ships. From the description of subsequent events it would seem that there was in fact only one junk, and that Ambrosio do Rego was on board of it with Duarte Coelho.

[73] The following details are taken from Castanheda, VI. xiii.-xv.; Correa, II. pp. 718-720; Barros, *Dec.* III., VIII. v. (*Cf.* also the accounts in the letters *infra*, f. 121, ff. 134-134v.)

[74] Castanheda (IV., cap. xiii) says that Ambrosio do Rego was the chief offender; but Correa (II. p. 718) lays the blame on Duarte Coelho, whom, he adds, Martim Affonso threatened to hang from the yard-arm of his own junk. Barros entirely passes over this unpleasant incident, which, however, seems to be confirmed by the writers of the letters given below. (See f. 121 and f. 134 v.)

guides. The Chinese fleet, however, was on the alert, and at once attacked these two vessels. As ill-luck would have it, a bombard almost immediately set fire to a barrel of powder in Diogo de Mello's ship, which blew up with all on board, only a few escaping with their lives. Seeing these swimming in the sea, Pedro Homem sent his boat to pick them up, hoping that among them might be Diogo de Mello: whereupon, the Chinese, taking advantage of this diminution of his force, succeeded in boarding Pedro Homem's ship, where, after a desperate combat, the brave captain[75] and all his men were either slain or made prisoners, the ship itself being rifled of its cargo and fittings. Night having fallen, Martim Affonso called a council of war, and urged that vengeance should be taken on the Chinese for the losses they had inflicted on the Portuguese; but the other captains counselled a more discreet policy, to which Martim Affonso very unwillingly acceded, first requiring a document to be signed by all the captains exculpating him from the blame. This having been done, and the dismantled ship of Pedro Homem having been scuttled, the two remaining ships and the junk,[76] after this short but eventful fortnight at Tamão, sailed for Malacca, which they reached safely in October 1522 by the round-about way of the west coast of Sumatra and Pasai.[77] Thus were shattered the Portuguese hopes of a permanent lucrative trade with China for many years to come.[78]

It was probably while Martim Affonso de Mello and his companions were engaged with the Chinese fleet at Tamão that the imprisonment of Thomé Pires and the rest of the embassy and the confiscation of their goods took place, as described below by Christovão Vieyra,[79] on 14th and 15th August 1522. From the same writer we learn,[80] that on 1st October of that year three letters — one for the king of Portugal, another for the governor of India, and a third for the governor of Malacca — were handed to the *ngan-cha sz'* of Canton to be forwarded through the exiled king of Malacca's ambassador. The latter, however, was unwilling to undertake the task; but on 31st May 1523 a junk with Chinese and Malays left Canton for Patani with a message to the exiled king.[81] On 5th September the latter's reply reached Canton; and as a consequence, apparently, twenty-three Portuguese prisoners, who on 6th December 1522 had had boards inscribed with their sentences placed upon their necks, were on 23rd September 1523 executed and

[75] He was the son of Pedro Homem, Dom Manoel's chief equerry, and, according to Barros, was "in body on of the biggest men in Portugal, and moreover the stoutness of his spirit and his bodily strength were different from the common run of others, which is seldom found in those of his stature."

[76] Barros, however, has it that Duarte Coelho had started in advance, and that Martim Affonso only met with him on the coast of Champa.

[77] Correa (II. p. 720) says that Martim Affonso sent Duarte Coelho from Pasai to Malacca with the bad news, but himself remained at Pasai until the monsoon," when he returned to India in order to return to Portugal; but arriving at Cochym he died of his sickness." On the other hand, Barros (*u. s*) states that Martim Affonso "reached Malacca in the middle of October 1522, and in the monsoon of January 1523 left for India, and thence for this kingdom in the year 1525, where he arrived in safety." Which version is correct, I cannot say.

[78] I have mentioned above that in 1519 Rafael Perestrello and Rafael Catanho left Lisbon in company with Diogo Calvo with permission to make a voyage to China. Though, however, Castanheda, Correa and Barros have frequent references to their intended voyage to China, and even inform us that they accompanied Jorge de Albuquerque in 1521 as far as Pasai, where they were to load pepper, we are not told of their actually going to China. Correa, however, says (II. p. 786), that at the end of 1523 or beginning of 1524, when the Raja of Cranganor had begged help of the Portuguese against the Samorin, "Rafael Catanho, who was in Cochym, who had come from China very rich, strongly urged Dom Luiz to give the help that the king of Cranganor asked for, and offered to go to fight with three hundred Portuguese men, and to pay them at his own expense." In declining the offer, Dom Luiz is made to refer to "your money, which you went to gain at such risk of life." It is possible that one or both of the Rafaels visited Tamão during the troublous times described above. Jorge de Albuquerque, also, who left Portugal in command of the fleet of 1519, had received from the king the favor of "a voyage to China, after the manner of Fernão Peres d'Andrade;" but he was not able to avail himself of this, in consequence of having to take up the captaincy of Malacca. In a fleet that left Lisbon for India in 1520 was another man who had been granted a voyage to China, Pero Lourenço de Mello; he did not, however, leave Cochin until September 1522, when, on his voyage to Pasai to load pepper, he was wrecked in a storm on an island off the coast of Arakan, and he and all his men were subsequently murdered by a native chief on the mainland, to which they had escaped in the ship's boat. (Correa, II. p. 721; Barros, *Dec.* III., VII. vii.)

[79] ff. 103v.-107.

[80] f. 110v.

[81] See also the extract from Jorge d' Albuquerque's letter of 1st Jan. 1524 given below.

mutilated, in and around Canton.[82] In May 1524, Christovão Vieyra tells us,[83] Thomé Pires died of sickness in prison in Canton;[84] and in the same year the Malay ambassador left Canton to return to his royal master (whether or not bearing the letters for the Portuguese authorities does not appear); but being wrecked off Borneo he and all his party were made prisoners.[85] In 1523, we learn from this same letter,[86] the Chinese prepared a fleet of one hundred junks in case the Portuguese should return to avenge the disaster of the prevous year; but no Portuguese came; and in August a hurricane destroyed half the fleet. Next year another fleet for the same purpose was got ready; and so in each succeeding year until 1528, after which, owing to most of the junks having by that time been captured by pirates, the attempt to form a fleet was, perforce, abandoned.

Meantime, the Portuguese in Malacca, uncertain of the fate of their imprisoned countrymen, seem to have apprehended the descent on that city of an avenging Chinese fleet, as will be seen by the following extract from a letter[87] written to the king of Portugal on **1st January 1524 by Jorge de Albuquerque**, governor of Malacca :—

> Dom Samcho amriques capitam moor do mar de Malaqua por vosa alteza foy estar sobre o bimtam na entrada de julho e day foy ter a patam[88] e ambrosyo do regno com ele e outro navio esperar hum juquo[89] que era em syam de voza alteza e a saber novas da China dos chis que ahi vem ter, mandou ambrosyo do reguo diante e ele ficou ainda la que hos junquos nam sam comidos e perguntei lhe por novas da charrua[90] responde ho[91] me que lhe disera hum lymgoa que antre os chis e os portugueses tratava cando estavam de paz dise lhe que eram vyvos doito ate treze portugueses e nom safirmaram quantos porque huum dize oito e outro dizem treze e que diziam que ho embaixador tome pires que era ainda vivo, veho hum recado a el rey de bimtam de seu embaixador ho quall omem que o trouxe tornou logou a fama que el rey de bimtam lancou[92] pela tera he que hos chis aviam de vir sobre malaqua isto nom he muito certo porem sam cousas que podem ser se vieram grande dano faram salvo se o capitam mor acudir a tempoo como lhe eu esprevo porem ho meu parecer he que tall nom faram que tambem dizem na China que desejam paz com nosquo.

Translation.

> Dom Sancho Henriques, captain-major of the sea at Malacca for your Highness, went to attack Bintang at the beginning of July, and from there went to visit Patani, and Ambrosio do Rego with him and another ship, to wait for a junk that was in Siam of your Highness's, and to learn news from China from the Chinese that come to call there.[93] He sent Ambrosio do Rego in advance; and he remained there still because the junks are not yet ended;[94] and I asked him for news of the merchant-ship.[95] He answered me what an interpreter who acted between the

[82] ff. 109-109v.

[83] f. 112.

[84] Castanheda, in cap. lxxx. of liv. V. of his history (published in 1553), after referring to the imprisonment of the Portuguese and the confiscation of their goods, adds : "and some say that the ambassador fell sick and died of grief. others that he died by poison. And because I cannot ascertain the particulars of this I thus relate it in sum : and also the rest that passed in the rising of China against our people." This shows that he was ignorant of the letters of Christovão Vieyra and Vasco Calvo. (See further regarding this *infra.*)

[85] f. 111.

[86] f. 118v.

[87] Preserved in the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. (*Corpo Chron.*, tom. 1, parte 1, maço 3, doc. 78.) The above extract, from the India Office transcripts, I owe to the kindness of Mr. R. S. Whiteway, B. C. S. (retd.).

[88] Read *patane.* [89] For *jũquo.* [90] For *China?* [91] For *respondeo ?* [92] Read *lançou.*

[93] See Castanheda, VI. lii.-lv. ; Correa, II. pp. 769-774 ; Barros, *Dec.* III., VIII. vi.-vii. None of these writers records the facts mentioned in this letter: Castanheda distinctly admits his ignorance of what Dom Sancho and Ambrosio do Rego did at Patani.

[94] Literally "consumed" *(comidos)* : apparently meaning that more were expected. The word may, however be a copyist's error.

[95] Port. *charrua,* which, I think, must be an error for *China.*

Chinese and Portuguese when they were at peace had said to him. He told him that there were living from eight to thirteen Portuguese, and it was not certain how many, because one said eight and another said thirteen; and that they said that the ambassador Thomé Pires was still living. A message came to the king of Bintang from his ambassador,[96] and the man who brought it soon returned. The report that the king of Bintang was spreading in the country is that the Chinese intended to come and attack Malacca. This is not very certain; nevertheless they are things that may be. If they come, they will do great harm, unless the captain-major shall come in time, as I have written to him. However, my opinion is, that they will not do so, as they still say in China that they desire peace with us.

The anticipated attack by a Chinese fleet on Malacca did not take place, however, any more than the assault which the Chinese at Canton expected from the Portuguese. The capture of the stronghold of the Raja of Bintang by the Portuguese forces under **Pero Mascarenhas** at the end of 1526, and the death of the Raja in the engagement, gave the garrison at Malacca comparative rest for a few years; but the Raja of Ujantana was as implacable a foe as his father had been, and there were enemies in Achin and elsewhere to keep the Portuguese fully occupied.[97] Though themselves debarred from visiting China, the Portuguese doubtless kept in touch with that country by means of native traders calling at Patani, and never lost hope of a resumption of friendly relations. The historians, however, make but scant references to China during these years,[98] and there seem to be very few documents existing that throw light on the subject. Beside the extract given above, the following letter[99] is the only document that I have met with dealing with **Chinese affairs at that period**:—

Senhor — Despois de ter dado as apontamentos a vossa alteza pera por eles me perguntar as couzas da China do alevamento da terra o souberam allgumas pessoas por o quall me rogaram que se me vossa alteza perguntasse por a riqueza da terra que nam decrarase todo e me calase por que acabando hum partido com vosa alteza me faram bom partido e vosa alteza he meu rey e deus da terra, oulhe bem vossa alteza o que fiz para que saiba certo que debaixo do sol tão riqa terra nom ha como a china de todalas mercadorias que pidirem pera a boca e baratas e todalas cousas pera os vossos allmasens da India que outra cousa nam mandara pera eles somente lonas por que todo ho all them na china que pode vir pera eles muito barato, a saber, vergas mastos breu tavoado pregadura chumbo fero cobre asoque e as outros mercadorias são muito ricas que são muito pera escrever este aviso dou a vossa alteza pera que saiba ho que ha de faser e eu senhor nam deserberto *(sic)* de dizer a verdade a vosa alteza por que são soo e sem emparo de senhor e sayba por certo vosa alteza que jagora consentirão na china mercadorias de vosa alteza por que ja são pasados os cinco anos que me mandou dizer o rey que nam fosem mercadarias ate nam pasarem cinco anos o qual me dise hum meu parente que esteve no Reyno de Syam que estavão os chies desejosos de nos outros de pimenta e pao preto e pucho e encenso macho e marfim e çafram que todo deram agora a peso e dinheiro as mercadarias da china nam digo a qui por que por palavra ho direi se

[96] As mentioned above.

[97] See Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 320-321.

[98] Correa (III. p. 82) says that Pero Mascarenhas, before leaving Malacca for India in August 1526 to take up the governorship, granted to Duarte Coelho, as a reward for having brought the official documents announcing his succession to that office, "a voyage that he might make to Çunda to load pepper, and that he might go to China to make his profit, which was good payment for his good news *(alviçaras)*." After the capture of the fortress of Bintang Duarte Coelho did indeed sail in company of Francisco de Sá for Sunda; but the voyage was a most disastrous one, and Coelho had to return to Malacca without his pepper, and with his hopes of a voyage to China blasted. (Correa, III. p. 92.)

[99] Referred to in Sir W. W. Hunter's *History of British India*, I p. 185. The copy here given is from the India Office transcripts. The original is preserved in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon (*Corpo Chronologico*, parte 1, maço 35, doc. 78).

for serviço de vosa alteza sabelo de mim, e eu senhor hey dir catar hum irmão meu que me ficou em cantão em arrefẽs por a verdade dos purtugueses, e por eles nam quererem obedecer aos mandados del Rey da China e quererem faser guerra na China e matar e roubar a terra onde se fes muito mall nesta nam digo a vosa alteza mais por que por mim o sabera quando for ser serviço que nesta cidade estou por nam ter la gasalhado e meus desejos senhor são servir vosa alteza naquellas partes por que sey escusallas digo aserrarllas (?), e nesta digo que na China valem oitenta prorolas *(sic)* boas hum cruzado a troco de pimenta, fico rogando a deus por o reall estado de vosa alteza a dezeseis de janeiro de quinhentos vinte e sete = serviço de vossa alteza = Diogno Calvo = A el Rey nosso senhor = De seu serviço = *Á margem* = de diogno Calvo que foi á chyna que el Rey deve ouvir.

Translation.

Sire, — Since giving your Highness the observations,[100] that you might by means of them question me on the affairs of China, regarding the uprising in the country, several persons knew of ti, for which reason they begged me that if your Highness questioned me as to the riches of the country I should not declare all, and should hold my tongue, because if I lost the chance of favor with your highness they would do me a good turn; and your Highness is my king and God of the country. Let your Highness consider well what I did, that you may know for certain that under the sun there is no country so rich as China in all the articles of merchandize that are in demand for the mouth and cheap, and all things for your magazines in India, so that you need not send to them anything else but sail-cloths, because all the rest is to be had in China and can come to them very cheaply, namely, yards, masts, pitch, planking, nails, lead, iron, copper, quicksilver;[1] and the other wares are very rich, which are too many to describe. This advice I give to your Highness that you may know what has to be done, and I, sire, not discovered[2] to tell the truth to your Highness, because I am alone and without the protection of a lord. And let your highness know for certain that at this present time they will allow in China articles of merchandize of your Highness's, because the five years have already passed, as the king commanded to tell me that no goods should go until five years had passed ;[3] for a relative[4] of mine who was in the kingdom of Siam told me that the Chinese were desirous of receiving from us pepper and black wood and putchuck and frankincense and ivory and saffron, and that they would now give everything by weight and for money. I do not here tell the wares of China, because I shall tell it by word of mouth if it shall be for the service of your Highness to know it from me. And I, sire, have to go to free a brother of mine whom I left in Canton as hostage for the veracity of the Portuguese, and because they were not willing to obey the orders of the king of China and wished to make war in China and kill and plunder the country, where much evil was done. I do not say more to your Highness in this, because you shall know it from me when I shall go to be of service, who am in this city because of having no lodging there, and my desires, sire, are to serve your Highness in those parts, because I know how to deal with[5] them ; and in this I say that in China eighty good pearls are worth a cruzado in exchange for pepper. I remain praying

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[100] These do not seem to be now in existence.

[1] *Cf.* Vasco Calvo's letter *infra*, ff. 133-133v.

[2] The orig. has "*deserberto*" for "*descoberto*."

[3] The historians do not mention this fact.

[4] I do not know who this was.

[5] The orig. has "*escusallas digo aserrarllas.*" *Escusar* is unintelligible in this connection, and there is no such word as *aserrar*. Perhaps it is a copyist's error for *acertar*.

to God for the royal estate of your Highness. The 16th of January 1527. Service of your Highness.

DIOGO CALVO.

To our lord the king. On his service. — On the margin:— From Diogo Calvo who was in China which the king should attend to.

There is no record of any attempt by the writer of the above letter to carry out his expressed wish to liberate his brother; and as there is no subsequent mention of him by the historians of Portuguese Asia we are left in doubt regarding the reason of this. In any case, all direct intercourse with China was barred to the Portuguese for several years yet.[6] In 1533, however, the then captain of Malacca, **Paulo da Gama**, succeeded, through his ambassador Manuel Godinho, in concluding peace with the Rajas of Pahang and Patani, who had been at war with the Portuguese for a period of fifteen years. This **Manuel Godinho** accomplished, says Castanheda,[7] "much to the wish of Dom Paulo, and as befitted the service of the king of Portugal, so that it was to the great profit of his revenue and that of his vassals; and these conventions were the cause of their again trading in China, where there were afterwards discovered by our people more than fifty ports better than those of Canton, as I shall relate further on."[8]

As an outcome of these agreements, we find[9] that in **July 1534 Estevão da Gama**, who had succeeded to the captaincy of Malacca on the death of his brother, sent **Simão Sodré** to Pahang and **Francisco de Barros** to Patani for the purpose of obtaining provisions for Malacca, of which it stood in sore straits owing to the war with the Raja of Ujantana, son of the late Raja of Bintang. Francisco de Barros remained at Patani, being unable to leave owing to his ship's having been requisitioned by Simão Sodré to fight the Raja of Ujantana's fleet. In June or July 1535, therefore, Estevão da Gama sent **Henrique Mendes de Vasconcellos** to Patani to bring Francisco de Barros away, "as also," says Castanheda, "to give orders that there should go from there to China a junk that he sent there to prove if they were willing to carry on trade as they did in time past." That the junk actually was dispatched for China we are also told;[10] but as to how it fared we are left in entire ignorance by the Portuguese historians.

It is noteworthy, however, that **Vasco Calvo**, in his letter given below, writing in October 1536, refers[11] to a letter he had received from the person he is addressing, who, from what he says,[12] was then off the island of Hainan. It is evident from this that by some means the Portuguese had succeeded in communicating with the captives in Canton, who, we see, were still hoping for the deliverance that never came. Who Vasco Calvo's correspondent was we have no means of ascertaining, nor whether he was on the junk sent from Patani in the previous year. The historians seem to have entered into a conspiracy of silence regarding China at this period, their attention being taken up with the doings of **Antonio Galvão**, the "apostle of the Moluccas" and author of "The Discoveries of the World."[13]

[6] Correa tells us (III. p. 439), that in 1531 there arrived in India in the fleet of that year from Portugal Diogo Botelho in the *Vera Cruz*, Manuel Botelho in the *Trinidade*, and Jan' Homem, a Genoese, in the *Santa Cruz*, who were to go for three years to China and all parts of India factoring for the queen; but he subsequently states, that the governor (Nuno da Cunha) sent these ships back to Lisbon "because China was disturbed."

[7] VIII. lxvi. (See also Correa, III. p. 487.)

[8] This Castanheda did, doubtless, in book IX. or X., both of which are lost.

[9] See Cast., VIII. lxxix., lxxxix.; Correa, III. p. 631; Barros, *Dec.* IV., IX. xv.

[10] It was just after this that the famous engagement took place off Patani between Henrique Mendes and Francisco de Barros and an overwhelming fleet of pirates, whom they succeeded in beating off after great loss. See Whiteway's *Rise of Port. Power in India*, p. 330.)

[11] f. 124.

[12] f. 128.

[13] Sir A. Ljungstedt, in his *Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, p. 11, says:—"Chinese chronologists have noted down, that in the 30th year of the reign of Kea-tsing [1535] one foreign vessel appeared, and in [1537] another on the coast of the gulf of China. The merchants required and obtained permission to land and to raise a few huts for temporary shelter, and the drying of goods, which had been damaged on board the ships." I have not found any authority for this statement.

It is not until the year 1542 that we again hear of China, and then in connection with an event of much importance, namely, the rediscovery of Japan by the Portuguese. Couto says[14] :—

> There being in this year of **1542**, of which we are treating, three Portuguese companions, named **Antonio da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto** and **Antonio Peixoto,** in the port of Siam, with a junk of theirs, carrying on their trade, they resolved to go to China, because of its being then a voyage of much profit. And loading the junk with pelts and other commodities, they set sail, and with fair weather crossed the great Gulf of Hainan, and passed by the city of Canton, in order to go and seek the port of the Chinchew,[15] because they could not enter that city; because after that in the year 1515 Fernão Peres de Andrade, being in China as ambassador,[16] flogged a mandarin (who are those that administer justice, which among those heathen is much venerated), the Portuguese became so detested and abhorred, that the king commanded by a general edict: "That the men with the beards and large eyes should no more be permitted within his realms," which was inscribed in large letters of gold, and affixed to the gates of the city of Canton.[17] And thus no Portuguese had dared to go to its port; and some ships at various times afterwards went to some islands off that coast to exchange their commodities, whence, however, they turned them away. Afterwards they went on to the Chinchew, whither these were going, and where they permitted them because of the profit that they derived from the commerce; but they carried on their business at sea, because they did not trust them.[18]

In **August 1543**, Correa tells us,[19] there was dispatched from India "to go to China **Jeronymo Gomes**, a favorite of the Governor's,[20] in a good ship laden with pepper, with great powers as captain-major, that no one should go there except whom he wished; the which went there, and made so much money that he talked only of a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand cruzados: with which there entered into him such pride and vanity, that he said that Fortune had not now the power to deprive him of his hundred thousand cruzados ; but God, in order to humble his pride, was pleased to send him such a reverse, that he came from Malacca to India without possessing a shirt."

Another man who had been granted a voyage to China was still more unfortunate, as we learn from the same writer.[21] This was **Alonso Henriques de Sepulveda,** who **in 1544** was at Malacca with a ship laden with pepper waiting for the monsoon in order to make a voyage to China, which the governor of India had given him as a reward for having spent much in the king's service. He was, however, foolish enough to organize an attempt to seize the fort of Malacca by violence after the death of the captain **Ruy Vaz Pereira,** his object being to oust Simão Botelho from his supervision of the custom-house. The attempt having failed, however, **Alonso Henriques** was sent on board his ship as a prisoner; but when the monsoon set in Simão Botelho gave him permission to go to China. Knowing, however, that if he did this he would have to return to Malacca, where by that time an order might have come from the governor to imprison him and confiscate his property, he sailed for Tenasserim, sold his pepper there at a large profit,

[14] *Dec.* V., VIII. xii. (See also Ant. Galvão, *op. cit.* p. 229.)

[15] Port. *o Chincheo.* See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v* 'Chinchew,' regarding the confused use of this word for the port of Changchau-fû and the people of Fûkien.

[16] There are three gross errors here. Thomé Pires was the ambassador ; it was Simão d'Andrade who maltreated the mandarin ; and this outrage took place in 1520 or 1521.

[17] I have found no corroboration of this statement, which may, however, be true.

[18] *Cf.* the extracts below from Gaspar da Cruz The account in Couto goes on to tell how a typhoon drove the junk to Japan, where the Portuguese were well treated by the natives, exchanged their goods for silver, and returned to Malacca well content.

[19] IV. p 307

[20] Martim Affonso de Sousa.

[21] Correa, IV. pp. 416, 418. (See also Whiteway's *Rise of Port. Power in India*, pp. 92-93.)

and left for India, whither he had sent in advance a small vessel to beg the governor's clemency. His ship was, however, wrecked on an island off the coast of Siam, to which country he and his company escaped in the boat, but were put to death by the Siamese.[22]

We have seen that commercial relations had been renewed between the Portuguese and the Chinese.[23] We are told by Fr. Gaspar da Cruz[24] that "after the disturbance that Fernã Perez Dandrade caused,[25] business was carried on with much difficulty, they would not allow the Portuguese into the country, and through hatred and abhorrence they called them **fãcui,**[26] that is to say, 'men of the devil.'" ("Now," he adds, "they do not hold intercourse with us under the name of Portuguese, nor did this name go to the court when they agreed to pay customs dues: but under the name of **fãgim,**[27] that is to say, 'people of another coast.'") He goes on to relate how, after "the scandal of Fernã Dãdrade," the Chinese that carried on trade by sea with Malacca, Siam, Patani, *etc.*, induced the Portuguese to go to Ningpo to carry on trade; and this proving successful they extended their operations to Chinchew, the islands of Canton, and ultimately as far north as Nanking, the Chinese officials conniving at their transactions owing to the profits they gained thereby. Emboldened by success, the Portuguese began to winter in the islands of Ningpo; and, as might be expected, quarrels took place, leading to murders on each side. Tidings of these evil doings having reached the ears of the emperor, he ordered a large fleet to be prepared in the province of Fûkien to drive the foreign robbers once more from the coast. This fleet, being unable through contrary winds to make Ningpo, proceeded to Chinchew, where it blockaded the Portuguese ships that lay there. After some time spent in desultory fighting, the Portuguese, seeing no chance of completing their business transactions, resolved to depart without the cargoes they had expected. The captains of the Chinese fleet, however, learning of this intention, sent a secret message by night, offering, on consideration of a present, to send them some goods. This was of course agreed to; and so matters were settled to the satisfaction of both parties. This took place in **1548.**

In the following year, 1549, however, the Chinese fleet blockaded the coast so straitly that the Portuguese were scarcely able to obtain provisions, much less effect an exchange of commodities. Their ships therefore returned nearly empty to India, the unsold goods being left in two junks belonging to expatriated Chinese traders, with thirty Portuguese to guard them.[28] The captains of the Chinese fleet, learning of this rich booty from some merchants on shore, swooped down upon the two junks, and partly by strategem, partly by force, succeeded in capturing them, after killing several of the Portuguese and wounding others. The Chinese belonging to the junks were cruelly treated; and of the Portuguese some were put to death, and four were dressed up and entitled "the kings of Malacça" by the "*luthissi*"[29] for his own glory, and in cages sent about from city to city, until they came to where the *haitao* was, with whom the "*luthissi*" had agreed to share the plunder. Happily, however, the emperor heard of these doings, and sent some officials to hold an inquiry; with the result that the Chinese malefactors and one or two Portuguese were condemned to capital or lesser punishment, and the rest of the Portuguese were conveyed to the city of "Cãsi,"[30] whence they were afterwards dispersed by twos and threes throughout various parts of the country. When

[22] This last part reads like a repetition of the story of Pero Lourenço de Mello, given in a footnote *supra.*

[23] In September 1545 Simão de Mello was sent from India as captain of Malacca, "and with him Diogo Soares de Mello, who had been provided by the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa with the captaincy of Patane, beyond Malacca, to make the China merchants come and dispatch their business at Malacca, because, in order not to pay duties, they had formed an emporium at that port, whereby the king's revenue suffered notable loss." (Couto, *Dec.* VI., I. i.) We are also told by Couto (*Dec.* VI., V. i.) that in July 1646 Diogo Soares dispatched from Patani for China several Portuguese vessels.

[24] *Tractado da China,* chap. xxiii. *et seq.* (See also Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 190 ff.)

[25] Not Fernão Peres, but Simão de Andrade, as related above.

[26] Chin. *fan-kwei,* "foreign demon." (See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* 'Fanqui.')

[27] *Frangis,* Franks. (See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* 'Firinghee,' and *cf.* Christovão Vieyra's letter *infra,* f. 104v.)

[28] At what port is not stated, but apparently at Chinchew.

[29] Chin. *lao-tyé sz'.* (See *infra* regarding titles of Chinese officials.)

[30] Hangchau, capital of Chehkiang. (See Yule's *Marco Polo,* II. p. 152 *n.*)

Portuguese ships were once more permitted to carry on trade at Canton a number of these captives succeeded from time to time in regaining their liberty, the Portuguese merchants offering rewards to any Chinese who would assist them to do this.[31]

It was at this time that **Francis Xavier** visited Japan and spent some two years and a half there in preaching the gospel. On leaving that country in 1551 he resolved to attempt the evangelization of China; and accordingly, having obtained permission from the viceroy of India, he left Malacca in **July 1552**,[32] and arrived in August at the island of St. John (Shangchwen), where, however, he soon sickened, and died on the 2nd of December, his body being interred in that desolate island.[33]

Thus Xavier's mission, which had a political as well as a religious object,[34] came to naught. However, we learn from Gaspar da Cruz that "since the year **1554** **Leonel de Souza**, a native of Algarve, and married in Chaul, being captain-major, agreed with the Chinas that they [the Portuguese] should pay their customs dues, and that they should allow them to carry on their trade in their ports.[35] And since that time they carry it on in Cantão, which is the chief port of China : and thither the Chinas repair with their silks and musk, which are the principal articles in which the Portuguese deal in China. There there are safe ports where they lie quietly without risk and without disturbance from anyone. And thus at present the Chinas observe well their treaties : and now the great and small rejoice much at the agreement with the Portuguese, and the fame of them spreads throughout the whole of China. Wherefore several nobles of the court came to Cantão solely to see them on account of having heard the fame of them."[36]

It will be observed that in the above sketch of Portuguese intercourse with China during the first half of the sixteenth century I have taken no note of the alleged peregrination of **Fernão Mendez Pinto** in that empire in **1542-1544.** Although Faria y Sousa has entered as historical facts in his *Asia Portuguesa*[37] various events described by Fernão Mendez, and has accorded him a certificate of veracity, I am afraid that Congreve was only too just when he wrote:[38] "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude." I do not mean to assert that the whole *Peregrinaçam* is a fabrication ; but I am convinced, from internal evidence, that many of the incidents related are pure fiction, and that others, genuine enough, either took place before the writer[39] came to India, or formed no part of his adventures.[40] I append some instances of sheer mendacities.

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31 Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, during his residence in Canton, met several of these escaped prisoners, among whom seems to have been Galeotto Pereira, the writer of the description of China referred to *infra*.

32 After a serious quarrel — for which he was largely, if not entirely, to blame — with the captain of that place, D. Alvaro d'Ataide da Gama. (See Couto, *Dec.* VI., X. vii. ; and Whiteway's *Rise of Port. Power in India*, p. 76.)

33 It was afterwards removed to Goa.

34 *Cf.* Couto, *Dec.* VI., X. vi.

35 It is remarkable, that this is the only reference I have found to this important agreement.

36 *Tractado da China*, cap. xxiii. (See also Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 190.)

37 II., I. i., *etc.* See also I., *App.*, cap. vii., where Faria y Sousa quotes Pinto's stories (see *infra*) of Inez de Leiria and Vasco Calvo, and indulges in some pious reflections on the early propagation of the Catholic faith in China by their means.

38 *Love for Love*, Act ii., sc. i.

39 I am extremely doubtful if the whole of the book, not published until 1614 (some thirty years after its alleged author's death and more than fifty after his return from the East), was really written by Fernão Mendez Pinto. I am inclined to share the belief of Mr. R. S. Whiteway that the Jesuits had a hand in its concoction, with a view to the glorification of Xavier. It is worthy of note that Couto (*Dec.* IX. xxix) records that a certain Gonsalo Mendes Pinto was at Banda in 1574 making some voyages on a contract with Martim Affonso de Mello Pereira, and that the Bandanese made a plot to murder him and his companions and seize their ship and goods, in which, however, they were foiled.

40 According to the *Peregrinaçam* Fernão Mendez Pinto left Goa on 13th April 1539 for Malacca with Pedro de Faria, who was to succeed Estevão da Gama as captain of that place. He arrived at Malacca on 5th June, and within the next few months was sent by Pedro de Faria as ambassador to the king of the Batas and the king of Aru. We also read of big fights taking place between the kings of Achin and Aru and the king of Ujantana and the Achinese, — likewise in 1539. Now it is significant that Correa and Couto are both silent regarding any such events ; and it is curious that Correa alone mentions that Pedro de Faria was captain of Malacca at this time. It is also a strange coincidence that Castanheda, Correa, Barros and Couto all tell us that just after Pedro de Faria assumed the captaincy of Malacca in 1528 an ambassador came from the king of Aru asking for help against the king of

In chapter lxv.,[41] where the encounter between the Portuguese under Antonio de Faria and the forces of the mandarin of "Nonday" is described, we are told that the Chinese leader "was mounted on a good horse, with certain cuirasses of red velvet with gilt studs of ancient date, which we afterwards learnt belonged to one Tomè Pirez whom the king Dom Manoel of glorious memory sent as ambassador to China, in the ship of Fernão Perez Dandrade, when Lopo Soarez Dalbergaria was governing the State of India." This was in 1541 apparently; and I have no evidence to confirm or contradict the statement regarding the cuirasses of Thomé Pires.

But the next incident that I quote can be proved, thanks to the letter of Christovão Vieyra, to be an unblushing falsehood. In chapter xci.[42] we are told that (in 1543 ?) Fernão Mendez met in the city of "Sampitay" a Christian woman, who informed him "that she was called Inez de Leiria, and that her father was called Tomé Pirez, who went from this kingdom as ambassador to the king of China, and whom, through a disturbance that a captain[43] of ours made in Canton, the Chinese regarded as a spy and not an ambassador as he said, and seized him with twelve[44] other men that he had brought with him, and after they had as punishment given them many floggings and tortures, of which five soon died, they banished the others,[45] separating them from one another, to diverse places, where they died devoured by lice;[46] of whom only one was living, who was called Vasco Calvo,[47] native of a town in our country named Alcouchete,[48] for thus she had many times heard from her father, shedding many tears when he spoke of this. And that it chanced to her father to be banished to that district, where he married her mother, because she had some property of her own, and made her a Christian, and during the whole twenty-seven years[49] that he abode there married to her they both lived very catholically, converting many heathen to the faith of Christ, of whom there were still in that city more than three hundred, who every Sunday gathered there in her house for instruction." Other details are given regarding this pious woman; but the whole pretty story falls to pieces like a house of cards when we remember that, as mentioned above, poor Thomé Pires died in prison in Canton in May 1524.

But the next extract that I would quote goes a step further in mendacity. In chapter cxvi.[50] we are told that in the year 1544, when he was in the city of "Quansy,"[51] Fernão Mendez encountered "an old man dressed in clothes of black damask lined with the skins of white lambs," who, after somewhat mysterious behaviour, produced a silver cross, and, falling on his knees, with sobs and tears expressed his gratitude for having been permitted, after so long a time, to once more behold a Christian man. On being asked who he was, this old man replied: — "I am, my brother, a poor Portuguese Christian, by name Vasco Calvo, brother of Diogo Calvo who was captain of the ship of Dom Nuno Manoel, a native of Alcouchete, it being now twenty-seven years that I was made a captive with Tomé Pirez, whom Lopo Soarez sent as ambassador to this Chinese king,[52] and who afterwards came to a

Achin, with whom he was at war. There is a suspicious similarity about these two accounts Then we are informed that Fernão Mendez, after visiting Pahang and Patani, left the latter place on 9th May 1540 with Antonio de Faria de Sousa on a voyage to Hainan, during which the most marvellous adventures with pirates were experienced. I have only to remark, that no mention is made by any of the above writers of such a person as Antonio de Faria de Sousa, whom I believe to be as much a product of the writer's brain as the various adventures with pirates, *etc.*, that he is said to have met with. In the *Peregrinaçam* the dates of events are mostly unrecorded; but where they are given, especially in the later portion of the book, they are in many cases manifestly absurdly incorrect. It is much to be regretted that no competent scholar has undertaken to properly edit the *Peregrinaçam*, showing how much is fiction and how much fact, and of the fact how much is from personal experience and how much stolen from earlier writers. I am astonished that such an able scholar as Mr. Major, in his Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's edition of Mendoza, should, after referring to Mendez Pinto's alleged adventures in China, conclude :— "Upon the whole, his remarks leave no doubt, we think, of the truth of his having been an eye-witness of what he records.

[41] Chap. xxii. of the English translation. [42] Chap. xxix. of Eng. trans. [43] Simão de Andrade. (See *supra.*)

[44] There were nearly double that number, according to Christovão Vieyra (f. 111v.).

[45] A pure invention, not one of the unfortunate captives having been removed from Canton.

[46] A characteristic touch, intended to give verisimilitude to the narrative. [47] See next paragraph.

[48] This may be a fact: I cannot tell. (See next paragraph.)

[49] It is not said when he died; but even if it had been in 1544 that would make Thomé Pires's banishment date from 1517, the year in which he arrived in China with Fernão Peres de Andrade!

[50] Chap. xxxvii. of Eng. trans. [51] *Cf.* note *supra* regarding "the city of Cāsi."

[52] It was not to "this Chinese king" (Kiahtsing) but to his predecessor Chingtih that Thomé Pires was sent on embassy.

miserable end through a disturbance by a Portuguese captain." Then, the two having mingled their tears and taken their seats on the ground, "beginning again to tell me all the story of his sufferings, he related to me the whole course of his life, and all the rest that had happened, since he left this kingdom until then, and also regarding the death of the ambassador Tomé Pirez[53] and of the rest whom Fernão Perez Dandrada left with him in Cantão to go to the king of China, the which, as he told it to me, does not conform much with what our historians have written."[54] This pseudo Vasco Calvo then conducts Fernão Mendez to his house, to which also his companions are invited, and there they are introduced to their host's wife and four children (two boys and two girls), who after dinner offer prayer in Portuguese before an altar in a secret oratory. Another very touching story; but the writer appears to have forgotten what he had previously invented regarding Thomé Pires, and so contradicts himself; while, as to Vasco Calvo, we may take it as absolutely certain that he died in prison in Canton within a year or two of writing the letter of 1536 given below.

I shall not enter upon the question of the genuineness of other alleged adventures of Fernão Mendez Pinto in China, Siam, *etc.*, nor discuss whether he was or was not in Japan with Xavier;[55] but I would refer to two statements of his, which, having been recorded as history by Faria y Sousa in his *Asia Portuguesa*, are still being put forward by writers on the history of China as authentic.[56] These statements are to be found in chapter ccxxi.[57] of the *Peregrinaçam*, where we read that in the year 1542 there took place at "Liampoo,"[58] — where there was a settlement of three thousand Christians, twelve hundred of whom were Portuguese, and which was practically a Portuguese colony, with a governor, judges and other officials, hospitals, *etc.*, — a terrible massacre by the Chinese, in which twelve thousand[59] Christians (eight hundred of them Portuguese) perished, and immense damage was done to property. Two years later, it is stated, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing a colony at Chinchew; but after two years and a half of peaceful trade a rising of the Chinese took place here also, only thirty out of five hundred Portuguese escaping with their lives, their ships and other property being burnt or plundered. I consider both these stories to be pure fiction, without any basis in fact; and I even feel very doubtful whether such an island as "Lampacau"[60] ever existed except in the brain of the writer.

The Chinese annals do not appear to contain much regarding the early intercourse of the Portuguese with China;[61] and some of their statements are far from correct.[62] The only record of

[53] Who, we had previously been told, lived for twenty-seven years married in "Sampitay"!

[54] A candid confession! [55] *Cf.* Sir James Stephen's *Essay in Ecclesiastical Biography* (4th ed), p. 149 *n*

[56] *Cf.*, *int. al*, Sir A. Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, pp 2-9, *etc.*; the Viscount de Santarem's *Memoria sobre o Estabelecimento de Macau*, p. 14; Wells Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, II. p. 428; Prof. R. K. Douglas's *China* (Story of the Nations), p. 48; Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, I. pp 457, 486; Dennys's *Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, p. 329

[57] Chap. lxxviii. of the Eng. trans (See also chap lxvi. of orig, xxiii. of Eng. trans.)

[58] That is, Ningpo. (See Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* 'Liampo.') Barros states, in referring to the riches of China — "Finally it is so great, and so well-provided with everything, that some of our people, being in a port near the city of Nimpo, in three months saw loaded four hundred bahars of floss and woven silk, which are one thousand three hundred quintals of ours." (*Dec.* I., IX i.) As Barros's *Primeira Decada* was published in 1552, it is evident that the Portuguese had visited Ningpo some years previously; but I have found no record of the exact date of their first visit to that place.

[59] The Eng. trans has "twelve hundred"

[60] Where, according to the *Peregrinaçam*, the Portuguese carried on trade with the Chinese from some time before 1554 until 1557, when Macao was granted to them by the mandarins of Canton. (*Cf. Mid. King*. II. p. 428; Ljungstedt, *op. cit.* p 9.)

[61] M. Pauthier, in his *Histoire des Relations Politiques de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales* (p. 42 *n*), after a short and not very correct reference to the embassy of 1517, says: — "Les Annales de Canton disent que la première année *Young-lo* (1425) le roi de Portugal, royaume de l' Océan occidental, envoya um ambassadeur en Chine; et que trois années après (en 1428) il lui en envoya un autre avec un *tribut*. Celles-ci, si elles étaient réelles, auraient précédé celles de Thomas Pirès." There is, of course, some great confusion here

[62] Wells Williams quotes in his *Mid. King* II. p. 427, the following from a Chinese work, and adds that the record is still good authority in the general opinion of the natives: — "During the reign of Chingtih [1506] foreigners from the West, called Fah-lan-kí [Franks], who said that they had tribute, abruptly entered the Bogue, and by their tremendously loud guns, shook the place far and near. This was reported at court, and an order returned to drive them away immediately and stop their trade."

any value that I have been able to find is one translated by the late Mr. W. F. Mayers in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*.[63] Mr. Mayers writes: —

The following brief contemporaneous account of the arrival of **Fernão Peres de Andrade** at Canton **in 1517,** when Europeans for the first time landed in China, does not appear to have been hitherto noticed, and is not without interest, as the earliest Chinese mention of European visitors. It is quoted in a work on the Art of War, published under the Ming Dynasty, A. D. 1621, in the course of a description of cannon and firearms: —

"Ku Ying-siang says as follows: — **Fu-lang-ki** is the name of a country, not the name of a gun. In the year *ting-ch'ow* of the reign Chêng-tê (A. D. 1517) I was in office as Supervisor in Kwang-tung, and was Acting Commissioner for Maritime affairs. There suddenly arrived [at this time] two large seagoing vessels, which came straight to the Hwai-yüan (cherishing-those-from-afar) post-station at the city of Canton, giving out that they had brought tribute from the country of *Fu-lang-ki* [Feringhi, Franks]. The master of the vessels was named **ka-pi-tan.**[64] The people on board all had prominent noses and deeply-sunk eyes, wearing folds of white cloth around their heads, like the costume of the Mohammedans. Report was at once made to the Viceroy, His Excellency Ch'ên Si-hien, who thereupon honoured Canton with his presence,[65] and who gave orders that, as these people knew nothing of etiquette, they should be instructed for three days in the proper ceremonies[66] at the Kwang Hiao Sze (the Mohammedan Mosque); after which they were introduced. It being found that the *Ta Ming Hwei Tien* [collected Ordinances of the Ming Dynasty] contain no mention whatever of tribute being received from the nation in question, a full report of the matter was transmitted to His Majesty, who consented to the transmission [of the individuals and presents] to the Board [of Rites]. At this time His Majesty was engaged in a tour in the Southern Provinces, and [the foreigners] were left in the same lodging with myself for close upon a year. When his present Majesty ascended the Throne [*i. e.*, the Emperor Shih Tsung, who succeeded to the Throne in 1521], in consequence of disrespectful conduct on the [foreigners'] part, the interpreter[67] was subjected to capital punishment and his men were sent back in custody to Canton, and expelled beyond the frontiers of the Province. During the long stay made by these people at Canton they manifested particular fondness for the study of the Buddhist writings.[68] Their guns were made of iron, and five or six feet in length . . . ."

Who Ku Ying-siang was is not stated in the work from which the above extract is taken; but in all probability, he was one of the progenitors of the celebrated Ku Yen-wu of the present dynasty, in whose biography mention is made of an ancestor who held office at Canton during the reign Chêng Tê.

The two large vessels referred to are obviously those which the early Portuguese chroniclers themselves speak of as having been taken to Canton, the two remaining ships and four Malay junks belonging to the Expedition having been left at anchor near the island of St. John's.[69]

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[63] Vol 2, p. 129.

[64] *Cf.* Christovão Vieyra's letter *infra*, f. 112.

[65] "The residence of the Viceroys being at that time Shao-k'ing Fu," says Mr. Mayers in a footnote; but, according to the statement of Christovão Vieyra (f. 120), it was at Wuchau that the chief provincial officials resided

[66] The Portuguese historians say nothing of this.

[67] Mayers appends the following footnote — "This was Thomé Pires, who was despatched in charge of the presents from Canton." This is an error: it was the native interpreters who were beheaded, as stated by Christovão Vieyra in his letter *infra* (f. 112).

[68] *Cf.* with this statement that of Vasco Calvo in his letter *infra* (f. 131v).

[69] This is a mistake. See *infra*.

Though interesting, the extract translated by Mr. Mayers adds but little to our knowledge; and it certainly seems strange that there should not exist among the Chinese annals a full record of the events connected with the first and subsequent visits of the Portuguese to China, especially as the foreigners suffered so severely at the hands of the Celestials, — a fact which the Chinese historians would, one would think, not be unwilling to leave on record.

It was not until after the agreement made in **1554** between **Leonel de Sousa** and the Canton officials that the Portuguese appear to have been able to obtain detailed and more or less accurate information regarding China and its people.[70] The account given by Castanheda in cap. xxvii. of his *Livro IIII.*, printed in 1553, is very meagre and not free from errors. The description of Canton in cap. xxix., however, is full and interesting and, I should think, generally accurate.

The next printed account of China seems to have been that given in the **1561** edition of Francisco Alvares's *Historia de Ethiopia*, an English translation of which will be found in Major's Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's edition of Mendoza mentioned below, pp. xxxix.-li. This relation was given at Malacca in the college of the Jesuits by a man who had been six years a captive in China,[71] and its special value lies in the fact that the narrator describes only what came within his personal cognisance.

A couple of years after the above anonymous relation appeared in print Barros's *Decada Terceira* was published (1563); and in the seventh chapter of the second book of this decade the great Portuguese historiographer gives, in connection with the visit of Fernão Peres de Andrade, a description of China in general and of Canton in particular. The description of China is, by his own admission,[72] a mere summary; but the author has done his best to make it accurate, having, for this purpose, made use of original documents.[73] The same remark may apply to his description of Canton,[74] which is very much briefer that that of Castanheda.

In **1569-70**[75] there appeared at Evora a small quarto volume in black-letter intitled *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estẽso as cousas da China, cõ suas particularidades, & assi do reyno dormuz cõposto por el. R. Padre frey Gaspar da Cruz da ordẽ de sam Domingos. Dirigido ao muito poderoso Rey dom Sebastiam nosso señor.* From the Prologue by the printer, Andre de Burgos, we learn that **Dom Francisco Henriquez,** captain of Malacca,[76] had some short time previously sent to the youthful king of Portugal a "brief relation" of the things of China; but of this we know nothing more.[77] The "tractate" of Gaspar da Cruz[78] comprises twenty-nine chapters, the author relating

[70] The letters of Christovão Vieyra and Vasco Calvo were evidently unknown to Castanheda even in 1553. (*Cf.* footnote *supra*, and see below as to Barros's use of them.)

[71] Possibly he and Galeotto Pereira (see *infra*) were among those captured by the Chinese in 1549, as described above.

[72] *Dec.* III., II. vi and vii., where he explains that he treats fully of the country in his Geography, which, however, seems never to have been completed, and every vestige of which has now unhappily disappeared.

[73] From *Dec.* I., IX. i., we learn that Barros had in his possession "a book of cosmography of the Chijs printed by them, with all the situation of the country in the form of an itinerary, which was brought to us from there, and interpreted by a Chij, whom we had for that purpose." Again, in *Dec.* III., II. vii., after referring to the Great Wall of China, he adds :— "This wall is entered in a geographical map of that whole country, made by the same Chijs, where are located all the mountains, rivers, cities, towns, with their names written in the letters of those people, the which we ordered to be brought from there with a Chij for the interpretation thereof and of some of their books, which we also obtained. And before this map we had acquired a book of cosmography of small size with tables of the situation of the country, and a commentary upon them in the manner of an itinerary; and although this wall was not depicted therein, we obtained information regarding it." What became of these books and map, I am unable to say.

[74] The details he gives regarding this city, Barros says (*Dec.* III., II. vii.), he obtained, not only from Fernão Peres de Andrade and others of his company, but "from a drawing of it from nature, which they brought to us from there." I fear that there is little likelihood that this interesting drawing is still in existence.

[75] The title-page bears the date 1569, but the colophon has 1570.

[76] According to Couto (*Dec.* IX. xvii.) D Francisco Henriques was captain of Malacca from November 1573 to November 1574, when he died; but I can find no reference to his occupying the post earlier.

[77] This is evidently the *Relação da China* mentioned by Barbosa Machado (*Bibliotheca Lusitana*, II. p. 162), who quotes from Ant. de Leon Pinelo's *Biblioteca Oriental*, and confesses his ignorance regarding the author and the work.

[78] Regarding whom see Introd. to Hak. Soc. ed. of Mendoza, p. li.

not only what he himself saw during his residence in China (1556-1569 ?), but information received from various Portuguese who from time to time succeeded in escaping from captivity. The translated summary given in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, III. pp. 166-198, conveys a very fair idea of the value of this work.

Among the escaped captives met by Gaspar da Cruz during his stay in China was one **Galiote** (or Galeotto) **Pereira**, a brother of the first Count of Feira, from whom he obtained various items of information regarding the interior of the country. This man also wrote a detailed account of his adventures in China, which, curiously enough, was published in the form of an abbreviated translation into Italian some years before the tractate of Gaspar da Cruz appeared. The title of this work[79] is *Alcune cose del paese de la China saputi de certi Portughesi ch'ivi furon fati schiavi; e questo fu cavato d' un tratato che fecce Galeoto Pereira Gentil huomo persona di molto credito il quale stette prigione nel sudetto luogo* Tuchien[80] *alcuni anni.* (Venetia por Michele Tramezzino. 1565.) An abbreviated translation of this by R. Willes was printed by Richard Eden in his *Historye of Travaile in the West and East Indies* in 1577 ; and this was reprinted by Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations, etc.*, II., II. pp. 68-80, and again, still further abbreviated, by Purchas in his *Pilgrimes*, III. pp. 199-209.[81] Like the anonymous relation referred to above, this man's narrative is of especial value as being drawn from his personal observations.

The last work to which I shall refer is the *Historia delas Cosas mas notables, Ritos y Costumbres, Del gran Reyno dela China, sabidas assi por los libros delos mesmos Chinas, como por relacion de Religiosos y otras personas que an estado en el dicho Reyno. Hecha y ordenada por el muy r. p. maestro Fr. Ioan Gonzalez de Mendoça dela Orden de S. Agustin, ... En Roma, ...* **1585.** As the early English translation of this work, by R. Parke, was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1853-54, edited (not very satisfactorily) by Sir G. T. Staunton, with an admirable Introduction by Mr. R. H. Major,[82] I need say little regarding it, beyond the fact that the author has copied largely from previous writers, besides giving the experiences of himself and his companions and other missionaries to China. It will always be of value and interest ; and, as Mr. Major points out, it was the earliest *detailed* account of China ever published in the English language.

I now come to consider **the two letters**, of which the text and translation are given below. The copies from which the transcript is made are contained in a small quarto manuscript volume in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[83] It is bound in vellum, and has written on the back " 12 — Historia dós reis de Bisnaga," while on the front of the cover are the words " Coronica de Bisnaga y Relaçion dela china," and below " nº 7." On the flyleaf is written " S^t Germain franc. 1592;" and there is a modern label affixed, lettered " Port. 65."[84] On folio 1 at the top of the page is written " S^ti Germani apratis N. 2254." From this it is evident that the volume once formed a part of the library of the famous Benedictine monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés near Paris ; but how it got there, I am

[79] Of which the British Museum Library does not possess a copy. (I quote the title from Barbosa Machado, *Bibl. Lusit.* II. p. 322.) Nor is the book mentioned in H. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica.*

[80] Barbosa Machado *(loc. cit.)* says that the writer was a prisoner in " Tunchien ; " but Gaspar da Cruz (cap. viii.) states that Gal. Pereira was imprisoned in " the city of Cãsi, " which, as I have mentioned above, was an old name for Hangchau. (" Tuchien " may be a misprint for " Fuchieu " = Fûchau.)

[81] Major, in his Introd. to the Hak. Soc. ed. of Mendoza, pp. liii.-lxvi., has quoted copious extracts.

[82] In view of the fact Major has given, on pp xxxi.-xxxvi. of this Introduction, an accurate account of the facts connected with the first visits of the Portuguese to China, it is all the more remarkable that later writers, such as Wells Williams, Douglas and Danvers, should (as mentioned above) have repeated the erroneous statements of Ljungstedt. Major refers (p xxxvi.), on the authority of Barros, to the letters received from the prisoners in Canton; but he was evidently not aware that copies of them were still extant. He also, strangely enough, refers to Remusat as giving " some interesting details " regarding Thomé Pires, the fact being that the French scholar has simply copied these details from Barros and added Mendez Pinto's fabrications. (See *Biographie Universelle*, tome 33, p. 396.)

[83] See brief description of it in Morel-Fatio's *Catalogue des Manuscrits Espagnols et des Manuscrits Portugais*, p. 327.

[84] This is the numbering of 1860: its number is now 55.

unable to say.[85] Folios 1-102 contain the *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*[86] written in an archaic hand; while folios 103-153, which are of thinner paper, contain the two letters from China, the writing being of an entirely different and more modern character.

Apart from their intrinsic value owing to the information which they furnish, **these letters** possess a peculiar interest from the fact that they **were utilized by the great Portuguese Historian João de Barros** when compiling the *Third Decade* of his *Asia*. In chapters i. and ii. of the sixth book of that Decade Barros has in several places copied almost verbatim from the **letter of Christovão Vieyra**;[87] while near the end of the second chapter he says: "And according to two letters which our people received thence two or three years ago[88] from these two men, **Vasco Calvo**, brother of Diogo Calvo, and Christovão Vieira, who were imprisoned in Cantam," *etc*. Again, in chap. v. of bk. VIII., he says: "And according to what some of our people afterwards wrote," and then follow further quotations from Christovão Vieyra's letter.

Of the writers of the letters I have no information beyond what they themselves furnish and the fact of the relationship of one of them to Diogo Calvo, as already mentioned. What positions they occupied I do not know; but they both seem to have been men of some social standing and education. With regard to the letters themselves, their value and interest can be judged by the translation I have given.[89] I may point out, however, that they contain, so far as I know, the earliest detailed account of China and the manners and customs of its inhabitants written after the first visits of the Portuguese to that empire. Considering that the writers were prisoners in the "hells" of Canton during practically the whole of their inforced residence in China, it is not surprising that some matters (such, for instance, as the religious worship of the Chinese) should not have come within their ken: the wonder is, that they should have managed to acquire so much information under such unfavorable circumstances, and should have lived to commit it to writing. It is also marvellous that even one of the duplicate sets of their letters should (even after many years) have reached the hands of the Portuguese. When one remembers the absolutely helpless condition in which the writers were at the time when they penned these letters, the full details which they furnish for the capture by the Portuguese of Canton and a large part of China itself, and their remarks regarding the ease with which the Chinese could be conquered, read somewhat strangely. The descriptions of the sea fights between the Chinese and Portuguese, ending so disastrously for the latter, tally closely with those given by the Portuguese historians; and the "casualty lists," though now of little value, must have possessed a melancholy interest at the time for the relatives and friends of the persons named. It is unfortunate that so little information is given regarding the journey of the ambassador to Pekin: the reason being, that this had been described in other letters, which have apparently, been lost. The description of Canton shows that even the terrible siege and sack of that city by the Manchus in 1650 caused little general change in its outward appearance.

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[85] By a decision of the Committee of Public Instruction (23rd April 1795), the manuscripts of St. Germain were deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1795 and 179[illegible]. (Morel-Fatio, *Cat.*, Intro., p. x.)

[86] This important MS. was printed for the first time in 1897 by the Sociedade de Geografia of Lisbon in connection with the quatercentenary of the discovery of India, being edited with an excellent Introduction by Sr. David Lopes. An English translation, edited with a valuable Introduction by Mr. Robert Sewell, I. C. S (Retd.), was published in 1900 under the title of *A Forgotten Empire*.

[87] *Cf.* for instance the concluding portion of chap. i. with f. 107 of the letter *infra*.

[88] Or "received two or three years afterwards." (The orig. has "*dahi a dous ou tres annos.*") If the latter is the meaning (and so Major translates it in Introd. to Hak. Soc. ed. of Mendoza, p. xxxvi.), the statement cannot be correct, since the letters were not written until a dozen to fifteen years afterwards; while, if the other meaning is intended, it is strange that the letters, dispatched apparently at the end of 1536, did not reach "our people" until about 1560. (Barros's *Third Decade* was published in 15[illegible].)

[89] As will be seen, the Portuguese original is marked by an absence of punctuation and of capitals at the commencement of sentences, rendering the sense difficult of comprehension. The copyist also has in places blundered. I have tried to make the translation as literal as possible. To Sr. David Lopes of Lisbon I have to express my indebtedness for the kind help he has rendered me in the elucidation of several passages.

It will be noticed that in both the letters (in the first one especially) **the titles of various Chinese officials** are frequently mentioned. Some of these can at once be identified; but others are somewhat difficult of explanation. I append a list, giving the various forms of spelling under which each title occurs:—

(1) *pochency, pochanci, pochuncy, pochãcy, pochecy, pochacy.*

(2) *anchaçy, amchaçy, anchaçi, anchuci, anchũçy, anchıançi, anhançi.*

(3) *cehi, ceuhi, cuhy, cuhi, ecuhi, cheuhi, cuchi.*

(4) *tutão.*

(5) *conqom, conquõ, conquão, congom.*

(6) *compim, campym.*

(7) *choupim, choypi.*

(8) *haytao, oytao, aytão.*

(9) *camcy, chãcy, çãci.*

(10) *toçi.*

(11) *tõcẽcy, tomeci, tomaci.*

(12) *amelcaçe.*

(13) *lentocim.*

(14) *conconcepaçi.*

(15) *pio.*

(16) *ampochi, ampochim.*

(17) *tiquo, tigo.*

(18) *pachain.*

(19) *chimchae.*

(20) *tallacõ.*

Castanheda, in his *Livro IIII.* (which was published in **1553**), gives in *cap.* xxvii. a brief account of the manners and customs of the Chinese, in the course of which he says: —

> The King of China dispatches no matter of the government of his kingdom, and for all matters he has officials who govern for him. In justice, which is the chief department of the kingdom, he has three great literate men who are called *colous*:[90] and one is called the grand *colou*, the other the petty *colou*, and the other the lesser *colou*. These are old men and known for very good men, and come to merit these posts by letters and by goodness, and first serve in other lower offices until they get to be *tutões*, who are governors of districts, and afterwards *achancis*, who are secretaries, and thence they rise to be *colous*, which is the highest office. And these offices of *colous* come to be held by lowborn men, because nothing is taken into consideration except that they be old good men and literates. There are other offices that they call *tutões*, and *conquões* and *compins*: and all these three are called a council and govern cities, and the chief of them is the *tutão*: he has to be a literate man, an old and good man; the *compim* is the second, and is captain of war and is not a literate; the *conquão* is the third, and has charge of revenue affairs, and is the lowest of this council. With these goes another who is called *ceiui*, who has to be a literate and known for a good man: this one dispatches with the *tutão* the matters of justice, and has charge of

[90] Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 781, has: — "*Colao*, s. Chin. *Koh-lao*, 'Council Chamber Elders' (*Bp. Moule*). A title for a Chinese Minister of State, which frequently occurs in the Jesuit writers of the 17th century."

> drawing up general inquiries and depositions which he sends to the king. And he has great powers, and his office does not last more than a year; those of the others last for a number of years. There are other offices inferior to these, which are called *puchancis*, *amechacis*, *tocis*, *itaos*, *pios* who are admirals, and *ticos* who are employed I know not how ; and of each one there are three—great, petty, and lesser.

Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, in *cap.* xvi. of his *Tractado da China*,[91] printed in **1569-70,** says that in each province there were five principal officials.

> The chief of the five is the governor, whom they call in their language *tutom*. To him are referred all the affairs great and small of the whole province ; and on account of the authority and majesty of his person he does not reside where do the other *louthias*,[92] that he be not resorted to by them, and so may be more esteemed and feared. To him come all the revenues of the provinces excepting the ordinary expenses. And by him both the transactions and all the rents that are gathered and all that passes in the provinces is referred and sent to court. The second dignity of the province is that of the comptrollers of revenue, who in their language are called *põohassi*. To this one is intrusted the sending to collect throughout the whole province the taxes thereof, for the which he has many *louthias* under his jurisdiction, who are special officials for the transactions and the collections of taxes. He provides all the ordinary expenses of the province, and with the remainder goes to the *tutã*, in order that the *tutã* may go to the court. He can intervene in the serious matters of the other inferior officials, and he has power over them. To him also come all the affairs and transactions of the province to be by him referred to the *tutã*. Another dignity below this is the chief justice, whom they call in their language *anchasi*. And although there are many other officers of justice, this one is over all, and by him the dispatches are distributed to the others and everything relating to justice is referred to him, as to the one who has power over the other inferior ones. Another dignity below this is that of the captain-major, whom they call in their language *aitao*. To this *aitao* belongs the power to order the men of war to be got ready, and all that may be necessary of ships, provisions and all other apparatus against enemies and robbers : to him likewise appertain the affairs of foreigners that do not relate to revenue. The fifth and last dignity of the great ones and of the captain-major who puts into execution the matters of war and presides in the fleets that the *aitao* remaining on land orders is this : when it is of import, besides putting matters into execution and order, if the business requires his presence, he goes in person : and the affair may be so important that the *aitao* himself will go. This one is called in the language of the country *luthissi* :[93] and because these five dignities are of very great authority and dignity, and that of the *tutõ* exceeds those of the others, the latter never goes out of his house for the conservation of his authority: and when he does go out he goes with very great show and with a very great company of officials and assistants.

Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, in his *Historia de la China*, *liv.* III., *cap.* ix., says that the viceroy of each province was called *insuanto*,[94] and that the *comon*, or chief magistrate, was slightly superior to him in rank. In any city where neither of the above resided there was the *tutuan*, or magistrate. Then came the *ponchasi*, or president of the council of revenue; the *totoc*,[95] or captain-general of all the men of war; the *anchasi*, or president of civil and criminal justice; and the *aytao*, or purveyor-general and president of the council of war. Besides the above, he says, there were others of less dignity and jurisdiction, as follows : — The *cautoc*,[96] or chief standard-bearer ; the

[91] See also Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 183.

[92] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* 'Loutea,' where the following is quoted for Baldwin's *Manual of the Foochow Dialect* — '*Lotia* . . . . (in Mandarin *Lao-tyé*) a general appellative for an officer. It means 'Venerable Father.' "

[93] *Laotye sz'* ?

[94] Evidently a misprint for *tusuanto* = *tsung-tŭh*, viceroy.

[95] Probably = *te tŭh*, general.

[96] Perhaps = *ke tŭh*. both meaning standard.

pochim, or second treasurer; the *autzatzi*, or major; and the *huytay*, *tzia*, and *tontay*,[97] who were like justices of the king's court in Spain. Another official was the *hondim*,[98] or visiting justice. Lastly, there were certain inferior officers, *viz.*, the *tumpo*,[99] who had charge of the supply of provisions and the fixing of prices for these; the *tibuco*,[100] who arrested and punished vagabonds and idlers; the *quinche*,[1] or chief constable; and the *chomcã*,[2] or keeper of the prison.

Reverting to the list I have given above, it will be seen that Christovão Vieyra, in ff. 120-120v. of his letter, describes the duties of some of the officials mentioned; and in f. 117 he gives some details regarding their offices.

(1) *pochency, etc.* — This is the *pu-chêng sz'* or *pu-ching sz'*, literally "regulating-government commissioner," usually called the treasurer.[3]

(2) *anchaçy, etc.* — This is the *ngan-cha sz'* or *an-ch'a ssŭ*, the "criminal judge."[4]

(3) *cehi, etc.* — This seems to be the same as Mendoza's *tzia*. I am not certain as to what Chinese word or words it represents.

(4) *tutão.* — This is the *tu-tung*, or captain-general.[5]

(5) *conqom, etc.* — I am uncertain regarding the identification of this. I think that either the first or second syllable must represent *kung*.[6] Mr. Watters, however, suggests *chiang-chun*, "general of Manchu forces."

(6) *compim, etc.* — Morrison[7] has *kung-ping*, meaning "just, equitable," which may suggest an identification.

(7) *choupim, etc.* — This evidently represents *show-pei*, "a military officer, about the rank of major."[8]

(8) *haytao, etc.* — The first part of this word undoubtedly represents *hae*, the sea;[9] and the last part seems to be for *tao*, or *tow*, head, chief.[11] *Haytao* can scarcely stand for *hae taou*, which, according to Morrison,[11] means pirates.

(9) *camcy, etc.* — This, I think, represents *kung tsze*, "the son of a nobleman, a term of respect like Master or Mister."[12]

(10) *toçi.* — This perhaps stands for *to sz'* or *too sze*, a military general officer.[13]

(11) *tõcẽcy, etc.* — There can hardly be any doubt, I think, that this represents *tung sze*, an interpreter.[14]

(12) *amelcaçe.* — This and Castanheda's *amechaci* seem to be variants of No. 2: otherwise I cannot explain them.

(13) *lentocim.* — The last syllable of this word represents the Chinese *sz'* or *sze*, a general term for government officers;[15] and the first two syllables must stand for *leang taou*, "an officer over the public granaries; a kind of commissary."[16]

(14) *concorcepaçi.* — This seems to be a combination of No 5 and some other title that I cannot identify.[17]

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[97] The editor of the Hakluyt Soc. *Mendoza* suggests that these three may represent "the *loo-ta-sze*, or treasurer;" "the *che-tsze*, or secretary;" and '*taou*, *tae*, the intendant of circuits."

[98] Probably = *jung-ting*, a local assistant magistrate.

[99] The editor of the Hak. Soc. *Mendoza* suggests "*kwan-paou*, commissioner of customs."

[100] Probably = *te paou*, constable.

[1] Probably = *yuen chae*, a police runner.

[2] Possibly = *chung tang*, principal officer.

[3] See *Middle Kingdom*, I. p. 439; Morrison's *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 680

[4] See. *Mid. King.* I. p. 430; Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 195. (In the Canton dialect *ngan* is pronounced *an*.)

[5] See *Mid. King.* I. p. 425; Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 857.

[6] See Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 489.

[7] *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 489.

[8] Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 758.

[9] See Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 214.

[10] See Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 830.

[11] *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* pp. 214, 821.

[12] Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 490.

[13] Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 857.

[14] See Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 952.

[15] See Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* pp. 790, 792.

[16] Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 531.

[17] *Cf.* Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 792.

(15) *pio.* — This is used only in reference to an official at Lantau, called "the *pio* of Nantó." Barros (Dec. III., II. viii.) says: — "The *pio* . . . . was a man who filled a post, like among us that of admiral of the sea, and it was the name of the office, and not of the person." Unless there is some misapprehension regarding this title, the only explanation I can suggest is Chin. *ping* = soldiers, troops, army ; and *yû* or *yew*, which might mean an officer.

(16) *ampochi, etc.* — I cannot explain this.

(17) *tiquo.* — This also I cannot explain.

(18) *pachain.* — Perhaps this is intended for *fû-tsiang*, an adjutant-general or post captain.[18]

(19) *chimchae.* — This apparently represents *tsing-shû*, "the hoppo writers."[19]

(20) *tallacõ.* — The first part of this word I cannot explain; but the last syllable evidently stands for *kăng*, "a watch of the night," *kăng leen* being "a watchman at night."[20]

With regard to **Tamão or the Ilha da Veniaga**, where the Portuguese are said to have first landed, there seems to be some strange misapprehension or confusion. Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, in his *Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, says (p. 7): — "Tamáo on the north west coast of San-shan, was a renowned harbor, to which foreign and Chinese merchants resorted, ... The ships lay moored at the foot of the hill in which Francis Xavier was [1552] interred. At the end of the monsoon all transactions were suspended, accounts settled, the port abandoned, and the island unoccupied, till the return of the merchants." No authority is given for these statements, the first of which has been copied by later writers,[21] without, apparently, any attempt at verification. Castanheda tells us (IV. xxviii.) that "this island is three leagues from the coast, and the Chĩs call it Tamão, and we that of Veniaga : because in those parts they call the trade in merchandise *veniaga* ;[22] and in this island is carried on the trade in merchandise of the foreign merchants who come to China to trade, who lodge in a large town that there is there; and from there no one can go to any of the places on the coast without permission from the Council of Cantão, a city that is eighteen leagues from there; and even when they go they do not enter in, but lodge in the suburbs and there carry on their trade. And for the carrying out of this and the furnishing of the fleets that go to that quarter, the *Pio*, who is like the admiral of all that coast, resides in a town called Nantó that is three leagues from the Veniaga ; and from there he informs the council of Cãtão of the junks that come and whence they are and what they want, and what goods they carry : the council determines what is to be done, and if it is a new matter they at once write to the king in order that he may be advised of what passes." Castanheda also states that "the port of Nãtó" "is situated at the entrance of a river a league in breadth, and along it up above is the city of Cantão a matter of twenty-five leagues from Nantó." Barros, who calls the island Tamão, Tamou, and Beniaga, only says that it was three leagues from land.

Now here we have certain definite distances given, *viz.*, Tamão, 3 leagues from the coast 18 from Canton, and 3 from "Nantó;" and this last 25 leagues by river from Canton. There is little difficulty in identifying "Nantó" with Lantau,[23] the large island at the entrance to the

[18] See Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 171.

[19] Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 757.

[20] Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 361.

[21] *E. g.*, Danvers, *Port. in India*, I. p. 338 *n.*

[22] See footnote *supra.*

[23] Geronimo Roman, factor of the Philippines at Macao, commenting on a letter of Matteo Ricci's written in 1584, says:— "In an island called Lintao, which is situated near this town [Macao], there is an arsenal, the director or haytao of which is continually occupied in superintending the building and equipment of vessels. The island furnishes timber, but every other necessary for them has to be imported from the continent." (Hak. Soc. ed. of Mendoza's *Hist. of China*, Introd , p lxxix.)

Chukiang; so that we must look for Tamão some three leagues in a westerly direction from Lantau. It will be seen at once that the island of Shangchwen (St. John's) is quite out of the question, being much more than three leagues distant from Lantau.[24] I have failed, however, to locate Tamão, a name which, apparently, represents the Chinese Tamun,[25] *ta* meaning great, and *mun* meaning water running through a passage between hills. There is, indeed, an island named Taimong entered in the Admiralty chart; but this is too far from Lantau; and, on the other hand, just south-west of Lantau are the islands of Lueng and Nautau, between which is the passage of Nautau-mun; but this could hardly have been Tamão. It should be possible, however, for someone having a good knowledge of the topography of the Canton river to locate the different places referred to.

In conclusion, I append in chronological order a list of the events referred to in the following letters for which dates are given by the writers :—

1520. 23 Jan. Portuguese embassy leaves Canton for Peking (f. 104).

" May. Do. do. with king in Nanking (f. 104).

" ? Do. do. ordered to go to Peking (f. 104).

" 2 Aug. Do. do. sends letters to Canton (f. 104).

" ? Mandarin ill-used by Portuguese at Island of Trade (f. 105v.).

1521. Jan. King arrives at small town near Peking, and passes judgment on rebel relative (f. 105).

" Feb. King enters Peking, and falls ill the same day (ff. 104, 106).

" 21 (?) May. King dies (ff. 104, 106).

" 22 " Embassy leaves Peking for Canton (f. 104).

" 22 Sept. Embassy arrives at Canton (f. 104).

" Portuguese ships arrive at Tamão, and Chinese attack Diogo Calvo (f. 107v.).

" Junks with Portuguese arrive at Tamão, and are captured by Chinese (ff. 108, 118v.).

1522. [Aug.] Martim Affonso de Mello arrives at Tamão: fights, and has two ships captured (ff. 108v., 118v., 121).

" 14 Aug. Thomé Pires and others fettered and imprisoned (f. 106v.).

" 15 " Do. do. do. have fetters struck off (f. 107).

" 1 Oct. Letters from Chinese court to king of Portugal, *etc.*, handed to *ngan-cha-sz'* (f. 110v.).

" 6 Dec. Boards with sentences put on necks of prisoners (f. 109).

1523. Chinese prepare a fleet to watch for Portuguese (f. 118v.).

" 31 May. Junk with Chinese and Malays leaves Canton for Patani with message to king of Malacca (f. 110v.).

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[24] In Linschoten's map of the Eastern Seas (reproduced at p. 192 of the Hak. Soc. ed. of Saris's *Voyage to Japan*) "I. Veniaga" and "Sanchoam" are distinctly shown as two separate islands. Moreover, Fernão Mendez Pinto, in chap. ccxv. of his *Peregrinaçam*, says that Sanchão "is an island *twenty-six* leagues from the city of Cantaõ, where trade was then [1552] carried on with the people of the country."

[25] Major, in his Introduction to the Hak. Soc. ed. of Mendoza, speaks, on p. xxxi., of "the Island of Tamang;" but I can find no support for such a form.

1523.	Aug.	Hurricane destroys Chinese fleet off Canton river (f. 118v.).
,,	5 Sept.	Reply from king of Malacca reaches Canton (f. 110v.).
,,	23 ,,	23 Portuguese prisoners executed in and near Canton (f. 109).
1524-1528.		Chinese prepare fleets of junks to resist Portuguese (f. 118v.).
1524.		Ambassador from king of Malacca leaves Canton to return (f. 111).
,,	May.	Thomé Pires dies of sickness in prison in Canton (f. 112).
1534.	?	Christovão Vieyra finishes letter (f. 123v.).
(?) 1536.	Oct.	Vasco Calvo finishes letter (f. 131).
,,	10 Nov.	Do. do. addendum to letter (f. 135v.).

(To be continued.)

THE WRECK OF THE "DODDINGTON," 1755.

BY R. C. TEMPLE

(Continued from Vol. XXIX p. 333.)

FROM this time, till Sunday the **29th of September**, the carpenter and Smith continued to work upon the boat, and the people were busy in getting in from time to time what was thrown up from the wreck.

On the **6th of October** they found a fowling piece, this was a joyful acquisition, and tho' the barrel was much bent, it was soon made serviceable by the carpenter, and used with great success in shooting the birds.

On **Friday, October 11**, they perceived the gannets which had lately forsaken them, to hover again about the rocks, and were in hopes they would settle to lay their eggs, in which they were not disappointed.

On **Sunday, October 20**, Mr. Collet, **Mr. Webb**, and two others, ventured out once more on the float, and it was noon the next day before they could get in. They had now some rainy weather, which proved very acceptable, as they contrived to save some of the water for sea stores: but they were still in great want of bread, having lived many days on short allowance. At last they thought of building an oven, for they had some barrels of flour, in which attempt they succeeded, beyond their expectations, and were able to convert their flour into tolerable biscuit.

This biscuit was at length so near exhausted, that they were obliged to live upon a few ounces a day, without brandy, of which only a small quantity remained, and this they preserved inviolably for the use of the carpenter. They were also so short of water, that of this they were allowed but half a pint a day.

In this condition, however, they happily in a great degree preserved their health and vigour, and on the 16th of February they launched their boat, and called her the Happy Deliverance. The next day they got their little pittance of stores on board, and on the 18th they set sail from the rock, on which they had lived just seven months, and **to which at parting they gave the name of Bird Island.**

When they embarked in their boat, **the Happy Deliverance,** at Bird Island, they were twenty two in number, and had on board two buts and four hogsheads of water, two of the hogs that had come on shore from the ship alive, one firkin of butter, ninety pounds of biscuit, and about ten days salt provisions, at two ounces a man per day, but this was quite rotten and decayed.

The joy which they felt at putting off from this dreadful seat of famine and desolution was too great to be expressed, but it was of very short continuance, for as soon as they got to the mouth of the

little channel which led to the rock, the grapnails came home, and they were instantly driven on the rocks, where their boat which had cost seven months incessant labour, struck so often and with such violence, that they expected every moment to be beat to pieces. In this condition, however, it pleased him who the winds and waves obey, to relieve them ; a swell of the sea took their boat so favourably, that it lifted her from the rock on which she was beating, and carrying her over the bar, left her in four fathom calm water. Here they immediately anchored to repair their damage, by securing the grapnails, and this was not effectually done till noon the next day.

The next day they stood away in order to make the river of St. Lucia, but for many days were not able to stem the current, which determined them to get back to the cape. They continued their course till **Sunday March the 7th,** when they were within about a mile of shore. They soon perceived several of the natives coming down from the mountains, which encouraged them to try to land, hoping to get some provisions of which they were in extreme want. Accordingly they sent four on shore at two different times, with some trifles to traffick with the natives, who were very kind, and brought down cattle to the sea shore, but the surf ran so high, that they could neither get provisions, nor the men on shore aboard. Thus they were starving in the sight of plenty, without prospect of relief.

It was now **Monday, the 15th of March,** and they determined at all events to make an attempt to get into the river, having no provision on board but water. Having waited therefore till it was high water, they sent the little boat to sound a-head, and following her at a proper distance, they at length ventured over the bar, and having happily received no damage, they anchored in two fathom and a half of water.

The natives had now come again to the shore, and the people on board got together some brass buttons, small bits of iron, nails, and copper hoops, as the most likely commodities to exchange for mutton and beef. The copper hoops they bent into bracelets to be worn on the legs and arms. With these baubles, which are prized by these poor savages, perhaps with as much reason as gold and gems are prized by those who hold their simplicity in contempt, the poor famished adventurers hastened on shore, and having soon made the natives understand what they wanted, and what return they would make, two bullocks were driven down to the beach with great expedition, and bartered for about one pound weight of copper hoops, and four brass buttons. Provisions of all kinds were procured in great plenty at the same rate, particularly milk, and a small grain that resembled Guinea wheat.

They continued on shore at this place near a fortnight, and found the natives an honest, open, harmless, and friendly people, ready to do any kind office that was in their power, and always dividing what they brought from the chase. Their manner of living and appearance were the same that have been so often described by those who have given account of the people called Hottentots, who inhabit the cape of Good Hope. It is remarkable, however, that among these People, who are all black, and woolly haired, there was a youth of about 12 or 14 years of age, who was quite white, and had regular European features, with fine light hair. The people of the sloop observed that he was treated like a servant, and also that he disappeared a few days before they left the coast, and therefore they suspected the natives were afraid they should carry him off, nor was one of the natives themselves to be seen the morning that they went away.[12]

On **Monday, March 29,** having laid in great plenty of provisions, they got safe over the bar, and made sail for the **river St. Lucia,** where they arrived on **Tuesday, the 6th of April,** having found the current more favourable than before.

Having got into the river, and anchored in three fathom water, they went on shore, but they found the People very different from those with whom they last traded.

Among other things, however, which they offered to barter, was a brass handle of a chest, and a piece of a bunten they made their colours of. These happened to be acceptable, and were purchased with two large bullocks, and six good fowls.

[12] Nothing of this in Evan Jones's *Diary*.

The natives of this part of the coast, by their frequent dealings with the Europeans, had learned to be cleanly in their persons and food, dressing their hair up very neatly, and laying aside the grease and garbage with which the others anointed and adorned themselves ; but at the same time they had learnt to be proud, crafty, deceitful and dishonest. However, the adventurers stayed with them till Sunday the **18th of April,** and then getting on board they weighed and made sail.

Hitherto they had been united by adversity in the bond of friendship, but as they had now a near prospect of deliverance, their minds were less tender, and their different peculiarities of temper and opinion were indulged with less restraint. As they were sailing down the river, a dispute arose about the time and manner of crossing the bar, which was then very near, and it was carried so high, that some of them hawled down the sails, and let go the grapnail close to the brake of a sand, nine of them hoisted out the little boat, and went on shore, swearing that they would take their chance of getting to De la Goa by land, than be drowned in attempting to get over the bar. Those who remained in the sloop were by this accident reduced to very great distress ; for being prevented by the delay they suffered from getting over the bar at high water, and the wind and tide both setting out of the river at a great rate, they were very soon forced on the breakers, where there was only eight feet of water, and the vessel drawing five she must inevitably have been grounded and beaten to pieces, before the river was half empty.

It happened, however, contrary to all expectation, that the vessel was brought safely out of the river.

From St. Lucia they took a new departure, and anchored in **de la Goa road** at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on **Wednesday, the 21st of April,** having again narrowly escaped shipwreck on some breakers the night before. Here they found **the Rose galley, Capt. Chandler,** trading for beef and ivory, and most of them begged a passage with him to Bombay.

After they had continued here above three weeks, three of the nine men who had deserted them at St. Lucia, were brought up the river in a small boat of the country, and reported that the other six were waiting, without any covering but a shirt and drawers, on the other side of the bay of Dalagoa, waiting for a boat to bring them over.

On board of the sloop there was the remainder of the chest of treasure, which had been broke open upon the rock, and plundered of what the sailors thought their share of it, upon a supposition, that on the loss of the ship it was become a common property. The officers told Capt. Chandler the affair, who went on board the sloop and secured the treasure, &c. without offering any violence to the people. The people, however, whom they left on board the sloop, fearing they might be taken into custody, weighed anchor and went away in the night.[13]

On the **25th of May,** the officers and the rest of the crew, being on board the Rose galley, she weighed anchor, and proceeded not to Bombay, as was intended, but to Madagascar, the voyage having become necessary to compleat her cargo, because the natives of Delagoa having sold Capt. Chandler 100 head of cattle, stole them all away again, and refused to restore them without a new consideration.

The Rose galley, soon after she was at sea, made a sail, which when they came up with proved to be the sloop, which had taken in the other six men, that were left behind at St. Lucia, they had been taken on board alive, but three of them were then dead, and two more died the next day.

two of the people on board the sloop being convinced, that no harm was intended them, came on board the Rose ; one of these was the carpenter, to the honour of whose ingennity be it recorded, that the sloop, which he built on a desolate rock, with the fragments of the ship, fitted together with such tools as the pieces of iron casually thrown on shore, would supply, he now sold to Capt Chandler, for 2500 rupees, which is nearly equal to 500£, sterling money. From this time the sloop pursued her voyage in company with the galley, and both arrived at **Madagascar** after a pleasant voyage of two and twenty days.

[13] This explains the *hiatus* between 23th April and 2nd May in the Diary and the confused entries for 2nd May.

Soon as they had anchored at Madagascar they had the pleasure to see **the Canarvan, Capt. Hutchinson** arrived there in his voyage from London to China, and as the treasure and packets, which had been preserved from the Doddington, were to be delivered at Madras, the officers went with them to the Canarvan, and delivered them, with other private effects, to the company's agents there, on **the first of August, 1756.**

Finis.

II. — The Debbonaire MS.

Wreck of the 'Doddington' — History of the Survivors — 1755-1756.

An Abstract of

The proceedings of the ship Doddington, from the Sailing out of the Downs, Till Unfortunately Lost on Some Rocks on the Coast of Africa Distance From the Cape of Good Hope by the Medium of Six More Journals About 250 Leagues; And Afterwards a Daily Journal of the Transactions, of 23 [twenty three] of the People Who Was [were] Miraculously Saved upon an Uninhabited Island.

Ship Doddingon in Distress.

Aprill [April] **23d 1755** Sail'd out of the Down's in Company with the **Pelham, Houghton, Stretham and Edgcote.**[14] In a Weeks Time got Clear of the Channel in which Time Found we had the Advantage of the [other] Ships in Sailing which I believe is [was] The Reason of **Captn Sampsons**[15] not keeping Company. the Next day, After leaving the Channel, lost Sight of our 4 Consorts, and the Day Following Discover'd Severall [Several] Large Ships, Lying too off Brest, which we was [were] Inform'd by His Majestys Ship Dunkirk, was Admiral Boscawens Fleet [Consisting] of Twelve Sail of the Line. We met with Nothing worth mentioning after, till the 14 of May When we Made the Island of [Lancerota], and the Next Day Sail'd Through Between the Islands of Teneriffe and Grand Canary And [on] the 20th in the Morning Saw a Sail Which Prov'd to be the Houghton. And Soon After Made the Island of Bonanisto. The Next Morning we Both got into Porto Bray Bay, and Found Riding there [the] Pelham and Stretham who had Arrived, about two Hours Before us. On the 26th the Edgcote Arrived and Anchor'd here. The Next day we Sail'd in Company with the Pelham Houghton And Stretham, Leaving the Edgcote in the Bay. We kept Company with the Other Ships a Day, Steering S B E ½ E Which Course the Captn thought too farr [Far] Easterly: Therefore Order'd [ours] South, by [which] Means Soon lost Sight of them and Saw them No More. We had a Very pleasant Passage of 7 Weeks from St Jago To the Making of the Cape Land, [and] On the 8th of July Took a Fresh Departure from Cape Lagullas, we Run to the Etward in the Lattitude of 35° 30′ and 36° 0′0 S. till I made [we had made by my Reackoning] 12°[16] 45′ Et Difference of Longitude and by [the] Medm of Six Other Journals 12°[16] 50′ Longitude and 35° 0′0 So Lattitude. This day at Noon, the Captn Order'd the Course to Be Alter'd from Et to E N E. Had Dirty Squally Weather with the Wind from S S W to S S E and a very Large Sea. We had at this Time two Reefs in The Fore Topsails and three in the Main, and all the Stay Sails Stow'd, so that We Run about 6 or 7 Knotts an Hour. At Midnight had About 70 Miles on The Board. A Quarter before one Thursday Morning the 17th of July The Ship Struck And in less than 20 Minutes was Entirely Wreck'd, Which is all the time any Body thought Themselvs in Danger, Judging Our Selvs to be 80 Leagues of the Land; And When the Ship Was a Ground Could not See the Least Appearance of it Seing Nothing but Breakers all Round which did Not discover two Minutes Before The Ship Struck. Upon Which the Helm was Putt a Lee Immediately, but by the Time She Came Head to Wind, She was in the Midst of them. She went to peices in so little Time, that I am Certain Half the People had not Time to gett Upon Deck, for tho **I got out of my**

[14] Here is an erasure. [15] James Samson in Hardy's *Register*, Ed. 1811. [16] *I. e.*, 30° by present reckoning.

Cabbin the First Stroke She Gave by the Time I Gott Upon Deck, it was Falling in And Other Parts Driving to peices faster Than any person Can Imagine. Soon After I got on Deck, Spoke to the Captn and Asked him Where he Thought we Were, for I must Own the Main Land Never Enter'd into my Head [Thoughts] Nor the Captains [neither], for the Answer he Made me was, He was Sure it Must be Some Rock in the Sea Which Never was laid down, in any Draught for [I did][17] prick'd of that Day at Noon before he Alter'd [the] Course, as I did my Self After, and Found my Self by my Reckoning to the Etward of all the East and West Land, 50 Leagues [and dist from the Land abrest of us 100 Leags Therefore Saw no Danger in Steering E N E which Course by the Draught Still Run us from the Land. I must not Omitt Mentioing[18] One thing More the Captain Spoke to Me of Upon the quarter, which was the only part Above Water, and the Sea Every Time it Came Carried Some away with it, that he was Sure, this Must be the Rock **The Dolphin** was Lost[19] Upon and not one Spar'd to Tell there Fate, which Certainly Would be the Case with us and Indeed Every Sea Threatned it. By this Time There Was not Above 30 People Left Upon the Quarter. He Bid Me farewell and Said we Should meet in the Next World, Which Words Were Scarce out of his Mouth, When I was Wash'd off and beleive Every Body Else, for I am of the Opinion Most that was Saved was Wash'd of by the Same Sea, for no less than 10 Mett in 3 or 4 Minutes time After they Came on Shore. Therefore was in Great Hopes Should have Seen the Captain As Soon as it was Day, But was Greatly Disappointed for he Shar'd the Fate of 247 More, Only 23 Being Saved out of 270 and Most of them Very Much Bruised, my Self Escaping with A Few Scratches. As Fast as we Mett Gott Close together as we Could to keep us warm, for it Was Bitter Cold, and Nothing on but a Wett Shirt. We had not Seated our Selves long on the Sharp Rocks, before we Was Vissitted by Some Seals, which Was Taken by the people who first Saw them, to be Wild Beasts. As they Came Nearer to us Some said they Saw 4 leggs ; and Took them to be Hoggs, by their Making a Noise much like a Hogg. It was all this Time so Dark that you Could Scarcely See the Rocks we Satt we Satt upon,[20] and now it was that I First Thought of the Main, thinking it Impossible for Wild Beasts to be On a Rock in the Sea, how Soever was Obliged to be Content'd with thinging[21] so Till day Light when we Found Ourselves upon a Small Island, tho it Scarce Deserves the Name, distant from the Main Land about 2 Leagues Surrounded by Severall Rocks, Some of them two Miles in the Offing on Which the Ship Struck. Soon After day Light Call'd the people alltogether, Found Them to be The Following Persons.

Mr Evan Jones Chief Mate
Mr Jno Collett 2d Ditto
Mr Wm Webb 3r Do
Mr Small Powell 5th Do
Mr Richd Topping Carpenter
Jno Yates Midshipman
Neal Bothwell Quarter Mastr
Nathl Chisholme Do
Robt Beazly Seaman
Jno King Do
Gilbt Chain Do
Jer More Do
Thos Arnold Do
Henry Scance Do

17 'I did' written over 'he had.'

18 So in MS.

19 "Season 1747-48; Dolphin; 370 tons; Second Voyage; Commander, Geo. Newton; Destination Coast [of Coromandel] & Bay [of Bengal]." — Hardy, *Register of Ships of E. I. Co.*, 1707-1760, Ed. 1800, p. 220. (List of ships lost and missing.)

20 So in MS.

21 So in MS.

Peter Rosenbery D°
Johanes Taylor D°
Jn° Mc Dugall D°
Jn° Glass D°
Danll Ladoux Capts Steward
Henry Sharp Surgeons Servant
Leister }
Dyson } Matrosses[22]
Smith }

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh. Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years ago, there do not seem to have been many silver coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

However, once a year the taxes due to the Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver, and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo. Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2½ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet, there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

GODOWN.

HERE are some useful quotations for the history of this well-known Anglo-Indianism.

1576. — Only warning them not to touch the houses or the subterranean storehouses (gudões). — *Commentaries of Dalboquerque, Hak Soc. Ed.* Vol. III. p. 127. These are the same *gudões* as are referred to by Correa, **1561**, in the passage quoted in translation by Yule, *H.-J., s. v.* godown.

1615. — Was given me old ruined brick house or godung . . . . the same goods to be locked up in the gaddones . . . . the one half of the charges of building and purchasing a godone and houses. — Foster, *Letters of the E. I. C.* Vol. III. pp. 109, 159, 181.

1616. — doth promise that if the English will come and trade or build a godown they shall pay no duties at all — Foster, *Letters of the E. I. C.* Vol. IV. p. 213. But the Editor has queried the word *godown* here, otherwise it is the earliest quoted instance of the word in its modern Anglo-Indian form.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[22] Gunner's apprentices: inferior artillerymen.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 386.)

Chapter XII.

Preparations for the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Renewal of Allegiance.

PILGRIMAGE preached — Treaty of Ḥudeibiya — Conquest of Mecca — Messages from Arab Tribes — Conversions — Expedition against the Greek army — Tabûk — Renunciation of treaties *(barâ'a)* — Deuteronomic revelations.

The successes gained in the last few years had obliterated the shame of the Uḥud disaster. The enemies of Islâm in and around Medina had been vanquished, and the joint attack of the Qoreish and their allies against the town had been repelled. Muhammed's power was fast approaching its apogee, and he felt himself strong enough to venture pushing his authority right into the very heart of his enemies. To enter as conqueror into the city, in which he had for many years lived the life of an outcast, appeared like a bold dream. Muhammed was, therefore, careful to disguise his intention by suggesting a **peaceful pilgrimage to the Ka'ba.** Even this idea had to be broached with great caution, and he endeavoured to suggest it in an address, which forms the largest portion of *Sûra* xxii. This sermon is introduced by some general remarks touching upon the difference between believers and infidels, and the expectations of both classes hereafter.[50] The compromise made with the heterodox of various types in two previous Medinian revelations,[51] *viz.*, that the Jews, Baptists, Christians and Magicians could be regarded under certain circumstances as believers, is now abandoned, and they are ranked among the infidels (v. 17), whom Allâh shall place in contrast to true believers on the Day of Resurrection. **The topic of the Ḥajj** is then introduced in a rebuke lanced against the Meccans for preventing Moslims from visiting the sacred spot, which was established "for all mankind (*i. e.* Arabs) alike, and *the sojourner and the stranger*" (v. 25). Those who might eye the proposal of **worshipping at the shrine of Hobal** with religious scruples are reminded that the place was originally established for Abraham with the injunction to shun idolatry, to keep "my house" pure for those making the prescribed circuits, to promote pilgrimage, and to "proclaim the name of Allâh therein" (26-29). With these words Muhammed not only boldly claimed the Ka'ba, but also the heathen ritual[52] for Islâm — a masterpiece of diplomacy. Another noteworthy feature of this speech is that **Allâh,** to whose service the ritual is to be transferred, officially **takes the place of Rabbika.** That this is not a mere accident will be shown by the following instances. In verse 31 we find the "sacred things of Allâh," in the verses 33 and 37 "the rites of Allâh." In the verses 35, 36, 37, 41 the proclamation of the name of Allâh (see verse 29) is again touched upon either in the form of a statement or an admonition. In verse 41 Muhammed places in the mouth of those who had fled with him from Mecca the words: *Our Lord is Allâh.* One cannot fail to see in this speech the efforts made to transplant the Meccan shrine and the ceremonies belonging to it into the bosom of the Moslim church. It is now easily intelligible why, in **the treaty concluded with the Qoreish at Ḥudeibiyah** (A. 6),[53] which precluded Muhammed from entering Mecca that year, he raised no objection to the demand of the pagan plenipotentiary to have the document initiated by the formula: *In thy name, O Allâh,* instead of the usual *In the name of Allâh.* Any difference between these two formulas had now ceased to exist, and far from losing prestige, he had gained considerably. It is, therefore, wrong to place the verses 39-42 before the battle of Badr. A special divine permission to fight the infidels, as Weil and Nöldeke assume,[54] is not to be found in this revelation. This question had already been settled in *Sûra* ii. 214-215 on the occasion of the illegal[55] expedition of Nakhla, when the *jihâd* was laid down as a command.

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[50] Nöldeke, *Q.* 158, regards vv. 1-24 as Meccan, v. 17 is, however, Medinian on account of الذين هادوا.

[51] ii. 59; v. 73.

[52] See Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 28.

[53] As to the text of the treaty see Sprenger, III. p. 246.

[54] Weil, *Einleit.* p. 80; Nöld. p. 160; see *Hish.* 313 with doubtful authority.

[55] See Ch. IX.

Somewhat older than this is the address contained in the verses 48 to 59, but it cannot be of Meccan origin,[56] because in v. 52 "those in whose heart is sickness and whose hearts are hardened (the Jews)" are mentioned. Verse 51 is generally explained by Moslim teachers as replacing the objectionable verses liii. 19-20 which Muhammed was, according to tradition, obliged to expunge owing to their semi-pagan character.[57] The verse is, however, nothing but a reflex of Zach. iii, 1, very popular in Jewish liturgy, and which Muhammed found wonderfully adaptable to his own career. Now verse 55 re-echoes Zach. xiv. 9 of even greater liturgical popularity, and therefore also speaks for the Medinian origin of the group in question, which probably dates from shortly after the battle of Uḥud (v. 57).

With regard to the last portion (vv. 72-78) of the *sûra* we can only assume that it was placed here for the sake of the beginning, which is the same as in the verses 1 and 48. The *mathal* of verse 72 probably taunts the Meccans with their alleged success obtained at Ḥudeibiya. As the verses 76-78 point to a well arranged divine service, they can hardly be older than the group 48-59.

To an incident which happened shortly before the conquest of Mecca the traditionists refer the verses *Surâ* v. 39-44, dealing with the punishment meeted out to a thief. There is hardly anything better to be said about the origin of these verses.

An interesting retrospect on the allegiance sworn by the Believers at Ḥudeibiyah is given in *Sûra* xlviii. 18-28. The phrase *under the tree* is, as we have seen on a previous occasion,[58] more than a mere historical recollection. Neither is it accidental that the *Shekinah* is mentioned in the same verse.[59] The following verses are justly considered to refer to the rich spoil made during the raids on the Jews of Khaibar (v. 20), Fadak, Teimâ, and Wâdil Qorâ (v. 21). Muhammed cannot help expressing some discontent at having allowed himself to be persuaded to rest satisfied with so incomplete a pilgrimage, or, what is still more probable, he tried to weaken the treaty concluded with the Meccans by charging them with having hindered the Moslims from sacrificing at the Ka'ba (v. 25). This intention is more clearly expressed in verse 27,[60] where he tells the world of a vision in which he is assured of entering Mecca "if Allâh please" in safety, and of performing all rites connected therewith without fear "and He has appointed, besides this, a victory nigh at hand." This victory does not refer to Khaibar, as Palmer thinks, but to Muhammed's firm resolution to conquer Mecca at any price.

The conquest which took place in the following year was accompanied by the address *Sûra* ii. 185[61]-196, which cannot have been revealed prior to this event.[62] Muhammed was only now strong enough to include those who still refused to embrace Islâm in the proscription uttered some time since against the Jews and Hypocrites, *viz*, to kill them wherever found,[63] "and to drive them on whence they drove you out" (v. 187). The last words in particular are unmistakeable. Muhammed had made up his mind to treat Mecca as a conquered city irrespective of the treaty which only granted him permission to enter it as a pilgrim. Possibly the defeat which the Moslim warriors had suffered in the Jumâda (September) of the same year at Mûta made a retrieval necessary. The expression "drive them out who drove you out" allows of a literal explanation in so far as the treaty of Ḥodeibiyah stipulated that the Qoreish were to leave the city, while the Moslims performed their devotions within its walls. It seems that Muhammed was waiting for the retirement of the Qoreish from the town in order to prevent the re-entrance of all those who still refused to embrace Islâm. For it must be observed that he forbade fighting only in the immediate surroundings of the sanctuary

[56] Nöldeke, *ibid.* p. 158, regards v. 48-56 as Meccan, but v. 57 cannot have opened a new address.

[57] See *Hish.* 370, and Nöldeke, p. 159.

[58] Ch. II.

[59] Verse 18, *cf.* 26.

[60] As to the spurious character of v. 29 see Ch. XIII.

[61] The address begins with a remark on the new moons which are called "indications of time." This is a translation of Ps. civ. 19.

[62] Nöldeke, p. 133, rightly places the verse after the treaty of Ḥudeibiya. I do not believe that Muhammed was afraid of a violation of the treaty on the part of the Meccans. It is more probable that he looked for a pretext to defy them, and for this very reason accepted conditions apparently so unfavourable to him.

[63] See Ch. X. and *Sûra* xxxiii. 61.

except in self-defence, or to quell a revolt (v. 187). This, however, is a meaningless phrase, since no enemy was expected to be present. Why should Muhammed suddenly recommend his warriors "to fight them that there be no sedition" (v. 189)?[64] This does not look as if he wished the Qoreish to become masters of their town once more. In connection with these instructions Muhammed then describes in detail the ritual to be observed during the Ḥajj (vv. 190-196b).[65]

How little Muhammed felt himself bound by the treaty mentioned before, will appear from the circumstance that he actually placed himself at the head of an army in order to take Mecca by surprise. His plan was, however, betrayed by a Moslim who informed the Meccans of the Prophet's arrival, the letter which was carried by a female slave being intercepted. Muhammed rebuked the deed in a warning which fills out the beginning of *Sûra* lx.[66] Thus far tradition. According to our judgment there could not have been any betrayal in the matter, as the visit of the Moslim army was to take place by agreement and in open daylight. The only person to be charged with perfidy is Muhammed himself. — The verses 10-13 of this *sûra* are of uncertain date, but their tenor coincides, on the whole, with the opinion of some traditionsists that they were revealed in connection with the capture of Mecca.

When this was accomplished, it was celebrated in two special sermons which form the first portion of *Sûra* xlviii. (1-15).[67] To have become master of Mecca was, indeed, a "great victory" (v. 1), although it was won without bloodshed. Muhammed was, however, conscious that the way he had achieved this success was anything but straight, and this feeling interfered seriously with the logic of his speech. The next verse reads as if Allâh had given him the victory in *order* to grant him forgiveness for past and future sins, which seems like a premium put on his transgressions.[68] Muhammed evidently meant to imply that, being now in a position to fulfil the pious duties of pilgrimage, he had the opportunity to atone for his sins, or some such sophistry. — The verses 4 and 10 contain the reasons why this piece was connected with the older portion beginning with v. 18[69] to make one *sûra*. The tendency of the words spoken twice (vv. 4 and 7), that the hosts of heaven and earth were Allah's,[70] is likewise unmistakeable. The conclusion to be drawn from this remark is that Allâh was free to give Mecca to the Believers. There is probably also an allusion to the large army fighting for Allâh in it. Nothing could have been more appropriate than for Muhammed, under very much altered circumstances, to proclaim himself once more on Meccan soil as Messenger, Witness, Harbinger of good tidings, and Warner (v. 8). The satisfaction he must have felt in recapitulating these words which had been nearly a score of years before uttered by him on the same spot at the peril of his life, is re-echoed in every sentence of this address, and his shrewdness is equally evident. Was it not possible that many who, at that period, became converts to Islâm, did so merely in deference to his personal power? He therefore hastened to assure the world that all new comers did not "swear allegiance" to the Prophet, but to Allâh (v. 10). The expression "become Moslim" is probably discarded here on purpose.

According to tradition another fear awoke in the breast of many Medinians, *viz.*, that Muhammed might now prefer living in his native town, instead of returning to Medina.[71] Should he decide that way, the loss would not only affect the faith, but the town to which the person of the Prophet attracted many deputations and visitors. The farther Islâm was spread, the larger became the area of which Medina was an important centre of people, trade, commerce and wealth. It seems to me, that

[64] Verse 187: Sedition is worse than slaughter.

[65] See Snouck Hurgronje, *l. c.*; — Noldeke, p. 132, regards vv. 196-198 as Meccan, but the phrase ومالهُ فى الاخرة من خلاق is undoubtedly Medinian; *cf.* iii. 71. There exists therefore no reason to detach the verses in question from the context.

[66] See Nöldeke, p. 162.

[67] Noldeke, p. 161, places this sermon immediately after the treaty of Ḥudeibiya, but v. 12 points to a time after the conquest.

[68] Beidhawi: for having performed the *jihâd* and checked idolatry.

[69] السكينة v. 4 اذ يبايعونك تحت الشجرة.

[70] جنود السموات vv. 4 and 7 = צבאות השמים

[71] See Sprenger, III. 334.

these reasons had as much weight with the Medinians as any spiritual ones. Muhammed saw all this, as well as the ingratitude of which he would have been guilty, had he abandoned the town to which he owed so much. With his usual diplomacy he turned the tables, and charged those who deemed him capable of such a course of action, with "evil thoughts, and being people destitute of good" (v. 12).

The second, but short, thanksgiving address is contained in *Sûra* cx.[72] which, in a condensed form, reiterates the opening sentences of *Sûra* xlviii.[73] Since the *sûra* is so small, I reproduce it in full.

1. When the help of Allâh came[74] and victory.
2. And thou sawest men enter into the religion of Allâh by troops,
3. Then celebrate the praises of thy Lord and ask forgiveness of Him, behold He is forgiving.

These words describe the situation exactly, because after the conquest of Mecca Islâm was progressing by leaps and bounds.

According to tradition *Sûra* xlix. (1-5) was revealed when, after Muhammed's return to Medina, messengers of the **Tribe of the Banu Tamîm** arrived in the beginning of "the year of the embassies" (A. 9),[75] in order to negotiate with him about the redemption of some members of their tribe who had been taken prisoners by the Moslims. The embassadors are said to have shouted for Muhammed in a disrespectful manner, for which they are rebuked in the verses alluded to.[76] Other commentators think they refer to different incidents.

The next group of verses of the same *sûra* is said to allude to Al Walîd, son of Oqba b. Abi Moeit (who had been executed after the battle of Badr),[77] for having given information against the Banû Mostaliq who had refused to pay the tribute. Muhammed is said to have revealed the verses in which Al Walîd is styled a sinner *(fâsiq)*.[78] The story which is not very well authenticated, although generally believed to be true, seems to me doubtful, and was probably invented to discredit the Omayyad party, or, at least, Al Walîd himself, who as Prefect of Kûfa[79] did not lead a very religious life and was deposed by Othmân. It is not likely that Muhammed would thus have branded a new convert, member of a very influential family, and close relative to some of his nearest friends. Moreover as the whole affair, which was due to a misunderstanding, was subsequently cleared up, Muhammed would not have left so offensive an expression in the *Qorân*. I believe that the passage (the date of which I am, however, unable to fix) was placed here on account of verse 7 which also contains statements concerning the person of the "Messenger of Allâh" in juxtaposition to the messengers of the Banu Tamîm. The cause of the revelation of the verse in question seems to have been the same as in both the preceding groups (vv. 9-12), *viz.*, the petty quarrels and jealousies which prevailed among Arab tribes in general, and the Medinians *(Anṣâr)* on one side, and the Meccan Fugitives *(Muhâjirûn)* on the other in particular. These quarrels often threatened to assume dangerous dimensions. The two proverbial observations contained in verse 12[80] also tend to denounce suspicion and backbiting, so that they stand in direct connection with verse 6. Contrary to these, verse 13 teaches that not birth and family pride, but piety give, in the eyes of Allâh, the highest claim to distinction. The verse appears to imply a criticism of the haughty tone of the verses of Al Zibriqân,[81] the poet of the legation, and of this kind of poetry *(fakhr)* altogether. — In spite of the traditional explanation of v. 14,[82] *viz.*, that

[72] Nöldeke, p. 163, places the *sûra* prior to the conquest, but without valid reason. [73] cx. 1 = xlviii. 1-3.

[74] Palmer: *When there comes, etc*, incorrect. [75] *Hish.* p. 239, Wâqidi, p. 386.

[76] See also Khamîs, II. p. 118 As regards the details see Sprenger, III. 365, and above, Ch. I. [77] See Ch. X.

[78] V. 6. On the authority of Yazîd b. Rûmân (died about 130) with no further *Isnâd*, related by I. I. p. 730, Al Beidhâwi, Khamîs, II. p. 120; Noldeke, p. 164, v. 224; Sprenger, III. 863. I. I. seems to fix the incident prior to the expedition against the B. Muṣtaliq.

[79] Ibn Ḥajar, No. 8657 (III. p. 1312). [80] See Ch. VIII.

[81] See Ḥassân b. Thâbit, *Divân*, p. 110 *sqq.* [82] Nöldeke, p. 165, adopts this explanation.

it refers to a certain Bedouin tribe which, in exchange for their conversion to Islâm, expected to receive provisions from the Prophet during a famine, I rather believe it to be a comment on the preceding verse, and for a good reason. As already intimated, many Bedouin tribes accepted Islâm after the conquest of Mecca ; but whilst finding the recitation of the formula of the creed very easy work, they found more difficulty in exchanging their modes of life for the practical duties of Islâm. Here we perceive the civilizing influence of Islâm better than anywhere else. Muhammed explained to the reluctant ones that it was not sufficient for Bedouins to say : "*We believe*" — which was no belief ; but they were to say : "*we have become Moslims.*" In this sentence, he evidently contrasts theory with practice, and the passage also offers a valuable instance of Muhammed's own conception of Islâm at that stage.[83] As might have been expected he adds that it consists in obedience to Allâh and His Messenger, and sacrificing wealth and personality to the cause of the faith (vv. 15-16). Believers did not, by embracing Islâm, benefit either the Prophet or Allâh, but the latter benefitted them by his guidance (vv. 17-18). One cannot fail to perceive the altered tone in Muhammed's speech, assumed in the consciousness of his power. It was also quite justifiable in view of the rudeness of the Tamimite ambassadors, and fixes the date of the address decisively. The pieces of this exhortation seem to be simultaneous or very nearly so.

If Muhammed was able to adopt such language, it is small wonder that he dreamt of leading the now greatly increased forces of the Moslim army against the **Emperor Heraclius**, who shortly before had made himself master of Syria, and had several Arab tribes, as well as Jews, in his army. It was probably his brother Arabs, whom Muhammed was most anxious to induce to forsake their Christian patrons, since he could hardly hope to carry the Moslim arms beyond the border of Asia. He was, however, fully alive to the dangers connected with **an expedition against the better trained Greek troops.** This meant warfare on a different scale from that to which he had hitherto been accustomed. As a tentative move he made two speeches, the first of which (*Sûra* ix. 23-27) in some respect resembles the one just discussed. Muhammed repeats that family ties or worldly interest must be second to the love for Allâh and His Prophet. Allâh had supported them in the past year at Ḥonein with a large though invisible army,[84] just as he had done at Badr, and given them the victory over the infidels.

When Muhammed had set out to take Mecca, many Bedouin tribes had disappointed him. He severely censured those who were "left behind," and, as a punishment, they received none of the spoil gained in the expeditions against the Jewish clans (*Sûra* xlviii. 15). In order to give them an opportunity of redeeming their former laxity, Muhammed summoned them to join the forces which were sent against the Byzantines. I have little doubt that only these are meant by the expression "people of vehement valour" (*Sûra* xlviii. 16), and not the followers of Moseilima against whom Muhammed never intended sending an army. Considering the perils of this expedition Muhammed wished to have among his troops only able-bodied warriors who could cope with the Greek soldiers. In the less serious raids undertaken heretofore many had, no doubt, taken part who were not proof against the fatigues of real warfare, but underwent some hardship for the sake of the spoil. The next verse (17) seems to have been revealed in order to keep these people out rather than from purely humane motives. If such persons lost their share of the booty, it mattered little, because they would be rewarded for their obedience with the enjoyments of paradise.

The majority of voluntary and involuntary converts were not yet prepared to risk life and limb from sheer enthusiasm for Islâm, and did not respond to Muhammed's call to arms as willingly as he might have expected. He had to bring all his powers of eloquence to bear in order to overcome their reluctance. In a long speech (*Sûra* ix. 38-73) he charges Believers with preferring the comforts of this world to the next. He threatens them with heavy punishment,

[83] See Ch. I., App., Note 1. Al Beidhâwi فانّ الاسلام انقياد ودخول في السلم واظهار الشهادة وترك المحاربة يشعر به .

[84] Al Beidhâwi : five thousand angels, or according to others, six or eight thousand.

and recalls to their minds how Allâh had assisted him, when he, accompanied by a single friend,[85] had hidden himself during his escape from Mecca. While several phrases and expressions in this speech manifest its close relationship with the first part of this *sûra*,[86] it endeavours to re-kindle the zeal of the Moslims for religious war. The words: "He made the word *(kalima)* of the unbelievers the lowest (v. 40) are undoutedly an allusion to the Christian faith of the enemy. If, he says, worldly gain were near at hand, and the march short, they would follow readily (v. 42), and in this manner he goes on blaming those who remained at home under various pretexts,[87] and were therefore classed among the "Hypocrites" (vv. 65, 68, 69).

During the expedition Muhammed returned to the same subject, and expressed his indignation against those who in spite of his entreaties stayed at home (v. 74-81). They were glad to remain behind for such paltry reasons as the heat of the season (v. 82). He declared that he would never again allow them to join any expedition (v. 84), and forbade praying at their graves[88] (v. 85). It grieved him to perceive that the belief of the newly converted tribes was very superficial.[89] He again laid down the rule for those who were exempt from military service, *viz.*, the weak, the sick, and those who were too poor to arm themselves.[90] Yet others who were [able-bodied and] wealthy asked leave to stay behind.[91]

If Muhammed was indignant against those lately converted, he was much more so against Medinians who were guilty of the same dereliction of duty, and set a bad example to others. In the address consisting of the verses 120-128 he censured that portion of the army which was under the command of Abd Allâh b. Ubeyy, and numbered many Jews among its ranks. The latter are alluded to in the usual term "of those in whose heart is sickness" (v. 126), and Believers are expected to fight them.

At any rate Muhammed's wish to overawe the Byzantine army by an overwhelming Moslim force was not fulfilled, and the expedition terminated in **the bloodless demonstration of Tabûk,** whence the army returned to Medina. No risk of life had been incurred, and those who had remained at home regretted it, being profuse in excuses which were entirely ignored. In an address on the matter (vv. 95-120) Muhammed was particularly severe against those Bedouins who were "the keenest in disbelief and hypocrisy and readiest to ignore the bounds which Allâh has revealed" (v. 98). Others, he said, gave their contribution unwillingly, and were only waiting for the fortune to turn against Muhammed (v. 99), though some of them were sincere Moslims (v. 100). Now here we may observe an interesting phenomenon. The social equality which had established itself during the iniatory stages of Islâm, commenced to undergo a slight change, as soon as the faith was supported by political power. Muhammed himself took **the first step to create a kind of aristocracy** by giving the "Fugitives" the foremost rank in the favour of Allâh. The rank next to them was occupied by the Medinian "Helpers"[92] (v. 101). This was but natural. It would have been an insult to those who nearly twenty years before had given up home and family, and in some cases fortunes, and cast their lot with an outlaw, to rank them with poor Bedouins who now ran after Islâm because it paid better than their former trade.

In the verses following these Muhammed describes the "hypocrite" penitents and those who had built a mosque with mischievous intentions[93] (v. 102-108). In opposition to the latter

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[85] Abu Bakr.

[86] *Cf.* نصره v. 40 with نصركم v. 25 and انزل الله سكينته ...... وانزل جنودا لم تروها (v. 26).

[87] The verses 49 and 82 are said to refer to Al Jadd b. Qeis, *cf.* I. I. p. 894.

[88] The verse is said to refer to Abd Allâh b. Ubeyy, and Nöldeke, p. 167, regards it therefore as a later addition.

[89] *Cf.* *Sûra* 49 and above, rem. 83.

[90] No parallel to Deut. xx. 1-8.

[91] Palmer's translation (94): "Only is there a way against those, *etc.*," quite misses the point. السبيل means here *war* as usual. Verse 93 refers according to all authorities to the "Weepers," *viz.*, seven Ansâr who were too poor to procure camels, *cf.* Wâqidi, p. 392; I. I. p. 895.

[92] *Cf.* viii. 73.

[93] Vâqidi, *ibid.*, I. I. 913.

he places "the mosque founded on piety," as well as the position of the believers, and the fate awaiting them as laid down in Torâh, Gospel and *Qorân* (v. 109-113). The next portions of these rather incoherent speeches date from the same time. Verse 114 which refers either to the memory of Abu Tâlib, or Muhammed's mother,[94] is evidently in some way connected with verse 81, and seems to form the reply to a query based on *Sûra* xix. 46. The interpretation (given in verse 115) that Abraham only *promised*, but did not actually pray for his father, is cunning rather than dignified, because the tone of the verse alluded to impresses the reader with the idea that Abraham *did* pray. The word *tabarra'a* (verse 115) gives a clue why this sermon was joined to the one at the beginning so as to form one *sûra*.[95] Verse 119 standing alone, at length grants pardon to some of those censured in a former speech of the same *sûra* (vv. 38 *sqq.*).

Although the expedition to Tabûk did not bring the desired result, yet it added largely to the number of new converts, or at least subjects of Muhammed on the basis of a treaty. Finding the latter, however, not to his taste, Muhammed, in the following year, charged his cousin Aliyy to meet the pilgrims assembled at Mecca, and to read in their presence a proclamation which declared all compacts made with unbelievers null and void. Although this "Renunciation," which forms the first part of *Sûra* ix., does not appear in the usual form of revelations, it was embodied in the *Qorân*, but without the introductory formula "In the name of Allâh the Merciful, the Compassionate." This was, indeed, superfluous, since it is announced as a *barâa* (renunciation) and an *aḏân* (proclamation), both emanating from Allâh and His messenger (vv. 1-3). It is therefore not Muhammed who violates the treaty, but Allâh Himself, the Prophet being only his tool. Exempt were only the holders of a compact until a given term (vv. 4-6). After the elapse of the [four] sacred months infidels were to be regarded as outlaws, and Moslims were free to kill them by any means in their power, unless they confessed Islâm (vv. 5-12). In order not to leave any doubt which months were meant, he explains the matter in an appendix (vv. 36-37), and denounces the pagan custom of changing one of these months with another if more convenient. — There is, however, some uncertainty about the date of the piece vv. 13-22. Nöldeke, following Moslim interpreters, is inclined to retrodate these verses to the time before the conquest of Mecca, although the word *hammû* ("they solicited," *viz.*, to drive thee out, verse 13) speaks against such a theory.[96] It seems rather that this verse contains a reminiscence of the unsuccessful attempt undertaken by Muhammed two years before leaving Mecca to spread Islâm among the inhabitants of Tâif. His wrath against these people was all the greater, as even after the conquest of Mecca they entered into a coalition with the Hawâzin tribes to fight against Muhammed. Defeated at Ḥonein (Shawwâl A. 8), they retired into their city which the Prophet besieged in vain. It is, therefore, natural that he was not content to entrust their punishment to Allâh alone (v. 14),[97] but egged Believers on to continue fighting them with the assistance of Allâh. Like other infidels they must not be permitted to "visit"[98] the holy city even outside the sacred season, because this privilege is in future accorded exclusively to Moslims.

A further comment on the same prohibition is given in the section vv. 28-37, in which idolaters are declared to be "unclean,"[99] and must therefore not come near the sacred places after the termination of the present year. Such prohibition clashed, however, with the commercial interest of the believing population of Mecca. This was a rather serious objection, which Muhammed could not answer, except by the assurance that Allâh would compensate them for any loss of trade sustained in consequence of his command (v. 28).

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[94] Noldeke, p. 168.

[95] See below.

[96] Al Beidhâwi refers v. 12 to the Jews who endeavoured to drive Muhammed out of Medina, but *cf.* v. 14.

[97] Tradition makes him pray for the conversion of the city, I. I. 188.

[98] To perform the *'umra* which means an occasional visit to Mecca for the purposes of performing the minor rites, but not accompanied by sacrificers.

[99] *Cf.* Levit. xxii. 3.

After their expulsion from Mecca many Jews had made common cause with Heraclius, and in Muhammed's eye still constituted some danger to Islâm. The Prophet seems to have feared that their spiritual influence might become harmful after his death. We have seen before that on several occasions Muhammed tried to foist upon the Jews the stamp of paganism.[100] Returning to this old charge Muhammed enjoins Moslims again to fight those who held many things lawful which Allâh and His messenger had forbidden, but they did even not follow the law of their own faith (v. 29). In order to bear out the accusation of Jewish heathenism, Muhammed charged them with venerating Ezra as the son of God, in the same manner as the Christians did with Jesus (v. 30). The sole basis for this charge is the circumstance that Ezra was responsible for many institutions in the Rabbinical code, which appeared to differ from the written law, but this alleged sonship is an invention of Muhammed for the purpose alluded to above. If Moslims were to look upon Jews as upon polytheists, their influence in such quarters which stood outside the immediate control of Muhammed or any future head of the Moslim church, was not to be feared. Like unto Christians they took, he said, their Rabbis as *Lords* (*arbâb*, plural of *rabb*), and very shrewdly Muhammed described these "Lords" in the same term, as in his own first revelation. "They take their *Rabbis* and *monks* as Lords beside Allâh, and also the Messiah the son of Maryam, while they have been commanded only to worship *one* God, there is no God but He, exalted be he above those which they join with him" (v. 31). The theological observations attached to this disclosure explain themselves (vv. 32-33), *viz.*, that *Muhammed* is the true messenger. Rather sharp is the assertion that many of the Rabbis and monks eat the wealth of men for nought (v. 34), although as far as Jews are concerned it was in mediæval times not the custom to pay the spiritual heads of communities.

I place here the verse vii. 156 which refers to the conversion of some Jews and Christians. This is clear from the words: "they find written down *with them* in the Torâh and Gospel." Also the words "making lawful for them what is good and making unlawful evil things, and setting down for them their restrictions, and yokes which were upon them" are unmistakeable. It seems to me that the verse was revealed chiefly in reference to the conversion of the Jew Abd Allâh b. Salâm which took place in the year 8.[1] The next piece, as far as verse 172, is a homily commenting on the same incident. The conversion of Abd Allâh to which Moslim traditionists attach the greatest importance, gave Muhammed an opportunity of proclaiming himself once more the Apostle of mankind in general, and of recalling several episodes of the history of Israel. He mentions the twelve tribes, the command given to Moses to strike the rock,[2] and other matters discussed in previous speeches.[3] The "Covenant of the Book" (168) bears a striking resemblance to the "Book of the Covenant" (Exod. xxiv. 7). The verses 171-172, speaking of the children of Adam bearing witness against themselves, seem to be based on, or at least influenced by, a *Midrâsh* (Canticles I. 4) according to which God, when about to reveal the law of Sinai, demanded from the people a pledge that they would observe it. After rejecting the Patriarchs and Prophets, God accepted the children as hostages.

There only now remains *Sûra* v. which, however, offers difficult problems for the arrangement of its portions in their proper places. Before attempting this task we must briefly survey the conditions under which they were revealed. In the 10th year of the Hijra Muhammed started, at the head of an immense crowd of pilgrims to pay the famous visit to his native city which is known as his last. The dogmas and rites of the Moslim church had then been already settled, not only in the outlines, but also in many details. Muhammed himself was so far advanced in years, as to make him think of his natural end. Knowing the character and prejudices of the Arabs, and being aware that the belief of a large number of believers was but superficial, his mind was filled with apprehensions about his future. Experience had taught him that but for his personal influence the differences of interest and temper would have caused splits in the community which endangered the safety of the faith. Tribal hostilities, so often quenched by

[100] *Cf.* iii. 73. [1] See Iṣâba and Ch. II. [2] See Geiger, *l. c.* p. 164. [3] *Cf.* ii. 54-61.

his exertions, might break out at any moment when he was removed, and end in civil war. Most of the ritual duties were a heavy burden on the masses, which were far from grasping their meaning. Not less undesirable was the moral code. It was hard that the smallest bit of pilfering was punishable. Wine and dice were to be abhorred, and the freedom of the chase to be restricted, not to mention other laws. Muhammed was well aware that his people could not be educated up to his ideal with one stroke. The warnings had to be repeated over and over again. Such speeches of a deuteronomic character form the framework of *Sûra* v., the bulk of which was preached on the occasion of the last pilgrimage in the presence of a huge congregation.

We can take it for granted that Muhammed was acquainted with the Jewish interpretation of the character of the Deuteronomy as a repetitional injunction of the Law *(Mishnêh Tôrâh).* Why not follow this example? As an exterior deuteronomic feature in the first portion of our *sûra* I regard the three instances of *alyauma* ("today") (vv. 4, 5, 7), which in the same application is particularly frequent in the Biblical book of Deuteronomy.

Of this book the reader is already reminded in the opening words of verse 1 of our *sûra*,[4] corresponding to Deut. iv. 13, 23; xxix. 8, *viz.*, the injunction to keep covenants of which Muhammed had set such a good example by his *barâa*. The regulations with regard to forbidden articles of food (vv. 4-7) stand parallel to Deut. xii. 16, 20, 27; xiv. 3-21.[5] The verses 2-3 are regarded by Nöldeke as having been revealed before the conquest of Mecca, because they ordain that *pagan* pilgrims to the Ka'ba should remain unmolested. This is, however, hardly admissible. It is not to be assumed that Muhammed would have styled the deity to be worshipped by these heathen visitors as "their Rabb," because he employed just this term from the beginning in a strictly antagonistic sense. The verses refer to future pilgrimages. Muhammed warns Believers not to revive the old hatred, nor to bear grudge against those Meccan families which had been hostile almost to the last, but were now Moslims. The large meetings to be expected at Mecca inspired him with fear that old feuds might break out afresh to the desecration of the holy spot and season, and the same fear rings through a sermon shortly to follow. Verse 5 is the famous "verse of the *Dîn*," and reflects verses like Deut. iv. 8, and quite a host of others. As a supplement to the prayer ritual appears an ordination to wash the hands with water prior to the performance of the same, or if this should not be within reach, with sand[6] (vv. 8-9). Verse 10 is deuteronomic for *Sûra* ii. 285 and the parallel verses. The topic of verse 3 is with verbal repetition of the case,[7] taken up again in the verses 11 and 14.[8] The group 15-17 has a similar tendency. Nöldeke leaves a large margin for it between the years 2 and 7, but it seems that Muhammed had Moses' farewell speech in his mind. The "covenant" (v. 15) recalls Deut. xxxiii. 2, and the "twelve chiefs" are alluded to, *ibid.* v. 5. Allâh's word to the "children of Israel" recalls quite generally the blessing of verse 1 of the same chapter. As a matter of course the tone of Muhammed's imitation is on a level with his own taste, as well as the needs and intellects of his audience. The next verse (16) stating that the Banû Isrâîl broke the compact, and were cursed, and hardened their heart, forged the law and forgot part of it (Deut. xxviii. 15-69), is trite enough, and served to give fulness to the speech. Less worn is the reproach addressed to the Christians that to their forgetfulness it was due that the church was split up in sects betwixt which there existed enmity and hatred "until the Day of Resurrection" (v. 17).

As a supplement to this criticism, the compilers of the *Qorân* have placed at the end of the *sûra* a narrative piece (vv. 109-120) which contains an admonition addressed by Allâh to Jesus. From the "table" mentioned in verse 112 the whole *sûra* has its name. The tendency

[4] The compound character of v. 1 has already been noticed by most Moslim interpreters, *cf.* Nöldeke, p. 169.

[5] وما ذبح علي النصب = Levit. xvii. 7; Deut. xxxii. 17.

[6] See Geiger, p. 89.

[7] ولا يجرمنكم شنآن قوم.

[8] *Cf.* ix. 18.

of the narrative is laid down in the verses 116-119, *viz.*, that Jesus commanded to worship only one God. He is, consequently, not responsible for the origin of the dogma of the Trinity which was only due to corruption and forgetfulness (see verse 17). Although it is hazardous to say anything definite with regard to the age of this piece, it seems somewhat older than verse 17 in which we may see a reference to it. Its Medinian origin is, however, beyond doubt on account of verse 110.

Now towards the end of this piece (verse 118) Jesus prays that Allâh may forgive his followers' sins, and to this the verses 18-19 seem to respond. The term "**Possessors of the Writ**" refers in this instance to **Christians** alone. It is noticeable that here as well as in verse 17 Muhammed regards the Christians with much complacency. He only reproaches them with *forgetfulness*, as we have seen, promises them that he, while explaining to them much of the Book made unintelligible by them, will also *forgive them much.* The following protest against the apotheosis of Jesus is strangely devoid of all sharpness. Even when commenting on the circumstance that [Jews and] Christians called themselves "Sons and beloved of Allâh" whilst they were only mortals (v. 21), he is not so bitter as usual. The reason seems to be that the failure of the expedition of Tabûk had taught Muhammed to abstain from reviling so large a Christian power. The effete Jews could be abused with impunity. Muhammed must certainly have feared that after his death the Moslim armies might be defeated by Christian ones, to the loss of many Arab tribes, which only a little while ago had been converted to Islâm. — Verse 22, of uncertain date, has been placed here on account of v. 18.

Deuteronomic are further the verses 44-55. Verse 45 repeats the idea of *Sûra* iv. 48, whilst verse 49 is a reiteration of *Sûra* ii. 173-175, yet modifying it in the way of clemency. This furnishes some evidence that the piece v. 49-55 is later than the other. The verses 64-68 very conspicuously form a repetition of the scathing remarks in *Sûra* ii. 61, 257-258; iv. 54; ix. 34, reproducing the gist of these verses, as a comparison would show at a glance.

Of very late date is the sermon *Sûra* vi. 117-151 and partly of deuteronomic character, although nothing definite can be said with regard to the occasion on which it was revealed. The rather detailed denunciation of various heathen rites, such as the killing of children and the restriction observed with respect to using certain animals for food allow the suggestion that this speech also was addressed to the pilgrims assembled in Mecca.

The verse v. 69,[9] being evidently a misinterpretation of some words in Numb. xi. 23, reproaches the Jews with limiting the omnipotence of Allâh. The verse is one of those which on account of its strongly anthropomorphistic character caused Moslim theologians considerable diffiulties. But just this is an argument in favour of its late date, showing a time when Muhammed had ceased to see any danger in such figures of speech.

Deuteronomic are also the verses 89-90 which repeat, although perhaps not on the same occasion, prescriptions discussed at the beginning of the *sûra.* Verse 91 repeats in a somewhat extended form the command given in *Sûra* lxvi. 2. The verses 92-94 recapitulate as well as emphasize the prohibition of wine and gambling, warned against in *Sûra* ii. 216. The interdiction of statues and divining arrows is also added. The next verses (95-97) treat of the killing of game which is unlawful on sacred ground. The transgression of this command is to be expiated by an offering. In much more precise terms than in *Sûra* ii. 138 the Ka'ba is now appointed to form the "*Qibla* for men." Verse 101 is the reply to a query which, the traditionists assert, was asked with regard to the frequency with which Believers were expected to perform the pilgrimage. The angry tone of the answer is, however, unsuitable to the zeal of pious Believers. The query seems to have been of a perplexing nature, and I doubt the genuineness of the whole verse. Verse 102 abolishes the ancient custom of observing rules with regard to the eating of certain camels. One of these classes termed *baḥîra* will make it clear

[9] *Cf.* vii. 153. اغلال.

why Muhammed did not adopt the name *Baḥîra*[10] for himself; the second part of the verse as well as verse 105 seems to refer again to Jews. Finally the regulations concerning wills and bequests (vv. 105-108),[11] and the warning to be truthful when giving evidence renew commands given long before (ii. 176; vi. 153).

I have still to mention several pieces which are of so uncertain date that it is not possible even to suggest anything as to their places. Of these are the three verses lxxxv. 9-11 which are evidently Medinian, but this is all that can be said about them with certainty. *Surâ* lxxiii. 20 is a very late repetition of the refrain of *Sûra* liv. (17, 22, *etc.*), but with a more practical aim. The verse is suggestive of Muhammed becoming advanced in years and more experienced as regards human nature. Long nightly devotions were not so essential for those who kept the chief duties of Islâm.

(To be continued.)

LETTERS FROM PORTUGUESE CAPTIVES IN CANTON, WRITTEN IN 1534 AND 1536.

BY DONALD FERGUSON.

(Continued from p. 451.)

¶ Trelado de hũa carta que da China veo a qual carta escreueo Christouão Vieyra Vasco Caluo que laá estão captiuos os quaes forão da companhia dos embaixadores que leuou fernão Perez anno de 1520.

Na era de 1520 a xxiij. dias de Janeiro partimos pera o Rey da China em Mayo estauamos com o Rey em Nanquim dali mandou q̃ nos fossemos a çidade de Piquim diante pera nos la dar o despacho a ij. de Agosto se escreveo a Cantão do que era passado com el rey ate então chegarão as cartas a Jorge botelho Diogo Caluo que estauão em a Ilha onde se faz mercadoria por tanto não se torna a escreuer porque o tempo requere breuidade e pouca leitura. Em feuereiro entrou o Rey em Piquim e esteue doente tres meses falleçeo do dia siguinte que nos viessemos a Cantão com ho presente que viria o Rey nouo que erão por elle a outra çidade que nos mandaria o despacho a Cantão / Partimos de Pequim a xxij. de Mayo chegamos a xxij. de Septembro a Cantão porque a guia vinha a sua vontade de vagar. / a causa de se não tomar o presente he esta.

Quando fernão perez chegou ao porto da China mandou aos linguoas que fizessem cartas como vinha capitão moor e trazia embaixador pera o Rey da China os lingoas as [f. 104 v] fizerão ao custume da terra assi capitão moor e embaixador vem a terra da Cinha por mandado do Rey dos fanges com pareas vem pedir o selo segundo custume ao sñor do mundo filho de Deos pera lhe ser obediente. segundo custume por esta carta fomos recebidos em terra, esta he a sustançia da carta que fizerão sem darem conta della a fernão perez nem elle em nenhum tempo ser de tal sabedor somente os lingoas dezião que a carta estaua bem feita segundo o custume e a sustancia della Calauão.

Em a çidade de Pinquim foy dentro nas casas do Rey aberta a carta del Rey nosso Sñor e foy nella achado ao Reues do que os lingoas escreuerão pareçeo lhe a todos que enganosam^te^ emtraramos na terra da China pera lhe ver a terra que era caso de engano a deferença das cartas foy escrita a carta ao Rey mandou o Rey que não fossemos mais a suas casas fazer Reuerençia e tiuesem gente e guarda em nos / o custume dos embaixadores em Piquim he metelos em hũas casas de grandes curraes e aly estão fechados ao primeiro dia da lua e ha 15 dias da lua vão as casas do Rey delles a pee delles em sendeyros com cabrestros de palha e vão fazer 5. mensuras diante de hum muro das casas do Rey todos em ordem com ambos os jiolhos no chão

[10] See Ch. II.

[11] See ii. 175-176; iv. 1-45.

e a cabeça e o rosto na terra debruços assi estão atee que os mandão a leuãtar .5. vezes a esta parede dali tornão se a meter nos curraes fechados a esta reuerençia mandarão que não fossemos mais.

forão os linguoas pergũtados porq̃ fizerão carta falsa [f. 105] e não conforme a del Rey Nosso Sr diserão que as fizerão ao custume da China que a carta del Rey nosso Sr vinha çerrada e asellada que se não podia leer nem abrir que auia de ser dada a el Rey em sua mão que eramos de longe terra e que não sabiamos o custume da China que era grande que que ao diante o saberiamos que el'es não tinhão culpa pois que fizerão a carta ao custume não se contentarão os mandarys da reposta forão preguntados cada hum donde erão forão presos isto tanto que o Rey falleçeo e moços seus seruidores.

Chegou o Rey a hũa vila que esta duas legoas da çidade de Pim em Janeiro da era de .MDxxi. esteue iulgãdo hum seu parente que se aleuantou contra elle e o mandou queimar depois de emforcado e aly entrou em despacho noso porque lhe forão trazidas tres cartas contra os portugezes hũa de douns mandarys em Piquim outra dos mandarys de Cantão outra dos Melays cujos sustancias são estas ./. manderys que forão a Ilha de mercadoria a Receber os direytos per mandado dos mandarys de Cantão fazem saber ao Rey como elles forão em tal anno e d'a era arecadar os direytos virão gentes frangos com muitas armas e bombardas gentes fortes e não pagauão os direytos segundo o custume e fazem forças e assi ouuirão dizer q̃ estes gentes tinhão tomado Malaca a roubada e muita gente morta que o Rey não lhe deuia reçeber seu presẽte e se lho quissesse reçeber que disessem com que Reinos confinaua o Reino dos fanges q̃ os mandasse q̃ os não deuia [f. 105 v] de Reçeber.

Dezia a carta dos mandaris de Cantão que os franges não querião pagar os direytos e que tomauão os direitos aos Syamis e os prendião e lhe asclauão os seus juncos e punhão guardas nelles e não lhe deixauão fazer mercadoria nem pagar os direytos e tinhão hũa fortaleza feita de pedra cuberta de telha e cercada dartelharia e dento muitas armas e que furtauão cães e que os comião asados e que vinhão a Cantão por força e que traziam bombardas em somas descubrindo os Rios que tirauão bombardas diante a çidade em outros lugares defessos.

Dizião os melajos que o embaixador del Rey de Portugual que estaua na terra da China que não vinha de verdade que falsamente era vindo a terra da China pera enganar e que andauamos a ver as terras e que logo vinhamos sobre ellas e como na terra punhamos hũa pedra e tinhamos casa logo auiamos a terra por nossa que assi fizeramos em Malaca e em outras partes que eramos ladrões : / dizia hum mandiry grande que per carta lhe pidiamos asento ou casas em Cantão pera estarem franges que lhe pareçia muito mal que em vez de obediençia que lhe pediamos asenta na terra Disse outro mandirym que na era de .MDxx. na Ilha de mercadoria os franges lhe quebrarão a carapuça e lhe derão pancadas e o prenderão indo elle arecadar os direytos per mandado dos manderỹs de Cantão / a estas cousas respondeo el Rey que esta gente não sabem nossos [f. 106] custumes manso os irão sabendo disse que ficase o despacho pa dentro da çidade de Pequim logo entrou e no mesmo dia adoeçeo daly a tres meses falleçeo sem despachar nada. Desta reposta que o Rey deu não forão os grandes muy contentes e mandou logo o Rey a Cantão que ha fortaleza que os portugeses tinhão feita que lha derribassem e assi toda a pouoação que não queria nenhũa mercadoria com nenhũa nação que se alguem viesse que se mandaria tornar e logo partirão caminho de Cantão que tirassem a limpo o que lhe diserão se era verdade ou não. Os manderĩs de Cantão não fizerão assi senão pera Roubar fizerão armadas e por engano delles per força tomarão os que vierem e os Roubarem.

Tanto que chegamos a Cantão nos leuarão diante do pochacy e nos mandou leuar a hũas [illegible] de troncos que estão nos alleoqoeĩs dos mantimentos e nellas não quis Thome pĩz entrar e os [illegible] que nos derão dentro hũas casas em que estiuemos trinta e tres dias e daqui leuarão a Thome pĩz com seis pessoas a cadea do Pochaçy que chamão libanco e a mim com quatro pessoas a cadea do tomeçi / onde estiuemos presos dez meses em poder de Thome Pĩz estaua toda a fazenda dauão nos Regra como soltos eramos muito vigiados em lugares apartados dos presos neste meo tempo mandarão chamar Thome pĩz e toda a companhia o amelcaçe que então era / assi chamaram os melajos dise que mandaua

o Rey q̃ entregasse el Rey nosso S^r a terra de Malaca aos melajos que lhe tinhão tomada respondeo Thome pĩz que não vinha a ysso nem conuinha a elle em tal fallar que da carta que [f. 106 v] trazia lhe daria rezão que dal não sabia Perguntou que gente auia em Malaca que elle sabia que avia nella trezentos homẽs portugeses e que em Couchim pouco mais respondeo que tinha Malaca quatro mill homẽ armas no mar e na terra hora erão iuntos hora espalhados e em Ceilão que não tinhão cõto nestas perguntas nos teue de giolhos quatro horas acabado de se enfadar mandou cada hum a cadea donde estaua.

A quatorze dias dagosto de .MDxxij. lançou o pochaçi a Tome pĩz cormas nas mãos aos da companhia cormas e ferros nos pees as cormas aseladas nos pulços e nos tomarão toda a fazenda que tinhamos assi com cadeas nos pescoças e per meo da çidade nos leuarão a casa do anchuçi ali nos quebrarão as prisões e nos deitarão outras mais fortes cadeas nas pernas cormas aselados e cadeas nos pescosos e dali nos mandarão a esta cadea a entrada da cadea morreo Antonio Dalmeida das prisões fortes que traziamos os braços inchados as pernas rocadas das cadeas estreytas / isto com determinação que dali a dous dias nos matarem antes de ser noite deitarão a Thome pĩz outras de nouo e o leuarão a elle soo descalço sem barrette / com apupadas de rapazes a cadea de cancheufu por ver a fazenda que nos tomarão que se avia descreuer e escreuião dez e furtauão trezentos os mãdarĩs escriuães que presente estauão assi lalões foy o pochãçy anchuçi dizer a hum mandarim chamado ceuhi que pois portugeses entrarão na Ilha e pera que era ter nos que vinhamos a ver a terra que eramos ladrões que morressemos logo / Respondeo o ceuhi tu queres acabar todos estes sendo de embaixada ora seja falsa ora verdadeyra mandar lhe [f. 107] logo quebrar as prisões eu escreuerey a el Rey segundo sua vontade se fara naquelle siguinte dia nos quebrarão as prisões que se as tiueramos mais hum dia todos morreramos e tornarão a trazer a esta cadea a Thome pĩz.

A fazenda q̃ nos tomarão erão vinte quintães de Ruybarbo mil e quinhentas ou seis çentas peças de seda riquas obra de quatro mil lenços de seda que os chĩs chamão xopas de naquim e muitoavanos e mais tres aRobas dalmisquere em poo tres mill e tantos papos dalmiscere quatro mill e quinhentos teaes de prata e setenta ou oitenta teaes douro e outras peças de prata e todos os vestidos peças de preço assi portugesas como da China o pucho de Jorge botelho inçenso Roçamolla cascasde tartaruga assi pimenta e outras meudezas estas forão entregues na feitoria do cancheufo como fazenda de ladrões o presente del Rey Nosso sñor que mandaua ao Rey da China esta na feitoria do Pochuncy a sustançia das peças e quantas e de que sorte me não alembra bem porem a soma he de mil e quinhentos açima porque o caderno com outros papeis de sustançia leuarão e as arcas que tomarão de vestidos e meterão com a fezenda / na nao de Diogo caluo ficarão as pessoas seguintes Vasco caluo, esteuão fernandez escriuão Agostinho fernandez mestre simão luis despenseiro João dalanquer João fernandez Diogo da Ilha do mestre e marinheiros A^o aluarez e quatro moços João fernandez guzarate P^o Jano do mestre Gaspar de esteuão fernandez Gonçalo de Vasco caluo e por serem conheçidos em Cantão e dizerem que erão da embaixada escaparão os outros forão todos presos e metidos nesta cadea delles morrerão a fome delles afogados Simão lingoa e balante alli forão pressos alli morrerão aqui nesta cadea derãolhe com hum maço na cabeça assi o matarão [f. 107 v] Simão baralante que estaua no chãchefu morrerão açoutes trazendo ja cabas aos pescoços com seteçentos que morrerão assi os portugeses fazendas e berços que forão com elles tudo foy roubado a menos se ouue pera el Rey a fazenda darmação que Vasco caluo tinha toda roubada do conconçepaçi que foy pera Pequim de maneira que nada não ficou.

Bertholameu soarez que era em patane e Lopo de Goẽs ẽ Syon Viçente aluarez criado de Simão dandrade o padre mergulhão que era em Syon vieram na era de .MDxxi. e estando Diogo caluo no porto de mercadoria armada dos Chĩs deu sobre elles porque vinhão os juncos oje hum e de menhãs outro de Syon e forão tomados delles per engano delles pelejando forão leuados a Nanto e seus escraos e muitas fazendas tudo roubado e elles feridos o padre mergulhão morreo pelejãdo forão trazidos as cadeas de Cantão com ferros e prisões aqui forão afogados trazendo tauoas ja que moressem por ladrões do mar / aleuantarãolhe que se querião erger com as cadeas não sendo assi tudo no tempo que hegou Martim Affonso e por não verem os outros portugeses que trazião dos nauios assi forão todoa mortos.

Os cinquo juncos que no porto de mercadoria ficarão na era de mill e quinhentos e vinte e hum quatro do Rey de Malaca hum do Rey de Patane ./. hum de francisco roĩz outro de Jorge aluarez e dous outros e Diogo caluo tanto que partio forão todos roubados da gente darmada estauão a vista de Diogo caluo a maior parte leuou o anchiançi e o ampochi e capitães e pro de nãto e parte darmada e grande parte ouue o Rey e daqui se aredou e se furtou muita e se arecadou pera o Rey por fazenda de ladrões / Os Juncos forão repartidos [f. 108] o de francisco roĩz Jorge aluarez forão dados aos capas e nelles se forão os del Rey de Patane aos malajos e outro aos syames doutro não sei tudo foy avido por fazenda de ladrões das grosas fazendas que destes iuncos ouuerão os mandarĩs ordenarão que não escapasse portugues por que em nenhum dessem cõta destas fazendas que erão roubadas.

No mesmo anno vierão de patane dos outros iuncos em que vinhão Bertholameu Soarez de Syam outro em que vinha lopo de Goes / os portugeses como ja disse manhosamente delles tomados por força e vierão a Nanto e assi com recados fallsos sahia a gente em terra e prendião nos porque vinhão espalhados oje hum de manhãa outro finalmente que todos forão pressos. / nos mesmos iuncos logo cortarão as cabeças aos capitães mestres pilotos mercadores como tinhão fazenda o outro rebotalho trouxeram a cadea em que morrerão dizem de mil e quinhentos pessoas ariba afora as cabeças dos mortos que era grande quãtitade pollos roubar aleuantarão lhe que trazião portugeses a terra per estas cadeas de Cantão forão afogados delles muitos mortos as pancadas e a fome nas cadeas de maneira que de toda esta copia de gente que antre todos serião dous mill não escaparão mais de sesenta bargantes que soltarão e obra de çinquoenta molheres e meninos de que depois morrerão a metade estes se forão pera Syam.

Hum Syame chamado chãcoantão hum seu hirmão e outros tres syames forão na praça descabeçados e feitos os corpos em troncos porque dezião que trazião portugeses a terra por cousas falsas q̃ lhe aleuantarão tanto que os mandarĩs ouuerão as fazendas a mão a mor parte e menos pera o Rey não lhe mingou raiua [f. 108 v] pera os matar dizião os mandarĩs que soltassem estes que erão pas conheçidas que farião elles Syames cartas contra hos mandarĩs das fazendas que lhes tomarão que os mandarĩs pasarião mal que milhor era dar fundo a tudo por tal que nunca se soubese / Ordenarão de não reçeber nenhum estrangeiro na china e por esta causa destas fazendas e da dos çinquõ iuncos forão os mandarĩs muito ricos estas que furtarão ha gran tempo que não estão em Cantão forão mandados pera outras gouernanças segundo seus custumes agora som sobidos os mores do Reino.

Na era de .MDxxi. Veo ver Martim Affonso de Melo com çinquo naos nauios hum iunco de Malaca / a gente que qua ficou he esta ./. do nauio de Diogo de mello os que morrerão no nauio Manoel chamarro, João Quoresma, Vasco Gil, Ro aluarez João vãz Lopo goncaluez João soarez Po bouno Aluaro perdigão manuel alũz João pinto João carrasco Bastião gonçaluez homẽs darmas hum clerigo João do peral mestre Bras gonçaluez contramestre francisco pĩz marinheiro Aluaro annes condestabre Affonse annes bombardeyro João Affonso serrador estes sesenta bremmo rerão no nauio Diogo de Melo capitão Duarte lopez Diogo Carreiro estes feridos recolhidos / aos iuncos indo peravanto porque bradarão das feridas e prisões lhes cortarão as cabeças nos mesmos iuncos Duarte pestana o barbeiro / Benadito marinheiros / Domingos gil gromete / Roque gromete Po do toyal gromete, João gĩz bombardeyro Joanne escrauo estes noue forão a Cadea do tõcẽcy / Po annes piloto / Bertholameu fernandez pedreyro / João de matos Ao medina Joanne maluco estes grometes Domingos frz̃ Jorge diãz fernão liarõ homẽs darmas estes vierão ter a esta cadea de anchũçy donde ora estou.

[f. 109] Gente do nauio de Po homem os q̃ morrerão no nauio / Po homẽ, Gaspar roĩz / Martim Affonso despenseiro francisco dandrade Diogo martĩz, Antonio alũz estes seis homẽs darmas / Pantalião diãz mestre João luis contramestre / Bras mrĩz / Po annes / Ao esteuez estes tres marinheiros, Aluaro, Po, Joanne Manoel preto estes çinquo grometes Luis pĩz carpinteiro e o barbeiro Vasco roĩz Jorge diãz tonoeiro todas estas dezaseis pessoas forão mortas no nauio, João da Sylueira, Domingos serrão, Martinho françisco do mogadouro / françisco Ribeiro magalhães Jorge roĩz estes seis forão a cadea do tomeçy e quatro grometes ./. Pina e franco, Manoel malauar, Diogo cafre e Andre carualho piloto / Ao fernandez marinheiro / françisco, Antonio grometes e Matheus diãz, franco monteiro Afonso

mĩz Marcos Tome fernandez tilheiro Sisto luis condestabre estes dez vierão ter a esta cadea / as molheres que tomarão em estes nauios forão leuadas a outras Cadeas e vendidas / finalmente que forão teer a cadea do tomaçi todos morrerão a fome e ao frio não ficarão mais que quatro homẽs portu_ geses e hum cafre os quaes morrerão nesta cadea em que estamos faleçerão seis ficarão dezoito assy os desta cadea como os da cadea do tomeçi / Dia de .S. Nicolao da era de .MDxxij. lhes lançarão taboas com sentença que morressem e entroncos por ladrões dizião as sentenças ladrões piquenos do mar enuiados pollo ladrão grande falsamente vem espiar nossa terra mourão em troncos por ladrões / foy recado ao Rey segundo a enformação dos mandirĩs confirmou o Rey a sẽtença a vinte e tres dias des Septembro de .MDxxiij. forão estas vinte tres pessoas feitas em pedaços cada hũa ./. cabeças pernas braços e suas naturas nas bocas o tronco do corpo em redondo pella barriga em dous pedaços pellas ruas de Cantão fora dos muros p̃la pouoação p̃las [f. 109 v] Ruas prinçipaes forão mortos de tiro de besta em tiro pera todos os verem assi os de cantão como os do termo pera darem a emtender que não tinhão em conta portugeses por ho pouo não fallar em portugeses. / forão assi nos nauios tomados as mãos por se não acordarem os capitaes ambos e tomados assi todos nos nauios a tudos os matarão e as suas cabeças e naturas forão trazidas as costas dos portugeses diante dos mandarĩs de Cantão com tangeres e prazeres forão vistas pinduradas pollas ruas e depois deitadas nos munturos / e daqui ficou não consintirem mais portugeses na terra nem outros estrangeiros.

Os malajos que forão o Piquim forão despachados que se Viessẽ a Cantão que aqui lhe mandarião o despacho e veio que lhe dessem hũa carta pera el Rey Nosso sñor pera lhe ser entrege malaqua cujo theor he este seguinte tresladada de Verbo ad verbũ doutra que os mandarĩs fizerão em Chim que per ella se fizesse a qual fizerão tres por este theor que se auia de leuar pera el Rey Nosso sñor ao s^or^ gouernador outra ao capitão de Malaca.

Quenhiçi e ohiçi mandarĩs ouuirão dizer que o poder dos frãges tinhão tomado Malaca fizerão carta ao Rey da China de como fora tomado e Roubada e muita gente morta e escreueo o Rey aos mandarĩs de Cantão que se fizesse conselho sobre isso depois desta carta chegou outra de Rey de malaca que trouxe Tuão mafame embaixador que foy dada a el Rey da China que dezia na maneira seguinte os frages ladrões com coração grande vierão a malaca com muita gente e tomarão a terra e a destroirão e matarão muita gente e a roubarão e outra catiuarão e a outra gente que fica esta debaixo da [f. 110] iustiça dos franges de que o Rey que foy de malaca tem hum coração triste anojado com grande medo tomou o sello do Rey da China e fugio pera bentão donde esta e os meus hirmãos e parentes fugirão pera outras terras o embaixador del Rey de portugual que esta na terra da China he falso não vem de verdade que vem pera enganar a terra da China pera el Rey da China fazer merçee a el Rey de Malaca com coração enojado manda presente pede ajuda e gente pera lhe ser tornada sua terra esta carta foy dada a libo que he o despachador disto despachou o libo que a terra dos franges deuia ser cousa pequena chegada ao mar depois que o mundo he mundo nunca viera a terra da China embaixador de tal terra a terra de malaca teem o fom e sello da China e da sua obediençia o libo despachou e deu carta ao Rey despacho.

O Rey da China manda carta aos grandes de Cantão que não recebão a nenhum embaixador de portugual a carta del Rey de portugual he queimada o embaixador e sua companhia ja foy preguntado de como se tomou Malaca não o deixem hir mande carta ao Rey de portugual pera que o saiba e os seus mandarĩs p^a^ que o saibão logo e entreguem Malaca ao dito Rey de Malaca como o Rey de Malaca for entregue malaca e gente assi como lha tomarão ao Rey de Malaca e como o Rey de Malaca for entregue della deixarião hir ao embaixador e se não entregar Malaca ao dito Rey averse ha outro conselho / esta carta veyo do Rey da China ao Tutão e comqom e choupim de Cantão os quaes a mandarão ao çenhituçi pochançi e anchaçi que teem o sello ao haytao pio aos outros mandarĩs chamem tuão healie embaixador del Rey de Malaca e seja perguntado dixe aos manderĩs que muita gente dos franges lhe tomarão Malaca sua terra que assi era verdade os manderĩs fizerão conselho e mandarão que o embaixador del Rey de portugual fizesse carta verdadeira e fosse dada a Tuão [f. 110 v] alemançet embaix^or^ del Rey de Malaca que a

leue a Malaca e daly vaa a el Rey de portugual que lhe entregue e torne sua terra e gente na mão assi como lha tomarão e assi a Tuão mefamet e e então mandarão ao embaixador de portugual que se va como vier carta del Rey de Malaca ao Rey da China que lhe entregarem sua terra e sua gente e se el Rey de portugual não entregar a terra de malaca ao seu Rey na vier carta a terra da China da entrega não deixarão hir o embaixador e averse ha outro cõselho estando nesta cadea os mandarīs mandarão hũa carta em Chim que se fizesse em portugues as quaes fizerão tres hũa pera el Rey nosso s^{or} outra pera o gouernador outra pera o capitão de malaca e se derão em a mão do anchaçi ao primeiro dia de Outubro da era de .MDxxij.

Os mandarīs mandarão ao embaixador de Malaca que tomasse aquellas cartas e as leuasse a malaca como lhe fosse entregue sua terra que viesse com recado o embaixador não quis dizendo que com aquellas cartas lhe cortarião a cabeca em Malaca que lhe dessem liçença que queria comprar hum iunco piqueno que queria mandar a metade da sua gente saber do seu Rey porque não sabião donde estaua porque as molheres que tomarão nos dous nauios hũa dizia que era morto outra que não e que leuarião hũa carta se a podessem mandar partio o junco piqueno com liçẽça com quinze melajos e outros tantos Chīs ao derradeiro dia de mayo de .xxiij. chegou a Patane ali tomou algũs melajos e hum capado bengala e tornou recado del Rey de malaca e veio a Cantão a cinq̃ dias de Septembro os Chīs que leuou o iunco ficarão todos em Patane que não quiserão tornar a China a carta do embaixador dezião as forças assy.

El Rey de Malaca esta em Bintão cercado dos franges pobre desemparado oulhando despolha menhãa atee noyte por socorro [f. 111] del Rey da China seu sñor e se não lho der escreuera os Reis seus vasallos que o ajudem com gente e que mande algũa prouisão de mantimento a seu embaixador e cousas a estas semelhantes dizia mais a carta que estando o iunco carregado em Patane ouuerão os portugeses notiçia delle e que vierão sobre elle pera o tomar que elles se fizerão ao mar com hũa trouoada e escaparão sem mais mercadoria e mantĩmentos que a fome ouuerão de morrer no mar com esta carta entrarão em Cantão os mandarīs os tornarão a despachar qua ambos os embaixadores ./. Tuão mafamet e cojacão e sua companhia se fossem pera Bintão que ja tinhão o junco prestes e se se não quisesem ir que não lhe auião de dar mantimentos / Dizião que não se auião de hir que os matassem e fizessem o que quissessem que os franges tinhão la tomado tudo que não podião ir a lugar que os não tomasem mais disse o linga ao tutuão que veo de Patane que auia noua que no anno presente ouuerão de vir cem vellas de portugeses pl̄a qual palaura lhe derão vinte açoutes por ousar em tal fallar partio o embaixador na era de vinte quatro aquī ouui dizer a hũs mercadores que por se aredarem da costa de Patane forão dar nas Ilhas de Borne com tempo e quebrarão o junco e os captiuarão não sey se foy verdade.

Na nao de Diogo Caluo veyo hum Chim xpõ com sua molher chamado P^{o} este quando vio o desbarate tornou se pera foym donde era natural ali esteue escondido teue maneira como ouue seguro dos mandarīs que lhe diria a força que os portugeses tinhão em malaca em cochim que elle o sabia tudo que sabia fazer poluora bombardas e galees dise que em malaca avia trezentos homẽs portugeses que em Cochim que não era nada e começou em Cantão a fazer duas galees fez duas acabadas de todo forão amostrados aos mandarīs grandes acharão q̃ pendião [f. 111 v] muito que não aproueitavão que fazião grande gasto de madeira mandarão que se não fizessem mais lleuarão mão da obra das gales e botarão nas em nanto a gelfa / acharão que algũa cousa sadbia de poluora de bombardas mandaram no ao Rey deu lhe emformação de malaca foy feito honrrado com hum piquo de roz de mantimẽto dizem que fez em Pequim bombardas porque o Rey tem lãa guerra per guerra ysto pode ser assi que a mim assi mo disserão deste pedr^{o} fazer em Pequim bombardas polla enformação teem os Chīs os portugeses em pouco por dizer que não sabem̃ pelejar em terra que são como pexes que como os tirão dagoa ou do mar logo morrem / esta enformação deu bem a vontade do Rey e grandes que elles tinhão outra polla qual rezão tomarão conheçimẽto de tome pīz de como o entregarão pera o trazerem a Cantão.

A gente de ficou em companhia de Tome pĩz / Duarte fernandez criado de dom felipe / françisco de Budoya criado da sñora commãdadeyra e Christouão dalmeida criado de christouão de Tauora Pº de freitas e Jorge aluz eu christouão Vieira e doze moços seruidores, cinquo iurabaças / de toda esta companhia não ha mais que eu christouão perseo Dormuz hum moço meu de Goa / os que ora somos viuos no presente Vasco Caluo, hum seu moço que chamão Gonçalo / como digo nos tres que ficamos da companhia de Thome pĩz estes por dizerem que erão da embaixada escaparão e os os puseram com nosco aqui nesta cadea entramos treze pessoas como digo são mortos Duarte fernandez quando hiamos pera Pequim falleçeo na serra hindo Ja doente françisco de bedois quãdo vinhamos de Pequim no caminho falleçeo assi tres ou quatro moços nesta cadea com as prisões fortes como ja acima disse Christouão Dalmeida assi Jorge aluz portugeses estãodo o escriuão da cadea tomado do vinho o matou a coutes falleçeo em seis dias os lingoas em Pequim forão pressos e mortos e seus seruidores [f. 112] dados por escrauos aos mandarĩs por serem de tredores o Jurabaça grãde falleçeo de doença os quatro forão em Pequim descabeçados por sairem fora da terra que trouxerão portugeses a terra da China Pero de freitas nesta cadea e Tome pĩz aqui falleçeirão de doença Tomee pĩz na era de .MDxxiiij. em mayo de maneira que toda esta companhia no presente não ha mais de dous aqui como acima digo.

Os nomes que tinhamos Tome pĩz capitão moor quando fernão perez chegou ha China dise que vinha embaixador capitão moor cuidarão que era tudo hum nome puserão embaixador capitão moor tirarão o nome dembaixador que dezião que era falsa embaixada agora nos a prouamos por Verdadeyro / os mandarĩs ão por mal feito o passado e não teem esta magoa pera nos soltar finalmente ficaua capitão moor cudão que era seu nome a mim chamão tristão de pina porque ficou aqui tristão de pina por escriuão foy tirado eu fiquei em seu lugar e nome por estar Jaa nos liuros dos mandarĩs escripto e assi me chamão a Vasco caluo chamão cellamẽ a gonçalo seu moço a cão a Christouão Christouão Antonio Antonio e os q̃ fallecerão deixo de os escreuer q̃ todos tinhão os nomes desvairados porque não se podião escreuer nem teem letras que se escreuão os Chĩs que são letras do diabo e mais não se podião alimpar porque erão Jaa espalhados per muitas cartas e per muitas casas e fazendo outros pareçia em elle o tanto monta assi como assi as molheres dos lingoas assi as de Tome pĩz que ficarão em esta çidade o anno presẽte forão vendidas como fazenda de Tredores aqui ficarão em Cantão espalhados.

A terra da China he deuidida em .xv. gouernãças as que estão pegadas ao mar são Quantão, foquiem, Chequeam, namquy, xantão, Pequy, estas posto que toquem no mar tambem se estendem polla terra firme a redonda, Quancy honão, Cuycheu he [f. 112v] Cheuẽ Cheamçy Sançy entestão com paquim / estas gouernanças q̃ estão no meyo que ançy Vinão honão destas /xv/ nãoquim pequim são as cabeças de toda a terra sobre todas pequim he a prĩçipal onde o Rey per ordenança esta dasento Nanquim esta em /28/ graos ou /29/ Pequim em /38/ a /39/ Cantão foquẽ corre a costa nordeste sudueste pouco mais ou menos de foquem ate piquim corre a Costa direita ao norte sul vira ha costa que dizem que he muito limpa e de muitos çidades e lugares perto do mar per rios todas estas /15/ gouernanças são debaixo de hum Rey / o milhor desta serra esta por Rios que todos deçem ao mar / não nauega ninguem no mar do norte sul he defesso plo Rey por se não deuasar a terra per onde fomos tudo são Rios tem barcas e nauios lados per baixo sem conto de muitos eu me affirmo que veiria mais de /30000/ antre grandes e piquenos demandão pouca agoa çerto são Rios pera galees antos pera toda fustalha de Remo de guerra pegado ao mar não teem a terra nenhũa madrª nem a /30/ legoas do mar digo na costa do norte Sul he toda a terra baixa todo carreto de mantimentos e nos Rios ha madeira deçe da terra firme enjenguadas e çerca Pequym mais de /100/ legoas ha sirga porque a gouernança em que o Rey esta não teem madeira nem pedra nem tijolo tudo corre de carreto de nanquim em barcas grandes se lhe nãoquim não a corresse com mantimentos seus ou doutras gouernãças não se poderia soster Pequym p̃ que he gente sem conto e a terra não teem aRoz por ser fria e de poucos mantimentos o Rey esta nesta gouernança que esta na estrema da sua terra porque teem guerra com gentes chamadas tazas e se o Rey la não estiuesse entrarião a terra porque o mesmo Pequim foy destes tazas e outras gouernanças.

Esta terra da enseada de Cauchim obra de quinze legoas de haynão dentro de quinze ou vinte legoas começa hũa terra chama [f. 113] sse asseria minylem ou moulem e corre em leste vay acabar em foquem estrema foquem de Chquião estas serras são altissimas sem aruoredo estão leuadas e muito fragosas de maneira q̃ destas serras deuide tres gouernanças pera o mar Cançy pagua a terra de Cauchi e Cantão e depois foquem estas tres gouernanças ficão sobre sy. / Das outras Cantão foquem pegam ao mar chegam ate a serra / Cançim jaz antre Cantão e a serra ate Cauchim não he pegada ao mar de Canchim toda esta corda de serra que deuide estas tres gouernanças das doze não tem mais de dous caminhos muito ingremes e trabalhosos hum esta desta çidade ao norte per este se serue a gouernança de cançi e cantão e parte de foquem outro esta la sobre foquem com caminhos cortados de pedreyra muita parte como quem vay a santa Maria da penna e da outra banda ouuera tal deçida / destas serranias altissimas assi ingremes se fazem regatos que depois qua embaixo se fazẽ Rios que da serra vem deçendo pera o mar e quem vem de Cantão pera láa do meo do caminho sempre vay a sirgua com ganchos as vezes por palmo de agoa outro tanto he da serra pera outras gouernanças.

Esta serra da banda de Cantão tem hũa çidade e da outra banda outra a serra Jaz no meo avera de hũa a outra ate seis sete legoas quanto diz a serra he terra ingreme a muito fragosa he grande pasajem porque toda a terra das doze gouernanças vem passar por aqui os que ao de Vir a Quiançy e a Cantão em hum dia se passa este caminho em mulatos e asnos / dos regatos q̃ destas serras correm assi de hum cabo como de outro ao pee destas serras dambas as bandas se ajunta a agoa começa a fazer Rios a lugares dous palmos dagoa e as barcas p̄lo calho vão roçando isto em muitos lugares obra de oyto ate [f. 113v] dez legoas da serra pera baixo e a lugares he fundo desta serra pera Cantão toda a mercadoria que vem e vay he per este Rio todo omandarim que vem e vay tudo he per este Rio per terra ha caminho em recados de p^sa^ e teem algũs Rios de pasar que atrauesão porem por elle andão pouco porq̃ teem ladrões per todo o caminho e por Rios como digo os caminhos da terra não são seguros. Toda pasajem e caminhos na terra da China he em Rios porque toda a China e cortada dos Rios que não se podẽ andar duas legoas por terra sem atrauesar Vinte Rios ysto he per toda a terra e não teem mais que hũa gouernança que não tinha Rios.

Toda a fustalha de Cantão em q̃ a gente passa e mercadoria pera a serra e pera outras partes destas duas gouernanças ·*f*· Cantão Queancy tudo se faz na çidade de Cantão contra o mar em lugares çercados de Rios de agoa doçe e de monte porque de Cantão ate ha serra não ha hũa soo aruore de que se possa fazer hũa soo barca / em Cançi que he longe daqui fazem algũas barcas de mercadoria grandes porem não muitas todo o feito he nestas faldras de Cantão e per derredor de tançào se estas barcas de Cantão forẽ destroydas não pode das outras gouernanças vir socorro porque não teẽ caminhos por terra assi que quem for s^r^ do termo de Cantão tudo he milhor he na faldra do mar e doze, quinze, vinte legoas p̄ra terra dentro tudo isto he esquartijado de Rios per onde pode andar toda cousa de Remo esta he a casa e terra mais apta que todas as do mundo pera ser sometida e todo feito he neste termo de Cantão por çerto que he mor honrra que a gouernança da India ao diãte se sabera que he mais do que se pode escreuer / Se tiuer el Rey nosso sñor a çerta verdade e enformação doque he não pasara tãto tempo.

[f. 114] Esta gouernança de Cantão he das milhores da China de que o Rey reçebe muitas rendas porque he daroz e mantimentos sem conto e todas as mercadorias de toda a terra vem aqui deferir por rezão da escala do mar e das mercadorias que dos outros Reinos vem a Cantão e to da passa pera dentro da terra da China de que o Rey reçebe muitos direytos e os mandarĩs grandes peitas os mercadores viuem mais limpamente que nas outras gouernanças que não teem trato / nenhũa gouernãça da China teem trato com estrangeiros senão esta de Cantão o que outras podem teer pollos estremos he cousa pouca porque gente estranha não entra na terra da China nem da China pera fora este trato do mar nobreçia muito esta gouernança e sẽ trato ficara nos lauradores como as outras porem a escalla de toda a terra da China he Cantão foquem ha pouca cousa de trato e não vão láa estrangeiros não se pode fazer tracto em outra gouernãça senão em Cantão porque pera ysso he mais apta que outras pera trato com estrangeiros.

Esta gouernāça tem treze çidades e sete chenos que sõ grandes çidades que não teem nome de çidades, teem cem villas çercadas afora outros lugares çercados tudo o milhor Jaz ao longo do mar ate aynão per Rios que podem entrar nauios que remem e os que estão aredados do mar estão antre Rios em que outro si pode andar toda a fustalha de remos as çidades e villas que estão per rios que não podem a elles ir senão a sirga não se faça dellas pollo prinçipio fundamento porque quando o mor obedeçe o menor não se aleuanta como digo debaixo do sol não ha cousa tam desposta como esta e de gente sem conto e muito pouoada nestas falldas por onde estam rios e onde os não ha não he assi pouoado nem o quinto / de toda sorte de offiçiaes de todos offiçios macanicos digo carpinteiros calafates ferreiros pedreyros tilheiros serradores emtulhadores finalmente que esta he açima [f. 114v] das cousas que são neçessarias pera o seruiço del Rey de suas fortalezas e daqui se podem tirar cada anno quatro, cinquo mill homēs sem fazerem nenhūa mingoa na terra.

O estillo desta terra da China he que todo homē que ministra iustiça não pode ser daquella gouernança ·/· a pessoa de Cantão não pode em Cantão teer carrego de iustiça e andão trastorcados que os de hūas gouernanças gouernão as outras não pode ser iustiça onde he natural isto he nos letrados e todo o letrado quando alcança grao começa encarregos pequenos e dalli vay sobindo em mais grandes sē saberem quando hão de ser mudados e estão aqui de reponso e vē carta sem elle saber he mudado daqui trezentos legoas estas mudanças se fazem em Pequim isto he per toda a terra e cada hūa vay sobindo daqui vem que nenhum iulgador da China não faz verdade porque não oulha pollo bem da terra senão por furtar porque não he natural della e não sabe quando o hão de mudar pera outra gouernança daqui vem não terē lianças nem prestimos donde gouernão nem teem amor ha gente não fazem senão roubar matar açoutar por tromentos as pouo e ho pouo mais mal tratado destes mandarīs doque he o diabo no inferno daqui vem o pouo não teer amor ao Rey e aos manderīs e cada dia se andão alleuantando e fazem se ladrões porque o pouo que he roubado não teem vinha nē donde comer he neçessario que se faça ladrão destes aleuantamentos ha mil em lugares donde não ha rios muita gente se aleuāta os que estão antre Rios donde podem ser presos estão quedos porem todos desejosos de toda nouidade porque são postos nas çimas de toda sogeição he muito mais doque digo.

Os manderīs Caualeiros posto que sejão manderīs não teem carrego de iustica destes são muitos são manderīs de suas casas [f. 115] teem ordenado do Rey em sua casa quando cumpre vão pelejar donde os mandão estes por qualquer culpa são logo açoutados e atromentados como qualquer outra pª do pouo tambem estes vão sobindo em nomes e segundo o nome assi teē o mantimento estes não saē da terra do seu natural porque não ministrão iustª as vezes teem carrego de lugares de gente darmas porem onde quer que estão pouca cousa entendem de iustiça saluo em lugares de pouoações de gente de sua ordenança.

As armas da terra da China são treçados de ferro curtos punho de paao tiracolla de corda desparto isto he pla gente darmas os mandarīs tem deste geito mais limpas segº tem o drº lanças teem canas os ferros são pregos e ganchos pedaços de paos cascos ou capaçetes destanho de folha de frandes peramor da calma antes de virem portugeses não tinhão bombardas somte hūas feitas a maneira de talhas de monte moor cousa de uento. nenhum do pouo não pode ter armas mais que faca sopena de morte a gente darmas pode teer não em sua casa quando cumpre aos mndarīs lhas dão em quanto com ellas seruem acabado recolhemse a cosa do mandarim tem arcos bestas de pao.

As mortes na terra da China a mais Cruel he posto na cruz alli lhe tirão tres mil fatias e estando viuo e depois o abrē e tiranlha a fresura pera os algozes comerem e fazem todos ē pedaços e dam na aos cães que ally estão pera ysso dam lha a comer isto a capitães de ladrões a quem elles querem / a segunda he cortar a cabeça e sua natura cortada e metida na boca e o corpo feito em sete pedaços / a Terçeira cortar a cabeça pello toutiço / a quarta he afogar, os que teem menos culpa que morte ficão em gente darmas da China perpetuo per filho e neto bisneto ·/· o que he de Cantão mudão no a outra gouernança muito [f. 115v] longe jamais nunca tornão

a sua láa serue dos homẽs darmas este he a gente darmas da China daqui vão a sobir em mandarĩs caualros destes que açima digo dez mil hũus degredos em Vidas per annos e a elles degradados mudam nos pollos gouernanças a seruir nas casas dos mandarĩs e varrer e acarretar agoa fender lenha e a todo outro serujo deste geito a seruir em obras do Rey e outros serujos os tormẽtos são tem escospas dalargar borzeguĩs hũa antre os pees e duas per fora com cordas com que lhe atormentão os artelhos e com maços dão nas emcospas as veze lhe quebrão os artelhos as vezes as canelas das pernas e morrem em hũ dia e o dous ẽ mesmo e o semelhante com paos nos dedos das mãos e pes estes teem dor muita não perigão são tambem acoutados nas pernas nalgas e barrigas das pernas e nas collas dos pes e pancadas nos artelhos destes açoutes morrem muito sem conto e todos grandes e pequenos andão atormentados teem muito forte custume e o pouo anda escandalizado e não faz ninguem carta contra manderim como he meão o açoute he hũa cana grossa fendida seca de grosura de hum dedo e de largura de hũa palma da mão e lançã na m remolho porque escoza mais.

Toda a pª que teem terras toda a terra da China he ensortada em partes chamão a cada paros quintei sera terra de semeadura de quatro alqueires daroz obrigado todo o laurador de pagar desta sua terra certa quantidade daroz ora semeem ora não ora aja bõos temporaes ora maos como não acodem os temporaes ficão pobres vendem os filhos pera pagar se não abasta vendẽ as proprias propriades são obrigados cada pª como teem esta geira de terra dar çertas pas pera serujo dos mandarĩs ou pera cada pª vinte cruzados som obrigados a dar a todos aparelhados de mensas tintas cadeyras catres, baçios outras meudezas pera as casas dos mandarĩs [f. 116] são obrigados os que não teem terras darlhe çertas pas hũa e se não tem pessoa dinheyro e se não teem pª dinheyro elle em pª ha de seruir e comer a sua custa e peitar a pª que serue alem destes dirtos são obrigados ao seguinte.

Toda a terra da China ora sejão rios ora terra firme em caminhos geeraĩs de Jornada em Jornada estão casas prestes com cada hũa seu mandarim escriuão donde teem arozes carnes pescados galinhas e toda a outra maneira de comer e artifiçios de Cozinha e barcas com cozinhas mesas cadras camas teem assi bestas prestes remeiros pera serujo dos manderĩs e toda outra pessoa que passa pollos rios ·/· todo mandarim ou outra pª que o Rey manda ou os manderĩs com sua gouernança leuão carta pꝉa qual lhe dão muito se vay per terra caualos se per mar barcas camas tudo ho neo jabe as pas são estas casas sortadas as pas dos termos são obrigados a dar ysto de çerto tempo ora hũs ora outros per esta rezão não lhe fica nenhũa cousa que não despendão e se algũ refusa logo he preso e tudo vendido e elle morre na cadea não refusa ninguem ao q̃ o mandarim manda com a cabeça no chão o rostro na terra ouue e olha o mandarim como outro relãpando daqui vem o pouo a ser pobre tambem por qualquer cousa são logo açoutados e metidos nas cadeas a menos penna he sete quintães daroz e dous tres e mº de prata por elles e delles pagão quinhentos e mill taes donde creo verdadeyramente que as pennas que se arrecadão pera o Rey das pas que prendem he muito grande somma de prata e çerto que nas cadeas de Cantão ha de continuo ate quatro mill homẽs presos e muitas molheres / e cada dia prendem muitos e soltão menos he morrem nas cadeas a fome como bichos daqui vem o pouo a estar em odio com os manderĩs a desejão nouidades pera terẽ liberdade.

[f. 116v] As Cidades villas e lugares cercados da terra da China todos os muros são largos assentados em terra chão, os muros não tem aliçerçes estão sobre a terra a façe de fora parte he de pedra sobre a terra ate o mº do muro o mays de tifolo algũs são todos de pedra digo a façe de fora dentro são taypas as portas fazem abobodadas grandes e grandes portas sobre as portas goaritas de madeyra destas taypas tirão a terra pera as taypas ficão os lugares e muros ẽ muros e cauos os que eu vy todos vy em terra chãa não teem mais fortalezas as çidades e vas e lugares que teem muros abremse as portas com sol e cerãose com sol entregão as chaues ao mandarym que dellas teem carrego a noyte reçebese e pꝉa menhãa toda a porta teem pª que a guarda com dez doze pas de noyte tudo se vigia grandemte tememse dos naturaes as casas todas são armadas de madrª sobre esteios de madeira, as paredes dellas são desteiras poucas as mais de canas e taipas com

barro façe de cal per çima sobradadas de madeyra poucas geralmente assi sõ todas cousa muito fraca e pła mayor parte toda a parẽteira viue de hũa porta a dentro todos tem hũ alcunha cada parenteira tẽ hũa parenteira por onde se conheçem depois disto teem seus nomes mirandas ou qualquer outro apellido alem desta aboanha tem nome proprios seus desta parenteira a pessoa mais velha teer os nomes pera dar conta de quantos são e nenhũa pessoa pode sair do lugar donde mora de vinte legoas pera çima sem carta dos manderĩs se sem ella he achado prendem no por ladrão porque todos os caminhos e lugares são cheos despias pera esta carta dão certa cousa a carta declara que pessoa he e idade e todo que lhe dão l^{oa}.

A tenta as casas da just^{ia} que ha nesta çidade de Cantão [f. 117] a prim^{ra} he o cancheufu que he casa da çidade esta tem doze ou treze mandarĩs e çem escriuães todo manderỹ viue na casa donde he manderim a casa do pochançi tera vinte manderĩs piq̃nos e grandes escriuães chimchaes p^{as} de recado e p^{as} outras com escriuães teem per todos mais de duzentos a casa do anchaçy tẽ outros tantos manderĩs grandes e pequenos escriuães p^{as} outras a casa do Toçi tem seis ou sete mandarĩs e muitos escriuães o cehi he hum que teem carrego da gente darmas e do sal que teem escriuães muitos e cuchi q̃ teem carrego de toda a iustica he hũ que teem escriuães muitos a casa do tutão e do Choypi e congom grande e do piqueno e do tiqos / alem destas ha obra de quinze ou vinte que não nomeo não he duuida todos os manderĩs de Cantão desta çidade terem pasante de sete ou oyto mil seruj^{ordes} todos pagos a custa do pouo não fallo em outras casas grandes de manderĩs que teem ovelhas que não teem carregos q̃ as conta por casas de gente de pouo atente que cada casa destas de manderĩs teem terreyros e lageamento pera em cada hũa poder fazer hũa torre e haqui a pedra talhada de cãto pera fazer de nouo hũa babilonia deixo casas de suas orações e as ruas que he quanto talhado sem conto pois madr^{a} hũa casa desta teem pera emmadeyrar hũa fortaleza com dez torres todos estas casas teem teições de portas fortes de dentro tudo com casas e currães cada casa destas he hum campo pera fazer hũa fermosa vila tambem a casa do aytão he muito grãde e portas fortes grandes fermosas e a parede aos couçes he no chão / de todas as de Cantão esta he a copia de manderĩs e cada dia se vão hũs e vẽe outros de mau^{ra} que cada tres annos e mais todos são idos outros vindos depois que estou nesta çidade sao muitas esquipacões muidadas.

Assi como digo de muita pedra assi de muita fustalha que ha [f. 117v] nesta gouernança de Cantão nem hũa de guerra toda de paz de tamanho de galees reaes e fustas e bargantĩs todas de postiças e de esporões e masteadas a maneira de galees se cada hũa poserem hũa tilha e seus liames e ficão galees e fustas bargãtĩs e polla primeira escusarão as de cõchi Remos remeiros assi sem conto destas se deuẽ tomar os mihores e as mais nouas tudo o al queimar de vagar se podem fazer galees reaes toda a outra fustalha de remo estas demandão minos agoas que as nosas podem seruir assy como as nossas nestes Rios pera o mar não sey quão seguras serão assi que disto se deue fazer fundamẽto porque são muito neçessarias ate se fazerem outras que andando a cousa ordenado se podem aqui fazer em hum mes dez doze peças de remo porque os officiaes e madeira he m^{ta} e mayormente como virem boa paga cumpre muito estas barcas porq̃ toda a força he nos rios.

Esta terra da China he grande e as marcaderias della estão em hũas gouernanças della em outras Cantão tem ferro o que não ha em toda a terra da China segundou sou enformado daqui vay pera dentro da outra banda da serra e o mais jaz no termo desta çidade de Cantão daqui se fazẽ tachos pregadura armas dos Chĩs e toda a outra cousa de ferro tẽe tambem cordoalha linho e seda pannos dalgodão por rezão do trato todas as mercaderias acodem aqui porque este era o porto donde estrangeiros acodião per este contrato de mercaderias das gouernanças pera Cantão e de Cantão pera dentro era a gẽte mais abastada q̃ as outras gouernanças todas as mercaderias que a cantão acodião antes de se emburilhar esta guerra aguardadas ate verem em que parão as cousas a [f. 118] terra dentro tem muitas sem se poderem gostar porque as farião as vontades de portugeses digo çedas porçolanas.

Não se pode soster esta terra sem trato as mercaderias agora não acodem aqui nem ha hy mercadorias nem mercadores como sohião nem o quinto porque todos forão destroidos por respto de portugeses esta çidade por não acodirem estrãgeiros não acodem mercadorias das outras gouernanças estaa pobre no presẽte não se pode fazer boa mercadoria ate não acodirem as de çima como souberẽ que acodẽ estrãgeiros e tornarse ha a teçer o trato eu cuido cada dia se se a gouernança de Cantão se aleuãta toda a terra dentro a de fazer outro tanto porq̃ toda anda fostigada por hũ theor como as cousas asentarem de hũa maneira ou doutra a terra fara mercadoria em qto se não fizer a terra de tantas rẽdas que he cousa pa não querer / toda a terra he aproueitada e as mercadorias q̃ os estrangeiros trazẽ são muito neçessarias na terra mayormẽte por darem sayda as suas teem muitas mercadorias e boas a terra dentro muitos maneiras de sedas que ainda não vierão a Cantão porque cuidão que as não contendem e por ser defesso por o Rey que não se vendão mercadorias boas nem de preço a estrangeiros senão cousa braganta assi teem muito Ruybarbo deixo isto torno ao que mais releuo.

Em cantão não fazião armadas como fizerão no tpo passado auera ora dezasseis annos que se aleuantarão hũs Chĩs em Jumqos fizerão se ladrões e Cantão armou sobre elles forão os de Cantão desbaratados fizerão os mandarĩs [f. 118v] de Cantão com elles conçerto q̃ lhe perdoauão e q̃ lhe darião terra onde viuessem com condicão que quando se aleuantassem outros ladrões no mar que elles fossem pelejar com elles e o que roubassem fosse pera elles resguardando as molheres e cousas pera o Rey derão assento a estes ladrões delles em Nanto deles em foym delles em aynameha e ẽ outras pouoações que estão de Nanto pera Cantão estes todos tinhão iuncos todos os Juncos de Cantão erão destes ladrões que digo da presa do anno de /521/ dos juncos que ficarão na Ilha forão ricos e da presa de Syão e Patane e por o vencimento dos dous nauios do anno de /522/ ficarão tão soberbos que lhe pareçia que ja não podia vir ninguem que não desbaratessẽ pło qual o anno de /523/ fizerão armada de çem iuncos aguardando por portugeses a metade estaua diante ẽ Nanto outra a metade ao mar antre as ilhas aguardando na fim dagosto deu hũa trouoado nelles que durou hũ dia e hũa noite que espedaçou todos os prinçipaes q̃ estauão ao mar que não escapou nenhum a outra ametade que estaua auante ẽ nãto meteose dentro no Rio saluarãose em anyameha que he porto seguro que se todos estiuerão ao mar todos se perderão não teem mais iuncos nem tinhão mais força que era destes homẽs de que não ha nenhũ delles e os mays hião per força que lhes não pagauão / na era de /524/ fizerão armada de iuncos de sal euq tomarão per força ate era de /528/ fizerão armadas forão os juncos deminuindo ate que ha deixarão de fazer e os juncos que escaparão em aynameha não ha nenhũ tudo he desbaratado de ladrões que depois destes se aleuãtarão no mar os quaes agora viuẽ na terra com seguro que lhes derão terão obra de sete [f. 119] ou oite iũcos agora não tem outros senão for estes destes homẽs se amda sem viuos não fazem armadas nem tem iuncos em que as queirão fazer na tem agora mais forças que he a dos muros de Cantão.

Nesta armada que os chĩs fizerão aguardando pła nosa não avia nenhum homem darmas dos ordenados da China tudo era gente dessas pouoações e iuncos tomados por força e gente fraca e vil e o mais meninos porem cada hum dellas he milhor q̃ quatro homẽs darmas he cousa de zombaria fallar em gẽte darmas desta terra da China / esta armada que mandauão a Nanto são algũs capitães pareçendolhes que podião tomar portugeses como no anno de /522/ como festa gente for escozida do ferro portuges toda logo he de companhia com portugeses porque mais he gente de bona boya e pouca raiz na terra ou nenhũa / esta gente de Cantão he muito raca em comparação doutra gente de dentro que he forte neste Cantão digo pło termo pła gouernança como he cousa arredada dos rios logo se aleuantão / dam sobre pouoações matão muita gente isto cada dia em muitos lugares e não lhe podem faž damno e mandão per gente a gouernança de Cançy que estaa ao ponente de Cantão chamão a estes langãs ou langueãs estes teem mays algũa feição porem tudo he cousa de vento dizem os chĩs se portugeses entrarem que chamarão muita gente desta e não pode vir senão pło rio que venhão çem não aproueita nada porque como o rio for despegado da sua fustalha e se alimpar e andar nosa fustalha com bom-

bardas não a cousa que pareça a dez legoas estes Chĩs de Cantão quando vão pelejar com gentes que se aleuantão nũqua [f. 119v] matão a ladrão / saltão per essas cassas de ladrões matão nelles infindos e trazem as cabeças delles outos muitos presos dizẽ que são ladrões não ha mister mais proua. todos os matão per modo cruel / isto fazem cada dia / o pouo he tão sojeito e medroso que não ousa fallar deste geito he per toda a tr̃ra da China he muito pior do que digo p̃lo qual toda a gente deseja reuolta e vinda de portugeses estes de Cantão.

A ylha de Aynão teem hũa cidade e quatorze villas esta a vista da terra da China teem bom porto não teem madeyra per esta rezão não teem fustalha quando algũa gente de luchim se aleuantão em Junquos vay a estas partes fazer soltos pedem socorro a Cantão he cousa muito fraca he da terra China defrente de Aynão ate Cantão ao longo do mar quatro çidades muitas V^as per todo mar per Rios em algũs podem entrar nauios em todos podem entrar cousa grosa de remo em todo o tempo se nauega teem ao longo desta costa muitos ylhas frescas que empa-rão todo o vento ysto he o principal desta gouernança e sera dous terços de gouernança entrando Cantão no tomq^o tudo isto he rendido como a cabeça se someter e for tomada teem este Aynão muitos sendeyros tem quoquos e areq^a que não teem toda a terra da China em Cantão tem trato com esta areq^a e quoquos assi daljofre muita copia que não teem toda a terra da China assi que digo que teem sindeyros que os Chĩs chamão Cauallos destes tazem pera esta gouernança daqui se podem auer muitos por pouco preço.

Este Cantão teem obra de duzentos cauallos destes os mandarĩs pequenos que não podem trazer andor teem cauallo asy [f. 120] os mandarĩs de guerra cada hum teem seu estes syndeiros são pequenos são dandadura estes nas mãos de portugeses podem aproueitar ordenados a gineta e desporas estes Chĩs são daçoute e desemfreados tem Cantão mais de vinte ou trjnta se^ros offi-çiaes pessoas que fazem estrjbos são muitos que he gente sem conto cada hum quando ganha dez r̃s por dia pera comer louua a deos deste geito são todos os offiçiaes da China assiq̃ como digo estes com os de Aynão podem aproueitar pera a terra val aqui hum destes caualos de tres ate dez taes de prata nenhũa p^a como mamtem oulhas nem podem andar em cauallo digo polla çidade.

O Tutão Compim Comquõ são tres p^as que teem carrego desta gouernança de Cantão e Cançy estes são os mayores estão em hũa çidade chamada Vcheu que esta no estremo dambas estas gouernanças esta çidade he de Queançy estão aqui o mais do tp̃o porque teem la guerra e de laa guovernão ambos as vezes vem a Cautão estão dous tres meses ora hum ora outro as vezes se passão dous annos que não vem nenhum a esta gouernança de Quẽcy anda sempre aleuãtada muito grande parte sem lhe poderẽ valer esta he a causa porque estão laa o mais do tempo esta çidade estaa ao ponente de Cantão obra de trinta legoas per rio porque não tem caminhos per terra e he a terra toda cortada de Rios vão laa em çinque dias a muito grande andar com muita gente de sirga e vem em tres andando de noite e de dia / Agoa corre de laa pera Cantão teem este caminho hũa çidade grande abordada ao Riõ que se chama Cheuquỹ fu / per todo este rio pode nauegar toda a cousa de remo são per este caminho pouoações sem conto asique a qualquer [f. 120v] cousa de guerra de Cantao estes abalão trazem gente como nossa armada, andar no rio eu fico que não venha ninguem e quemquer que vier per força ha de vir desembarcar defronte desta çidade pegado ha pouoação deste arabalde ou m^a legoa per este rio acima ao norte finalmente que não pode vir ninguem que não seja apanhado e mormente que todos nauegão de dia e não de noite porque os Rios a lugares são baixos e a lugares teem pedra e se vierem todos jazem na mão postoque mais banquas trazem do que dizem.

Tem Cantão mandaris depois destes ho cheuhi e o pochãçy e amchaçy toçy que chamão camcy que estão de contino nesta çidade o ceuhy vem cada anno este não teme a ninguem todos temem a este este vem pera despachar todo o caso pera ver ver qual mandarỹ faz mal seu mandary que faz erro he pequeno este lhe tira logo as orelhas daa diso enformação ao Rey se o mandary he moor escreue delle ao Rey sua culpa dela vem que não seja mais mandarim porque o rey da enteyro credito a este assi ao tutão e conquão / O Campym não escreue que teem

carrego de gerra o tutão manda em tudo se algũa carta ouuer descreuer seja o ao ecuhi porque vem cada anno e não sabe dos roubos que são feitos aos portugeses estes não são senão aluitres segundo seruem assi lhes fazem merçees este em tudo despacho sem dar conta ao tutão nem a nenhũ mandarỹ.

[f. 121] Martim A° de Melo veio na era de .522. a entrada do porto o fez bem de sua entrada dalgũa gente que se la matou cõ artelharia veyo o recado a Cantão assi dezião que elle escreuera hũa carta q̃ dezião q̃ fallaua bem os mãdarĩs que tinhão do año passado roubado a faz^da^ agastarãose com sua vinda começarão a emburilhar perguntarão ao Cuhy q̃ lhe pareçia se farião mercadr^as^ ou não / dise o Ceuhy q̃ mercad^ra^ como dãtes se fizesse / responderão elles q̃ não q̃ auião medo q̃ com esta mercad^ra^ se reçeuesse ao diante algum damno q̃ deitarião mão dalgum lugar o Ceuhy não lhe respondeo nada elles sahirão descontentes estes pregũtarão outro tãto a oytao q̃ teem carrego do mar e dos estrãgeiros respondeolhe outro tanto estes dous mandarĩs q̃ perguntarão hum era o chãçy outro o anchaçy q̃ erão os mayores de Cantão estes mãdarão a oytao q̃ fosse pelejar com os portugeses este aytao era nouam^te^ vindo não sabia do passado disse elle q̃ não podia fezse doente mandarão laa o tiquos q̃ tẽ carrego destrãgeiros debaixo do aytao não sey o q̃ la fez estes dous mandarĩs ·/· pochancy e anchacy dizẽ q̃ peitarão ao pio de nãto ao pachaiu darmada q̃ trabalhassem por tomar algum nauio e trabalhassẽ por se não fazer paz istu secretamente acõteçeo q̃ por mofina e por os capitães não terẽ os Chĩs ẽ cõta e não terẽ artelharia atacada nẽ ordenada e cada hũ capitão tirou pera seu cabo e Di° de melo ser prim^ro^ ferido de hũa pedrada que ficou atordoado e dizẽ q̃ toda a gẽte se meteo debaixo dalcaçeua dos nauios per-amor da pedra assi os tomarão as mãos P° homẽ estãdo armado não lhe acodio ninguem foy morto de pedradas e remesos o mestre contramestre algũs marinheyros pelejerão não lhe acudia outra gente os iuncos erão altarosos finalmente que forão tomados no nauio de Diogo de melle saltarão dentro nello trezentos Chĩs a roubar depois de ser a gẽte recolhida aos iuncos derão cõ fogo no parioll da poluora abrazouse o nauio morrerão todos os Chĩs sem ficar nenhũ desta noua veyo recado ao aytao de como erão dous nauios tomados e os outros ydos foy logo e veio com gaitas escreueo q̃ aquella gente que morreo do fogo que portugeses a matarão / escreueo ao tutão e o tutão a el Rey veyo a sentença que ja disse o aytao cõ esta vitoria com peita q̃ lhe derão os dous mandarĩs a elle ao tutão q̃ cõsẽtisse mais portugeses na China ficarão estes dous e imigos dos portugeses e outros q̃ forão riquos.

Martim Afonso vinha ordenado a China com embaixada pera pedir fortaleza se lha não desem prouar se a podia fazer com officiaes que ja trazia pera a terra e pera o mar não me pareçe que vinha bem ordenado os Chĩs não darem fortaleza a nhũa p^a^ estrangeira por todo o mundo quanto mais a nos que cuidão que a verlhe a terra somos vindos Tome pĩz pedia [f. 121v] hũa casa em Cantão e na Ilha todo o conselho do Rey he que vinhamos a pedir lhe sua terra porque a terra da China jaz em custume estranho sobre sy q̃ não consente estrangeiro na terra sob peña de morte senão he embaixada obediente quãto mais darlhe casa a mercadoria não querem que se façao lugares pouoados por não deitarem mão dalgũa cousa e mandana fazer por maos lugares despouoados e doentios porque são muito çiosos da sua terra assique per nenhum modo do mundo a darão senão for por força e se se casa ouuesse de fazer na Ilha de mercadoria secreta-mente se fizesse forte donde se aueria cal e pedra pedreyros e telha e cousas neçessarias offiçiães que com l^oa^ seria trabalhosa quanto mais escondidamente que nessa Ilha pera fazer casas de palha Primeiro que se acabasem he o meio da gente morta mandou que se fizesse algum cartigo ou casa forte o que se não podia fazer logo a gerra era na mão e tolhidos os mantimentos por terra e a terra doentia e maa não sey quãto se poderia soster assi que não vinha a cousa ordenada.

Martim Affonso de mello trazia trezentos homẽs era cousa muito pequena pera leuar auante a empressa que creo que toda a gente morrera a fome e doẽça ate que nada viera a lume com mais força de duzentos ou trezentos homẽs se podera tomar nanto ou hũa V^a^ que he muito milhor chamada Jancangem que esta em hua Ilha cercada de mar de porto e grande altura que esta ao ponente de nanto sete ou oyto legoas esta a bordoa dagoa amurada de grande pouoação pegada ao mar esta era logo tomada sem matar ninguem daly correlhe aos rios e des-

baratarlhe a fustalha p̄los Chĩs em aperto que desta Ilha as portas de Cantão cousa muito fresca aproueitada darozes e carnes e todos os pescados he pera abastar vinte mill homẽs e barato com menos trabalho e mais descanso e sem morte se podia fazer que começar de nouo a terra que teem tantas çidades e villas e lugares abordados a agoa escusado he matar a gente pois q̃ ha de ser por força de qualquer man^ra^ como os Chĩs virẽ que os portugeses tomão posse do lugar çercado tudo se ha de começar de alevantar.

De Nanto vindo pera Cantão no meo do Rio quasi pegado na barra tãcoã Jaz hũa grande pouoação ou tres em hũa Ilha que se chama aynãcha tem canto talhado per casas ruas igrejas e em cais de que se pode fazer hũa [f. 122] fortaleza como a de goa tem porto seguro de todos os ventos tudo de vaza porto muito seguro aqui era a força dos jũcos esta fortaleza jaz sobre Cantão sogiga nanto esta villa que digo outra que se chama Xuntaeim daqui podem defender os mantim^tos^ e por em aperto cãtão se redendera de qualquer man^ra^ que o capitão quiser torno a dizer que leuar de peça cantão na mão com força de dous mil a tres mil homes e milhor digo dous tres mil não que com menos se não acabe a demanda som^te^ he grande cousa e os carregos de lugares que são necessarios portugeses não abastão seys mil pera render com menos do que digo e acabar a demanda porque os Chĩs são logo aleuantados contra a çidade com a companhia dos portugeses.

Assi na fustalha q̃ portugeses trouxerẽ como na que aqui se fizer de seus paraos a nossa guisa sera tal que todos os Rios despejara os Rios despejados os manderĩs anse de render por força ou ão de fogir e despejar a çidade fica logo Cantão na mão e seu termo Isto pode fazer capitães que trouxerem força de seteçẽtos homẽs ate mil e ficar com elle a fustalha e cousa grosa de remo e toda a gente portugesa e malauares naos se os trouxer mandalas pera Couchim espidas de Chĩs officjaes q̃ achara pera irẽ dez milhões e se abalar o s^or^ g^dor^ pera o seg^te^ logo cantão he nas mãos com toda a gouernança e deixar nelle fortaleza ẽ lugares q̃ conuem deixar gẽte portugesa e malauares e tornesse cõ toda sua armada carregada de Chĩs carpint^ros^ pedreiros ferreyros telheiros serradores e de todo outro off^o^ cõ suas molheres pera deixar por esas fortalezas que pode leuar ẽ sua armada em juncos a terra dez mil homẽs sẽ fazer mingoa e cada anno podem sahir quatro mil sẽ fazer moça esta he a causa marauilhosa porque por cada portuges pode tomar cem Chĩs pera as fortalezas.

Cantão dentro nelle tem hũ cabeço chão pegado ao muro da bãda do norte ẽ que esta hũa casa que tẽe çinquo sobrados tẽ polas faldras deste cabeço dentro seis ou sete igrejas que tem cãto talhado pera fazer em dez dias hũa v^a^ cõ muros e casas e das igrejas he sẽ conto desteos vigas portas f^tas^ daqui se pode senhorear a cidade outra feita a borda dagoa no meo da pouoação onde os mandarĩs desembarcão que se pode fazer em çinquo dias porque he a pedra [f. 122 v] de cãto talhada per ruas e casas de iust^a^ q̃ he p^a^ fazer hũa grande çidade amurada he torrejada outra na igreja que esta no rio assi q̃ pedra e a madr^a^ e cal he sẽ conto pois offiçiaes p^a^ isso e seruidores em todo mundo não ha tantos e são bõs seruj^ores^ cõ pouco jornal p̄lo comer virão cẽ mil e dos seus paraos fazer galees fustas bargãtĩs dalgũs se farão galeaças cõ poucos liames que os rios não querẽ a força do mar assi que todas estas cousas mais vagar ão mister e se escreuer q̃ empor se por obra a terra desposta esta p^a^ tudo deos quis q̃ estes Chĩs sejão doudos pera perderẽ a terra porq̃ te o presẽte não tiuerão senhorio ma elles pouco e pouco forão tomãdo a terra seus vezinhos e por isso he o reino grande porque estes Chĩs são cheos de m^ta^ Judaria e daqui lhes vẽ serẽ presẽtuosos soberbos crueis e porque ate o presente sendo gẽte couarda façã sẽ armas e sẽ nenhũ exerçiçio de guerra e sempre forão ganhãdo a terra a seos vezinhos e não per mãos mas por manhas e biocos e cuidão q̃ ninguẽ lhes pode fazer dano chamo a todo estrangeiro saluajẽ a sua terra chamão o reino de Dõ quẽquer q̃ vier ora seja capitão com frota de dez ate quinze Vellas prim^ra^ cousa he desbaratar armada se a tiuerẽ a que eu cuido que não tẽe seja p̄ fogo sange medo cruel por este dia sẽ dar Vida a nenhũa p^a^ todo iunco queimado e não se tome ninguẽ por se não gastarẽ os mãtimentos q̃ em todo tp̃o se acharão çem Chĩs pera hũ portuges e isto f^to^ despejarse ha nãto e logo terão fortaleza e mantim^tos^ se quiserẽ porque logo he na mão e dar cõ toda armada ẽ aynãcha que esta a barra dc tãcoam como ja acima digo de bõ porto aqui

se ãcorarão aos naos q̃ não poderẽ entrar no rio e queirmarlhe qualq̃r fustalha q̃ tiuerẽ e depois de tomado se bem pareçer queimarlhe o lugar por fazer medo aos Chĩs antes disto fto venha hũa carta per hũ negrinho cafre e venha ẽ esta maneira.

O titulo da pessoa que for faço saber ao cuhi e a çãci de Cantão como auera ora tamtos annos q̃ el Rey nosso sr mandou carta ao Rey da China e presente per Tome pĩz o q̃l foy reçebido płos grandes e dos outros q̃ tẽ carrego foy lhe dado casa em Cantão dahy foy chamado do rey da China elle foy e o Vio em nãquỹ daly o mandou a Pequim pera la o despachar dizendo que la conuinha o despacho nunca mais delle soubemos na era de tantos veyo hũa nao em sua busca pagou seus direytos e pagos armirão sobre [f. 123] ella pera a tomarem e na era de tãtos vierão em sua busca cinco iuncos carregados de mercadorias e os mandarĩs armarão sobre elles pera os roubar não fazendo na terra mal nem agrauo por os iuncos virem abertos do mar recolherãose a outros nauios e deixarão os juncos no porto carregados de muitas mercadorias abarrotados sem delles tirarem nada e na era de tantos annos vinhão cinquo naos com embaixador pera o Rey da China os manderĩs de nãto ordenarão com iuncos de ladrões que enganassem dous nauios com recados falsos de paz tomarão dous nauios e os tres que ficarão não souberão como o embaixor del Rey n. sor estaua metido nas cadeas e sua companhia e tomado toda sua fazenda e vestidos / e sem comer nas cadeas como fazenda de ladrões sendo dembaixada assi reçebido dos grandes e o presente que vinha pera o Rey recolhido sem querer mandar o embaixor isto não he iusta mas he iusta de tres mandarĩs ladrões .∫. ampochim o anhançi e lentocim e pio de nãto que płos roubos que tem feitos querem matar a todos por q̃ o Rey da China o não sayba veyo isto a minha notiçia vim qua e em de menhãa serey em Cantão por ver a çidade onde se faz tal iustiça o embaixador seja a mim enuiado antes de eu chegar a Cantão como for entregue a mim então fallaremos em o que releua e ao que são vindo do que he passado e se não quiserdes fique a culpa sobre vos outros que reçebeis embaixadores e presẽte e pło roubar o meteis nas cãdeas esta he feita a tãtos dias da lua.

Assi q̃ escrita a carta e enuiada a pregoar liberdade na terra a todos e com toda cousa de remos entray o Rio e se tardar o recado se bem pareçer por lhe offiçio a pouoação e queimar toda a fustalha que não aproueitar pera seruiço de guerra e morta a gẽte quem não seguir o bando tres dias que lho tolhão os mantimentos morrerão todo sa fome a çidade tem hũa grande casa de mantimentos quasi pegada a porta da banda do ponente dentro dos [f. 123 v] muros mas pera repartir pło pouo he nada porque pouo he sem conto e compra cada dia o que ha de comer assi que todos hão de morrer a fome e ãose daleuantar contra os mandarĩs como se gente aleuãtar logo a çidade he aleuantada compre teer grande aviso em não reçeber recados de dilações por não acudirem muitos paraos com mantimentos a çidade em Canto ouuer recados de vento que som tantos e o pouo tanto que se não pode isto ver sobre tudo a fustalha desbaratada no rio não pareça cousa de Chĩs que não seja queimada com este tal matar saltara o medo na valia dos mandarĩs e embatarseam contra elles e isto se deue fazer e ser mais breue do que digo porque toda a gente esta esperando por portugeses a çidade per terra não lhe podem acudir mantimentos que os caminhos são logo aleuantados que sem vinda de portugeses o fazem quanto mais neste todo aroz a de vir pło rio e cũpre ter vigia pło estreito q̃ esta pło rio açima ao norte obra de ma legoa por onde lhe podẽ vir mantimẽtos e socorro neste se ponha fustalha q̃ tomado o estreyto q̃ não vinha tudo he na mão se os mandarĩs ouuerem de fogir a de ser por este esteiro aqui he sua saluação ẽ este esteiro podem estar gallees e deste esteiro vem a çidade por terra que he perto aly vem todo o mandarim e daly o faz saber e então entra e vem cauallos per terra a dizer aos mandarĩs da çidade que manderim he entrada feita na era de 534.

[f. 124] Trelado de outra carta que o mesmo Christouão vra escreueo da China.

sor.

Olhando sempre vossa carta me desaliua muito minha infirmidade com os esforços que sua merçee daa me da causa a ter algum lugar a escreuer sñor em breue não ser muita a leitura repetindo sñor nesta çidade na qual sñor digo se a indja estiuesse de maneira que o sor gouer-

nardor ordenou o sor eytor da sylueira com a frota q̃ cada anno vay ao estreyto conuindo nella tres mill homẽs trazendo mallauares pera com elles por em espanto a gente com verem estes malauares com as costas dos portugeses irão tomando a metade da terra da China se ahi ouuesse gẽte pera soster tanta çidade e tanta copia de villas que tão fraca gente he e não tẽe maneyra nenhũa de defendimento.

Neste Rio desta çidade podẽ entrar so naos de duzentos tonelados todo o galião por grande que seja por respeito de demandar pouca agoa / todo este rio sñor he de vasa e todo he limpo de pedras que ainda q̃ fice em seco na releua porque o rio he muito alto fica a çidade sobmetida debaixo destas naos / quando a mare encher porão prancha dos galeães e nauios na terra por õde saya a gente per este rio estão as casas do arabalde metidas com terem amparo per respeito dagoa não alagar tudo o q̃l amparo he de pedra entulhado de terra altura de hum homem e mo homẽ em lugares nada por todalas partes tem saidas muy fermosas mas todas calçadas de fermosa pedra / a qual pedra seruira ao presente pera fortalezas / porse a sor o fogo na ponta desse arabalde porque venha queimando tudo ao longo do rio por ficar tudo limpo pera a artelharia lugar e porque se não ponhão per [f. 124 v] hi os Chĩs tirarẽ com frechas cõ terẽ emparo das casas he neçessaria por lhe o fogo que fique tudo limpo sem nenhũa casa ficar.

Com tudo sor oulhese bem a prinçipal desembarcação e no meo desse arabalde onde estaa hũa casa dos mandarĩs quando vão pera algures vão aly desembarcar e embarcar a qual casa tẽe hum reçebimẽto de quaes a qual casa he daredor çercada de taypa feita de terra posta em altura de hum remessão onde se neste lugar pode recolher soma de gente com mandarem de ribar ao rededor todas as casas porq̃ fique lugar pera se a fortaleza fazer pera se por artelharia fazendo buracos nestas taipas pera porem bombardas grossas ate se fazer a fortaleza que nesse lugar mesmo se ha de fazer com a fortaleza e ir entestar no rio e vir entestar com a porta da çidade fazendo hũa couraça muito forte e fremosa que vaa tomando sobre a porta da çidade que sogigue a çidade toda porque tudo he terra chãa como a palma da mão com artellaria pera hum cabo e pera outro a qual couraça ha de ficar em maneyra da ponte dando lugar a hum riozinho que se mete o muro e o araballde e pera entrarẽ na çidade teem hũa ponte de pedra muito fermosa e a couraça a de ser apegada com esta ponte esta couraça fica sobre esta porta e toma da ponte e a de ter a seruẽtia pra fortaleza mesmo onde se deue apousẽtar o alcaide moor.

Tanto sor que a desembarcação for neste lugar oulhe bẽ q̃ he perto da porta da çidade se se a çidade não rende por se ã tres camellos e derribarão as portas que são duas estão ãbas de duas defronte hũa da outra estas portas sor são foradas de cobre tanto q̃ entrarem irão ter a casa do pochẽçy que he a prinçipal casa que nesta cidade ha que he a casa onde estaa a fazenda do Rey onde se achara muita prata que não teem conto e assi muito ouro e mercadorias / esta casa he a cabeça desta gouernãça porque nesta casa desde pra menhã [f. 125] ate noite nunca se faz senão pesar prata das rendas que de todos os cabos vem na qual casa se porem duzẽtos ou trezentos homẽs com hum capitão que fique posto na çidade ate se a fortaleza fazer / e assi se ha de fazer hũa fortaleza dentro na çidade onde estaa hum outeyro pequeno com hũas igrejas teem em si pedra pera fazer a fortaleza a qual fortaleza ha de ser assentada sobre o muro que Vay pera a banda do norte que he terra firme com hũa terra de quatro sobrados tudo cheo dartelharia que fogue pera o norte e ponente e leuante e assy pa a çidade fiquão todos os cabos resgoardados com esta fortaleza e a çidade metida e sopeada debaixo desta fortaleza na qual fortaleza sor estarão cem homẽs fiqua tã forte a çidade que não pode deçer hũa aue que tenha remedio a fogir os quaes çẽ homẽs sor serão mudados de tres ou quatro meses irẽ sñor darmada fazerem proueito.

Assi sor ir a dar em hũa feitoria que se chama o conchefaa onde sse escaparão mil presos o menos se os mandarĩs os não matarem por averem medo de se na çidade alleuantarẽ e matarem os mandarĩs assi pello conseguinte assi esta chea de prata que tambem ese recolhẽ renda do Rey e as penas dos presos que são em grã maneira mta prata a qual fazenda sor que nesta feitoria estiuer se mudara desta pera a casa do pochecy onde hão de estar estes homẽs por emmentes se fazer a fortaleza recolherem ahi todo o que se tomar e assi irão a outras duas feitorias

do Rey tambem tem muita prata de rendas que se arecadão as quaes duas feitorias se chamão per nome nayhay e põnhaem e se se achar esta fazda toda se passara ao pochençy a se ahy aver de guardar ate tudo ser asentado / serão avisados que se caso for não acharem prata nenhũa e dentro nessos casa que são grandes acharem algum homem seja perguntado por isso que pode ser estar soterrada em lugar que se não ache que por essas çidades que são cõbatjdas [f. 125 v] dos ladrões assi fazem que a soterrão e deixão por a negaça quatro ou çinquo mil tães por não andarem os ladrões buscando tudo que vão dar com ella.

E assi se perguntara sor p̄los gudões do aroz q̃ são sete ou oyto casas onde estão tres mandar̄is pequenos comparaueeis allxes as quaes casas teem em si milhões de milhões de piquos daroz pa a regra dos mandar̄is e assi outra gente o qual aroz se se posserẽ a vender a gente da terra farse ão mais de quarenta mill tãees de prata pollo qual sor se porão trinta homẽs com hum capitão e terem guardado este aroz ate se a çidade e cousas virem assentar sem se deste aroz bollir delle que se caso for s̃nor não ouuer remedio ao presente não acodir aroz nẽ mantimentos de fora moura a gente da çidade toda ha fome / então sor he neco abrirse este aroz e vender este aroz a gente que na çidade estiuer e se caso for valer caro desse algũ tanto de barato por a gente não teer então per onde o mercar que toda a gẽte sor a mais della q̃ nesta çidade viue são todos officiães e mercadores e gente toda q̃ por fazerẽ mercadoria viuem q̃ a gẽte sor que he rica e tem terras viuem p̄los aldeas onde teẽ a suas terras que as terras aqui valem a peso de dinheyro este he o respeito por onde a gente morrera a fome não vindo aroz de fora a vender que se não pode soster esta çidade tres dias que não moura a gente a fome por ser muito o pouo.

olhem bem.

E assi se dara sor deste aroz aos pedreyros e carpintros e ferreiros e trabalhadores que nas fortalezas andarem dando lhe cada dia tres fõs de seu jornal que são dozo r̃s por dia e andarão contentes q̃ aqui os mandar̄is pera seos serujos lhe dão dous fõs e se não trabalhão dã lhe açoutes como palhas pello qual sõres serão estes trabalhadores bẽ pagos sem se do del Rey nosso sor tirar nem gastar hum çeitil [f. 126] somente deste aroz se farão cem fortalezas nesta terra que toda a casa do mandarym teem pedra esteos pera sobrados de torres e de que quiserem tanto quanto não são neçessarios tantos.

E assi sor se mandara logo em breue tapar de pedra e qual todallas portas que vão pera o norte e assi as de ponente e leuante não deixando nesta çidade somente esta porta por onde se sirua a gẽte que ha de vir dar com a fortaleza e o sor capitão moor se tornara a recolher onde se desembarcou com toda a gente saluante os trezẽtos homẽs que ficarão dentro na çidade na casa do pochẽçy / he cousa grande e fechado tudo com a fortaleza com os chaues da çidade se darem de noite a este capitão que ẽ mẽtes que ali estiuer em quanto se fação as fortalezas e polla menhãa serão dadas a quem tiuer cargo de guardar aquella porta e de fechar com de noyte vigiarem e tocarem os atabagues como he vso custume.

E assi sor se ordenara com a gẽte da terra com se repartir e se ordenar hum homem por cabeça da mesma terra tallacõ de muro vigiara a gente que naquellas ruas viuerẽ porque assi he seu custume e istjllo com lhe darem ataballes que tomarẽ nas casas destes mandar̄is p̄la menhãa vierão dar conta como he custume aquelle capitão q̃ estiuer naquella casa tal cabo esta seguro virão outros e tal cabo esta seguro daram as chaues pera abrirẽ a porta cõ sor deixar em seguro o estillo da terra cõ se porẽ de giolhos aos sores capitães e assi toda a outra pa que qualqr cargo tiuer que o custume da terra assi he e não se perqua q̃ a gente he maa e assi p̄lo conseguinte açoutallos como não estiuerẽ prestes ao q̃ são obrigados a fazer doutra manejra sera trabalho soster esta gẽte que os mãdar̄is nunca al fazẽ senão desde polla menhãa ate noite e matar e não podem com elles.

Se caso for sor que poserẽ per hi algũs barcos e com elles [f. 126 v] tirarem saião a tomallos que qualquer gente os tomara como virẽ que saem pera esse proposito não esperão que suas armas não cõsintẽ esperarem a cousa de portugeses as espadas são de feição das nossas obra de tres

palmos ferro morto sẽ terẽ ponta trazem por armas bajos acolchoados hũ capaçete na cabeça feito destanho tirão frechas e não muito bem esta he a sua manra da guerra estes sor que são apremados a ysso que a gente do pouo não o sabe fazer somte fechão as portas e não clurão de mays e soterrarem o que teem de prata que cousas de casa não tem somte hũa mesa vella e hũa cdeyra toda outra cousa de prata soterram.

E isto sor não a gente do pouo não teem cousa nenhũa despada nem frecha somente o pouo quando se recreçe algũ aleuãtamto feçhão as portas e cada hũ se mete em sua casa e a quẽ mais pode a esses obedeçem finalmente sor que esta gente com que os mandarĩs sostẽ a terra he desta maneira a qual conta dou em breue / todo homẽ que he preso he iulgado a morrer onde assi na cadea quatro e cinquo annos vẽ outros mandarĩs e se tẽ o preso prata peita escreuẽ delle ao Rey e os mãderĩs grandes abremno daquella penna que teem e dãolhe degredo pera todo sempre e assi os fos ficão obrigateiros tãbem a este degredo he comparauel sñor a homẽs que em portugal degradão pera as Ilhas o qual homem he comparado a algoz estes homẽs dãolhe cada mes hũ piquo daroz pera Comer em sua casa com sua molher e assi doutros ftos se recreçẽ tambem fazerẽ destes homes degradados estes homẽs desta çidade degradãonos pera outra gouernãça os doutras gouernanças degradão pera esta avera nesta gouernança repartidos pellas çidades, villas e lugares que estão guardãdo as portas e cadeas e andão pellos rios não se aleuãtão [f. 127] pellas çidades treze ate quatorze mil homẽs / nesta çidade estarão continuadamente tres mil homẽs guardando as portas da çidade com capitães pło qual não ha malauar que não peleje com quorenta destes homẽs e todos os matara que o seu geito todo he como molheres não ha nelles estamago somente apupadas com esta gente sostem os mandarĩs esta terra que he o mundo.

Pello qual tanto que a frota se fizera vella pera vir pera esta çidade não ha mandarim que na çidade aguarde a frota no rio os mandarĩs deitarse ão pollas portas fora nisto não ha duuida nenhũa senão ser assi no mo deste rio esta hũa igreja dos chĩs aq̃l esta na frontaria no meyo da çidade sera tamanha como a fortaleza de calequu a qual esta ja feita em hũa fortaleza somte erguerẽ o muro e fazerem lhe torres o qual se deue de fazer hũa fortaleza forte de torres ou baluartes porque estando esta fortaleza ally com viute ou trinta homẽs he estar o rio e tudo degollado porque daly ha de iulgar a artelharia pera todas as bãdas assi pera a çidade como pello rio açima como pło rio abaixo o fundamto que se da jndia ha de trazer artelharia que cõ qualbuer gente farão facanhas.

Como for assentada a gẽte na çidade logo em breue não se passando mais que dous ate quatro dias se tomarão paraos e se conçertarão logo ẽ fustas se trouxerem e irão pło rio açima com leuarẽ soma de artelharia irão queimando quãtos paraos e juncos e cousas se achar de villas e lugares fazendose grandes estroyçÕes sem ficar cousa nenhũa ao presẽte por por espanto na gente que ainda q̃ de çima venhão os mandarĩs grandes com algũa gente que se não ache embarcação nenhũa nem achẽ mantimentos nenhũs pera a gente [f. 127 v] comer quanto mais eu creo que não ha de deçer nenhũ nem pode porque se deixarem laa os ladrões ão se daleuãtar pella terra e am de vir roubando e matando o mundo todo como souberẽ que esta çidade he tomada que se podem aqui vir acolher e emborilhada a terra de maneira que apellida toda que logo se ha gente ha de aleuãtar pła gouernança e não ha dauer manderim que no mateem pło qual a guerra se faça cruamente per onde quer que puderem assi que todas estas tres gouernanças el Rey da China ha de perder conuẽlhe fazer conçerto cõ os seos capitães não se pode soster nem a terra mantar nẽ andar gouernada nem pagarẽ direytos ao Rey porque nẽ podẽ semear nem se pode fazer mercadoria pło qual fazendose conçerto façase muito a prouejto del Rey nosso sor que lhe dara el Rey da China hũa nao carregada de prata cadanno por se não emburilharem todas quinze gouernanças ou se demouer e assi se fara mercadoria como era dantes.

E assi sor pła Ilha da viniaga faz o caminho pera quatro ou çinco çidades mesmo desta gouernança e muita vas e pouoações de ma legoa em comprida com muito pouo as quaes çidades são grandes e de gente riqua e de muita seda e todo o ferro e estanho dally vem e assi sor que he grãde trato que o Rey trata cõ esta sor que tem nelle grande renda as quaes çidades estão ao

longo da costa cõ o mar nellas se bater que darão estas çidades quanta renda o rey tem na terra a el Rey nosso sor e assi obedeçerão por não serem estruidas e por o pouo se não ver perdido e não consentirão mandarim da terra que os gouerne somente por fazerem partido que sejão os seus capitães contentes com darem a metade das rendas a el Rey nosso sor que não [f. 128] ha çidade que não de corẽta çinquoenta mill cruzados cada anno / não digo de villas que as villas assi o ão de fazer que darão segundo a renda vinte mill e trinta mill cruzados de parias e darão hũa nao de prata a el Rey nosso sor sẽ nesta terra se gastar hum ceitill del Rey nosso sor senão leuarão pera a India se fazerem os gastos e cargos de naos pa portugal.

Estas çidades podem ir a ellas em todo tempo assi no inuerno como no verão tudo em hũ porque tudo ha de ser galees formosas e fustas e nauios cousa de remo e tudo se nauega p͞los rios e per antre jlhas que aqui os chĩs todo o anno nauegão / assi pera hum cabo como pera outro / e a gouernãça deste cantão e de foquem per hi parte com hũa çidade destas que se chama coicheufa da gouernança de foquem esta logo hũa çidade que sẽ chama camcheu he çidade fermosa e a grande esta estaa no mar he cousa riqua da seda e tafetas e de cãfera e muito sal e de grande trafega e tem em si grande numero de iuncos com todo tpõ podem hir e vir que desta çidade em todo tempo vão e poẽ .xv. xx. dias por este caminho da Ilha este he fermoso caminho por auer muitos villas e pouoações tãbem tem outro braço antre esta terra de Cantão por onde vão e tambem bom caminho por todas estas cousas se perguntara aos Chĩs e tem outros muitos rios per onde vão a outros lugares.

Assi sor por essa banda desse cõljay onde ora estaes estão tres çidades as quaes se chamão per nome hũa loycheu outra lencheu outra quancheu são la mais metidas pera dentro pera o braço do mar que se mete antre as Ilhas daynão [f. 128 v] vem dar nestas çidades cõ daredor terẽ muitas Vas e pouoações e são grandes çidades de muitas rendas e tambem teem algũ aljofre as quaes per força ão de obedeçer ao poder del Rey nosso sor e não pode consentir mandarĩs do Rey somente se for por conçerto do que os seus capitães fizerẽ o qual per força darão tres terços da renda a el Rey nosso sor e hum terço a el Rey da China por não se queimarem nem destruirem estas çidades e villas que tudo esta a mão poderem fazer quinhentos e seis centos homẽs com trinta ou corenta villas tudo de fustas que artelharia ha de fazer a guerra.

Pollo qual nesta cidade que se chama quancheufu tem grandes serrarias e nestas serrarias se recolhẽ grande soma de ladrões e derão ja duas vezes nesta çidade e a roubarão toda os quaes ladrões como souberem da tomada desta çidade ão de deçer e am de dar della que não tẽe então quẽ a gouerne q̃ os mandarĩs ão de fogir e assi em villas e lugares ão de roubar e matar ate que os seus capitães não ponhão nisto prouisão não teem este pouo sem virem pedir socorro ao sor capitão moor com pedirẽ portugeses que vão gouernar aquella terra não se damnifique dos ladrões que o pouo não teem defensão somente o mais do pouo meterẽse de companhia a roubarem que o mais da gẽte he gẽte de vento desamarrada toda de mercadoria cousa de vento assi como sor hi ha gẽte riqua asi ha hi gẽte que não pode alcançar de comer esta he a rezão por tudo são ladrões.

Pello qual sor tanto que esta çidade estiuer forte com forta[f.129]lezas nos lugares q̃ compre e da india Vier gente em todas estas çidades que estiuerem abordadas ao mar e com os rios se fara em cada çidade hũa fortaleza forte onde se ponhão hum capitão com çinquẽta homẽs pera gouernar a terra e recolher as rendas pera el Rey nosso sor com a gente da terra mesmo / os quaes portugeses que ahi estiuerem ão de ter de todos cargo e hão de ser todos riquos, q̃ ha de ser p͞lo estillo da terra estes Chĩs ão de ser fieys como sõr forem amansados cõ os portugeses e assi em Vas se farão tambem fortalezas com sẽpre ser tudo corrido cõ fustalha ora ir e vir quanto mais gente quanto mais proueito tãto mais se ha de ir alcãçãdo.

De prinçipio sor se meta o ferro nelles e o fogo altamto porq̃ assi se querẽ os inimigos de prinçipio e tanto que o sor Capitão mor vier pera entrar no rio seja destroido este lugar que se chama nãto onde estão capitães da guerra cõ obra de dous mil homẽs destes·degradados que por ser frontaria e per estrangeiros ali virem de mercadoria estão ahi nesse lugar algũs iuncos seja

todo tomado e queimado esse lugar todo ardido em fogo que a gente que ahi estaa não ha desperar / e assi vindo pera çima ao longo da costa estaa hũa pouoação de gente o qual mandarão os bateis quejmar e tomarão paraos bõos e se teuerem iũcos queimẽnos não queimando os paraos que são suffiçiẽtes pera correrem rios cõ elles e assi vindo mais pª diante onde esta hũa ilha que se chama aynãcha se tomarão pescadores que sabẽ a entrada da barra a qual ylha he pouoada recolhe em si muitos iuncos irão os bateis [f. 129 v] e fustas queimar os iuncos se não forem fogidos e assi ha mtos paraos não desbaratẽ estes paraos que de prinçipio hão de ser muito neçessarios que todo parao destes pode trazer tres berços e çinco s seis homẽs portugeses não contando remeiros tudo isto sñor sera estroido porque fique tudo limpo que as naos que na barra ficarem ficara tudo seguro e yrão e virão os bateis cada vez que neçessario for sem receo de nenhũ cabo lhe ser feito periuizo irão e virão olhãdo sor tudo fica resguardado não se pode errar em cousa nenhũa como pera estes termos e de Christouão Vra se regerẽ seja sor tudo bem visto não se saindo do que aqui diz tudo seja estroido não fiquem esses inimigos nas costas.

Desta gouernança sor como fortalezas e tudo foy assẽtado irão a foquem que he gouernãça sobre sy que he cousa boa de seda e mercadorias no qual se corre todo anno irão e virão e todas as çidades e vas estão chegadas ao mar como for hũa armada de galees e fustas ate corenta ou mais em que andem seis çentos ou sete çentos homẽs farão por aly facanhas em que farão tudo tributario a el Rey nosso sor todas estas çidades e villas cõ cadanno trazerẽ de parias hum nauio carregado de prata não podem menos fazer por se não destruir e perder a terra per conçerto am de partir as rendas pľo mo com el Rey nosso sor que nesta gente não ha nenhũa defensão como ouuirem rogir hũa bombarda ão se de ir por nos outejros e oulhar o que querem fazer os portugeses olhese quanta riqueza sem se trazer nem se gastara somente leuarem [f. 130] limpamente pera portugal outra india se alcançara e de tanto proueito e per tempo muito mais que recreçera mais gente e assi irão alcançando mais e sogigarão mais e assi todolos portugeses muito riquos que a terra o confẽte assi se ã de hir a esta foquem pera a banda da Ilha donde farão mercadorias por onde desta çidade gouernança são çidades e Vas e lugares e pouoaçoẽs e assi de foquem com esta frota tudo se corre assi desta Cantão a terra e assi a de foquẽ tudo sor de hum ferro fazão logo tributario e farse ão grandes destruições em queimarem iuncos que estes foquẽ tem numero de milhões delles e assi em porẽ as proas das galees e fustas nas çidades as bombardadas ainda que venha pedir mĩa não os deixão sor de principio a saber o que podem fazer o poder del Rey nosso sor na terra pera lhes virem as pareas redondas sem refusarẽ ẽ nenhũ tempo do que os seos capitães ordenarẽ ão de ter pera isto conhecimento do que lhe podem fazer.

Assi sor ao mar deste foquem estão os lequeos que cadanno vendẽ mercadoria a patane e soyão em tempo do rey de malaca ir a malaca são muitas ilhas e onde esta o rey he hũa ylha muito grande e não pode sor ser menos porque a gẽte he limpa e fazem iuncos muy grandes as quaes ylhos tẽ muito ouro e cobre e ferro e muitas mercadorias que ha em malaca e patane que trazem e teem damascos e seda muita e porçollanas desta gouernãça de foquem a tomarem as primeiras ilhas são tres dias de golfão estes lequeos vem cada dia fazer mercadoria cõ esta terra de foquẽ e de foquem vão escondidamente [f. 130 v] la a fazer mercadoria no q̃l por tempo podem ir com elles fazer mercadoria e elles virem aqui fazer mercadoria e se via sor teçendo o trato nesta çidade de toda parte de pacẽ e patane e o pão de syam se fara aqui outra casa da India que esta terra tem grande neçessidade deste pão de syã agora val aqui muito / outras mercadorias escusarse ão / este pão não.

Sejão sor estas cartas mostradas aos sores capitães mores não se emcubrão sor que se jorge aluarez amostrara as cartas que leuaua ao sor dom esteuão e de nos souberão eu confio que não estiueramos aqui nesta cadea ou uiuos ou mortos em dous annos ou o sor gouernador ouuera de mandar ou de malaca se ouuera de ordenar cousa por onde nos daqui tirarão porque se faz mo seruįo a el Rey nosso sor buscarse todollos remedios pera nos daqui sor tirarem por tanto eu confio sor em sua merçe com estas leuar não se esperar de portugal a el Rey nosso sor ordenar a vinda a esta terra somente sua merçe acaballo com o sor gouernador na jndia pois que

tamanhos desejos el Rey teem desta terra tellos desejos não erra el Rey n. sor somẽte estamos espantados como não vẽe poder sobre esta terra aver tantos annos não sabemos a rezão assi sor de hũa maneira ou doutra com seis naos como em outras cartas se verá se pode tudo acabar sor sendo sobre nossa soltura.

De hũa maneira ou doutra q̃ sor vierẽ tãto que esse porto chegarem logo fação os jurabaças as cartas sobre nos não mandẽ sor matar pedindo nos muy altamente que a yso vẽe [f. 131] assi se causa for vir cousa grande assi se ponha nesse porto a nos pedir muito rijo que estes mandarĩs de nos sor teem o reçeo que sabemos a terra esse he o respeito porque nos não soltão e nos tẽe nesta cadea sendo a mais forte que ha nesta çidade não posso sor escreuer mais largo por que tenho a mão doẽte de chagas que me arebentarão e por não ser mais neçessario que cristouão Vieyra nunca deixa descreue todallas mais cousas / feita nesta cadea do Anchã as dez luas e tantos dias de outobro rogando a nosso sor q̃ vos guarde e vos queira sor leuar a saluamento como sua merçee deseja.

Seruj^or de sua merçee / V^co Caluo.

Ese homẽ sñor quẽ sua merçee traz por guia he homẽ honrrado foy homem que teue fazenda esteue muito tempo preso e liurouse e foy degradado e teue maneyra como se foy a Malaca he sor homẽ digno de lhe ser feita honrra e he homẽ sufficiẽte pera esta terra seja lhe sor em Malaca dado mantimento e ao jurabaça que são necessarios.

sñor.

Esta gouernança de Cantão sera de sua obrigação em roda de duzentas legoas bem feitas çidades e villas e pouoações tudo esta assentado em terra chãa metjdas p̄los rios armadas as casas em madeyra a gouernãça de foquem he mais pequena teem menos duas çidades [f. 131v] sera de sua obrigação em Roda cento e sesenta legoas he cousa muito boa e assi as çidades e villas assentadas do theor deste Cantão estas duas folhas em que estão estas gouernanças não se desapegarão porque dizem com estas cousas que aqui vão escritas.

Eu sor tenho o liuro de todas quinze gouernanças cada gouernãça qantas çidades tẽ e vas e outros lugares tudo escripto largamte e o modo e manra que se tẽ em toda a terra e do regimto della como de todo o mais e çidades como estão assentadas e outros lugares e assi proueitos del Rey n. sor esta hum homẽ estudando eu sor sey leer escreuo a letra da terra que estou doente e vejo os Chĩs e tomo a letra.

Esta folha sor debuxada estaa a gouernãça de Cantão toda a qual significa os rios as çidades que são dez todas per seu nome ao pe dessa folha ẽ hũa çidade q̃ se chama Aynão q̃ quando vẽ pera este porto fica a mão esquerda tudo são Ilhas como ahi sor vereis nos quaes Ilhas esta hũa populosa çidade e tres cheos que são abaixo da çidade e dez Vas q̃ cada va he mayor que a çidade deuora dez vezes mais gẽte outra va onde estão capitães de guerra como são esses que ẽ vossa guarda estão destas Ilhas a esta çidade de Cantão avera cinquoenta ou sesenta legoas.

Pollo sor são quinze grandes çidades e mto grandes pouoações he cousa rica de grandes rendas e de palmares e arequas por respeito destes arequaes e palmares he a milhor cousa que ha na terra da China onde se pese ao aljofre todo em outra parte não no ha saluante nessas [f. 132] ylhas as quaes Ilhas sor partem da banda do sul con o reino de Cauchim e desta terra de Cantão pera irẽ la metese hum braço de mar com bom vento passasse em hum dia e Ruj vento dia e noyte.

Pollo qual sor feita fortaleza nesta çidade estas çidades são logo leuantadas e a mais da gẽte andarem a roubar e matarẽ a hũ e a outros porque não ha de ter quem a gouerne nẽ a quẽ obedeçer porque ão de matar os mandarĩs ou fogirem que a gente he muito pobre e maltratada dos mandarĩs quẽ gouernão.

Estas Ilhas e çidades não tẽe sor nenhũa maneira de socorro fazendosse hũa fortaleza na principal çidade com quinhẽtos homẽs estantes nella e com muita fustalha que corra o braço do mar com outros quinhẽtos homẽs ficão sometidas a obedeçerẽ a el Rey nosso sor porque do geito com as rendas

que sohião a pagar ao Rey destas çidades destas Ilhas tirarse ha grande riqueza em grão manra como a terra assẽtar que são as rendas muy grandes.

Deueis saber sor que mais foy tomarse Goa do que sera tomarem estas çidades e sogigarem por respeito da gẽte ser muito fraca em grão maneira e não teem lealdade cõ Rey nẽ com pay nem may não andão senão com quem pode mais que cousa tam boa se deixa dalcançar assi pollo cõseguinte teem grão copia de gimgibre esta gouernãça teem muito gemgibre muito bom e canella não he muito fina.

Pollo qual sor deixo esta substancia deste Aynão [f. 132 v] torno sñor a esta cidade de Cantão que he a cabeça desta gouernança ·/· estão aqui os mandarĩs grandes todos os ftos da iustiça aqui vem despachar rendas pło conseguinte he fermosa e populosa çidade he cousa muito a mão pera o poder del Rey n. sor nella fazer cousas facanhosas estaa do geito da çidade de Lixa hum galeam que nesta çidade entrara fara render porque mete a çidade debaixo de sy não avera homẽ que apareça como artelharia tirar não auera homem que apareça nem quem gouerne gente nem menos a cidade.

Vinda hũa frota com tres mil homẽs farão hũa fortaleza na çidade tomandoa por el Rey n. sor a qual fortaleza farão onde Christouão Vieyra escreue com hũa couraça que venha sobre a porta de tres ou quatro sobrados que sogigue a metade da çidade farão dentro na cidade hũa fortaleza em hum outeyro onde estao hũas igrejas dos Chĩs a qual fortaleza sera do geito da de Calecu tomara sobre o muro da çidade que vay pera a banda do norte com hũa torre grande que jogue pera aquella banda e fica a çidade toda sometida debaixo no qual lugar a pedra madeyra e telha pera fazerem duas fortalezas com os pedreyros da terra e seruj**ores** como areas pła praya do mar estarão nesta fortaleza atee çem homẽs e as chaues da çidade de noita darse ão ao capitão desta fortaleza as portas que vão da banda do norte e do leuante ponente serão fechadas a seruintia sera pera a banda do rio.

Com fazerem porteiros em cada porta hum portuges e çinquoenta homẽs da terra que tenhão cargo da porta esta gente a solda da cada dia dous fõs a sera de pagada que sera pło estillo da terra o de saber quẽ entra na çidade e o que vem fazer e ha de hir pollas e chaues polla menhãa a fortaleza que esta dentro na çidade.

Pera çima desta çidade onde se fazem dous rios se fara hũa fortaleza feita de muralhas altas com muita artelharia com duzẽtos [f. 133] homẽs e fustalha que se dizem algũa gente que lhe terão sor Rio não tem pera onde possão vir a esta çidade pło qual sor he mais de soster Goa do que sera soster esta gouernança e allem del Rey n. sor aver grande riqueza toda a outra gente ha de ser riqua porque a terra da lugar a tudo płos muitos cargos que na terra hão de ter.

Pollo qual sor de prinçipio averse a destes paraos da terra grãdes que são suffiçientes pera ysso e correrão quantos rios por hi ouuer e queimarão quantos barcos acharem e iuncos como isto ao presente for queimado e destruido a fome morrerão que não teem por onde lhe venhão mantimentos e se algum caminho teem não ousão de andar por elle por respeito que tudo são ladrões no mundo se não achara terra de riqueza e pera someter debaixo do poder senão esta e não muito poder e se o poder for grande quãto mais riqueza se alcançara.

De prinçipio sor serão altamente castigados com artelharia que fallando agora nella metem o dedo na boca despantados de cousa tam forte por respeito de ser gente que não teem estamago e desque naçe ate que morre não toma na mão senão hũa faca sem ponta pera cortarem de comer saluãte sor a gẽte que trazem a soldadada que andão guardando com esses capitães os portos e rios de ladrões e por se não fazerẽ iuncos grandes por se não aleuantar o pouo a fazerẽ ladrões porque viuem em grande sogeição como Christouão Vra da conta nessas cartas que escreue em que se da a conta sor toda.

Pollo qual sor se fara nesta çidade outra casa da India não trazendo de portugual saluante daqui leuarem nao carregada de prata e ouro pera na India fazerem cargo das naos pera portugal e se fazer o gasto na India daqui ira cobre [f. 133 v] salitre chumbo pedra Vme estopa cabres todo o ferro pregadura breo todas estas cousas são tanto em abastança que he pera espantar aqui se fara toda armada que na India se ouuer mister galees galiões naos ha madeira muita carpinteiros da terra

muitos como bichos e assi ferreiros pedreyros telheiros outros offiçiaes e pera espantar não ha portuges nenhum de por mão em pedra nem em pao pera se fortaleza fazer.

Toda pimẽta de pacẽ de pedir patane oanda se fara hũa grande feitoria de riqueza aqui como a terra asentar porão a pimemta em quinze dezaseis tãis que ninguem não ha de tratar com ella somente el Rey nosso sor e assi sor todallas mercadorias de Syão tomarão ·/· pão e darlhe ão outras mercadorias porque a feitoria ha destar chea de mercadoria da terra e assi a mercadoria dessas partes farse a numero de riqueza e a gente darmas não lhe neçessario tratar com estas mercadorias porque a terra he tamanha e de tamanhos proueitos que se çem mil homẽs ouuer todos terão cargo e todos são pŀo estillo da terra de peitas e dadiuas muito grandes.

Daqui sor correrão na gouernança de foquem aq̄l gouernança teem oito çidades e setenta Va pouações de tres mil vezinhos se não folla saluante cousa de muros pŀo qual se corre com sul tornara quando quiserem que sempre teem moução que entrão por rios pollo qual sor daqui se ordenara capitão moor com trinta vellas ·/· galees fustas tudo cousa de remo e algum galeão e de pareas por estas çidades Vas pouoações trarão galees carregados de riqueza com seis çentos homẽs se fara tudo isto.

Porque sor toda a çidade por conçerto pagara corenta çinquoenta [f. 134] mill tãos de prata as villas vinte trinta mill tães e leuarão mercadorias e trarão mercadoria estas pareas por respeito de não destruirem a terra e desse não aleuantar o pouo com a gouernança matando mandarĩs e roubarem nas feitorias del Rey que todas estao cheas de prata ·/· toda a çidade tem feitoria mandarim grande outros tres que gouernão e teem cargo de justa toda a Va ha feitoria he cousa boa esta gouernãça e correrão polla costa cosul com pilotos da terra irão logo dar na gouernança de chaqueam que teem onze çidades e oytenta villas he muy riqua gouernança de muitas e grãdes rendas teem muita prata e muita seda com seis çẽtos sete çentos homẽs trarão a frota carregada de prata tudo de pareas esta costa de foquem sor estao as Ilhas dos lequeos tres dias de caminho de foquem são muitas e são riquas de muito ouro e cobre ferro vem cada dia fazer mercadoria a esta terra de foquem esta gente em tp̄o do Rey de Malaca hião a malaca fazer mercadoria e agora vão a patane / estas Ilhas dos lequeos he cousa boa e assi que cousa grande estão ao mar deste foquem tres dias de caminho muito ouro muitas mercadorias vem fazer cada dia mercadoria a esta terra soyão de hir a malaca no tempo do Rey della agora vem a patane fazer mercadoria tambem gasta mta pimenta.

Martim Affonso de Mello sor vinha bem ordenado pera faẑ paz e nos tirar e fazer fortaleza em tal lugar dauão mal enformação a el Rey nosso sor acabara tudo porque trazia embaixor e vinha pŀo que aqui estaua quis a mofina de muitos q̃ se fizesse tamanho desarranjo como se fez ẽ mãdar assi dous nauios com homẽs mançebos que se não virão nunca [f. 134 v] em nada pŀo qual sor cada nauio tiraua pera seu cabo quando tanta copia de iuncos virão desmancho forão dar co nauio de Diogo de Mello sem lhe tirarem bombardada nem homẽ tirar espada da bainha fazendo zombaria que se armasẽ pera os Rumes Pedro homem socorria a Diogo de mello foise meter ẽtre os iuncos sem tirar bombardada os juncos sor erão altarosos as pedradas os tomarão matarão Po homem e Dio de mello nos nauios e outros homẽs e a outra gente trouxerão a esta cadea a trjbulados como deos sabe estiuerão assi hum anno as vezes açoutados deste tronquo que tem cargo destas cadeas esperauão os mandarĩs que viessem portugeses que pasou a moução leuarão nos a matar fazendo feas justiças nelles.

O mundo todo sor não era bastante a tomar hum nauio noso quanto mais dous se lhe amostrarão os dentes estiue meu hirmão sor nesse porto tres meses cercado com manter mais que dez ou doze homẽs sem o poderem entrar porque lhe amostraua os dentes e se foy como sor la sabereis ficandolhe nesta çidade a gente presa em meu poder passãte de dez mil tães tudo me foy tomado pŀo qual me saluou Ds̃ por respeito desta fazenda.

Pollo qual sor se o sor gouernador deixar assi estar esta gouernança em tanta bonança sem aver algũa detremenação sobre a vinda bem se pode ordenar de malaca e de paçẽ çinque vellas bem armadas e com mercadorias a nos pedirem cõ fazerẽ cortes do theor que vay nas cartas de Christouão Vieyra e farse ão tres cartas ao çeuy pachençy anchaçy asta o que a ysso as manda a el Rey n. sor opŀ

embaixor e gente que tem nas cadeas que ha vinte annos [f. 135] que são nesta terra sem o Rey nem os mandarĩs os despacharem e se os não quiserem dar avera el Rey n. sor outro conselho tanto que chegarem os mandarão estes mandarĩs que guardão o porto e que trazem mercadoria se a quiserem fazerẽ e pagarão seus direytos como erão de prinçipio e se quiserem vir a esta çidade estruıla hão toda cõ artelharia e lhe porão fogo que entrão as casas no Rio e de madeyra assi na çidade como de fora sem aver quem a defenda não a hi quem aguarde a cousa de frange.

Pedindonos sempre em todos as cartas que se fizerem seja a primra materia por nos afogarem que teem grãde reçeo de nos daremos em forção da terra porque como nos deixarem de pedir hum pouco logo nos hão de afogar que de nos estão temorizados.

Se caso for sor que pareça bẽ ordenar embaixor não oulhãdo o que he feito na terra que o pago o sor gouernador lho dara os mandarĩs o reçeberão com presente de chamalotes e veludos e grandes panos darmar bargantes que tenhão veados e coelhos se qdo se acharem não se metendo cousa de aves no presente porque não folgão com ysso espelhos grandes coral sandallo cousas que pareção bem.

Isto sor seja oulhado se farão nisso os seus capitães serujo a el Rey nosso sor neste tempo todo fazer a mercadoria em quanto for o embaixador ao Rey e vier estas cartas são escritas redobradas porque se se perderẽ hũas que fiquem sempre outras.

[f. 135 v] Que o geito da terra he chamarẽ ao seu Rey fo de Ds̃ e ha terra chamão terra de Deos e toda outra gente de fora da terra chamão saluagẽs que não conheçem ds̃ nem terra e que todo o embaixor que vem a sua terra que vam obedeçer ao fo de Ds̃ e outras vaidades sor que he mta leitura eu como sor digo estou do corpo muito cibado de pontadas e dores e não me da lugar a escreuer com pena nossa senão com pena china não se podendo fazer mais declarada letra Christouão Vra escreue com pena nossa porque esta em boa disposjção feita nesta çidade de Cantão dentro nas cadeas enfernaes a dez dias de nouembro na era de /1536/ annos encõmendãdouos a nosso sor vos leue desta China como desejão vossas merçes.

Quando sor se escreuẽ estas estou eu sempre em vigia se vem algum Chim não nos topẽ a escreuer que dos mesmos nossos moços sor nos guardamos porque andão mais deitados aos Chĩs que com nosco.

De todallas cartas que sor chegarẽ escreuer chagarão tãtas cartas não se faça mais leitura sobre isso que tendes mto que escreuer sor ao que homẽ pergunta.

Toda a carta grande e pequena sejão guardadas sem se romper nenhũa nem perder das que forem pera ysso.

Vasco Caluo.

(To be continued.)

THE WRECK OF THE "DODDINGTON," 1755.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 456.)

Observations on Bird Island.

THE First thing we did was to Seek Some Cloaths for we Were perishing with Cold and Several, so Bruis'd, that they Could not Stirr. As Soon as we got things to Cover us, the Next thing was to look for Water which we Found in a Butt That drove from the Ship, and as we Were all Very drowthy With the Salt Water we Swallow'd drank very hearty. We then went to work to gett a fire and As I had Often heard that Rubbing two peices of Sticks together will fire them Was going to try the Experiment, when on of the people Found a Barrell of powder with the Head out, Notwithstanding Some of it was dry. This gave Some

Encouragement, to look for Utensills and Soon After Found a Small **Escrutore**[23] with 2 Gun Flints and a File in it with Which we Soon kindled a fire This gave us all great Spirits and Indeed I thought the People would Never think they had Candles Enough, a light [a] Box of which was Found with the Escrutore. The people who Were most wounded got Round the Fire and the Rest of us Made A Tent Over them. By the Time this was Done it was Noon and Hunger Put us in Mind of Something to Eat. We gather'd up some pork that was Wash'd On the Rocks and Broile,d Some Rashers for dinner. As Soon as dinner was Over I with those that was Able to Walk went upon the Wreck to See for Something to Subsist On. We Saw Several things Such as Flower, Beer, Wine, and Water but had not strength to get them up, so that all we Could do that Day, was to gett Some Canvass of which we made another Tent, not having Room Enough in the Other for us all. The Wind Southerly and Blows Very Hard And Threatens a Dirty Night and Indeed it proved so Bad that we Got little Rest being half Leg deep in the Tent all Night, it being rised upon Foulsdung[24] I apprehend that on the Spring Tides and Strong Gales it Near Overflows [the Island]. I Shall add no More to this days Work then that I declare never Wrote a More disagreeable One.

Friday 18 July. The Wind Easterly with Frequent Showers of Rain as Soon as it Was day Light all those that were able to Stir went Upon the Wreck in Order to Save Water and what provisions we Could Find to last us the Time we Should Stay Here, which I thought Could not be less than a Month if those that were well Stay'd for them that was Sick ; besides we all Agree^d the longer We Stay'd there the Better it Would be for Travelling as the Summer Season Advanced. I went To the places Where I Saw the Beer and things Yesterday, but to my Great Disappointment found the Sea had Stov'd them all in the Night except a Cask of Beer Which we got up. But in looking About found a Small Cask of Flower, which we Also got up. We Lickwise Discover'd Some Butts of water, which we Endeavoure'd to get up but Could not, for those who Escape'd favourable Are Still Very Weak, And the Cries of the poor souls, that is Hurt are the most Melancholly I Ever heard. While We Were Endeavouring to gett the Butt of Water up the Tide Flow'd and Put a Stop to our Work. The Day being far Spent went to Dinner on Some Salt pork as before. We had no Sooner Satt Down than Every body began to bewail his Ragg'd and Deplorable Condition most thinging[25] they should Never be Able To Travel so far as the Cape of Good Hope or Delagoe, which is the Only two Places there is any Hopes of Finding of Relief. **Mr. Collett** was Consulting which Was the Best way to go, Saying he Thought the Cape the Nearest. I Answer'd I wish we Could find Some Tools, As the Carpenter was Saved might Build a Boat, and from that Time Nothing was Talk'd of but the Boat, Which gave New life to us all, and before we got up from dinner it was Agreed On; That a Boat was the Only thing that would preserve us from perishing. Upon Which Some Immediatly went in Search of Tools, and Others to mend the Tent better and it is with great Reluctance I end this days Work without Finding any Tooles except one of the ships Scrapers.

Saturday 19th July. Wind W^terly and Fair Wea^r Early this Morning. Muster^d all the people I Could to gett up the Water and Succeeded So well that we got 4 Butts into Safety Before Dinner and Afterwards a Cask of Brandy and Another off Flower, with Severall Other Necessarys at the Same Time. Every Body was Very Diligent in Search of Tools but Found None. Notwithstanding do Not despair Being of Opinion the great Sea that was Continually Rowling in must Certainly Bring Some On Shore Out of the Great Number, in the Ship. Gott up our little Boat [w^ch] Was Always Stow'd upon the Poop on Board the Ship and Came on shore without being Stove. Lickwise Found a Firkin of Butter, and a Barrell of Powder. Some of the People

[23] This word in the forms Scretore, Scritoire, Screwtore, *etc.*, meant a portable writing case or desk.

[24] The following line is scored through and rendered illegible.

[25] So in MS.

that had taken a Walk Round the Island, Came to me upon The Wreck, with the most Pittifull Countenance ever I beheld, and Said the Side of the Island Next the Main was full as bad as this Side; therefore it was Impossible to [get]a Boat [off] without Staving her to peices. I must Own the Pittifull Manner they Told me this Peice of News Damp'd my Spirits at first but Recovering, told them Not to be Disheartne'd, that with Gods Assistance and Our Own Endeavours Should Overcome all Difficultys and as Soon as that I Went Round my Self, hope'd Should bring them Better News. After we got What Things We Were Able, Some of the People went And Gather'd Some **Limpitts and Muscles** of Which there is Great Plenty, tho not So good as in England. The Shell of the Muscle is Very Large and the Fish Vastly Small and Yellow. The Limpitts Are Very Large but so Tough, That we Could Scarce Eat them. I Endeavoured To Perswade the people the Reason of their being Tough, was Owing to Roasting Them, and as Soon as we Found a Kettle to Boil them, Should Find Them Excelent Food.

Sunday 20th July. Wind and Wear. as pr. day past, had a Very Successfull Day. Sett Out Early in the Morning and no Sooner got on the Wreck than One of the People Found my Quadrant, and another Almost Whole and a Hamper with Several Sail Needles Files and Gimblets; also the Card of an Azimuth Compass. Soon After I Discover'd part of the Ships Transom — with a Chest of Treasure on it Markd and Number'd Vizt (V E / I C) I A No. 5. Lickwise a Carpenters Chissell and Three Sword Blades. Another pickt up a Carpenters Adze and a Mariners Compass Rectified Which Gave the People Greater Spirits than Any thing Since we have been Here. About 10 o Clock we Went to Prayers to Return God Thanks for his Mercies, which as Soon as we had Done, went to dinner. All the Time We Were together our Discourse was About Building the Boat and the Difficulty of Launching her. Therefore as Soon as I had Dine'd and Sett the People to Work to get up a Butt of Water Mr. Collett and My Self went to See if we Could Find a place To Launch our Intended Boat, as There is Nothing else can prevent us from Building One, having now got Some Tools, and make no doubt, Shall get Timber And Planks Enough of from the Wreck. It was not Long before we Found a Place, where there was Some probability of Getting the Boat of, tho it will Require Great Labour, to Clear it of the Rock Stones. We Walke'd round the Island Looking every Where but found no place so good as the First when We Returned the People had gott up a Butt of Water a Hogshead of Beer and One of Cyder and was at Work Making a Tent large Enough to Hold us all. I Told them of Our Success and the Illconveniancy that Attended it. They Were Greatly Rejoyce'd and Said they Should not Mind the Trouble. I Took a Turn With Some of the People upon the Wreck again, and Found a Smiths Bellows, Which we got up and Part of the Companys Packett. tho almost Wash'd to Peices. However it was Taken Care of and put to dry, the First Opportunity.

Monday July 21st. The Wind Westerly and pleasant Wear Sett [out] this Morning With great Spirits and before Dinner got up 5 Butts of water 2 Hogsheads of Brandy And One Cask of Vinagar which was all we Could Find at That Time; also Looked Every where for Tools, But Found None. The Carpenter Employd. Making a Saw Out of a Sword Blade. Find the People Recover Surprizingly, Considering they Have Nothing to Apply to Their Wounds.

Tuesday July 22d. Wind at S W blows very hard which Makes a Large Surf. Went upon the Wreck at Day Light in Search of Provisions for as Yet we have not Enough to Last us the Time, the Boat will be a Building. Found One Cask of Pork Another of water which we got up Immediatly. Afterwards Went to Work to Carry Plank and Timber to Build the Boat, Sails to Cover the Tent, and Cordage. I and **Mr. Collett** Took a Turn Round the Island Again, and the Wind being to the Southward, Makes The Place we Pitched Upon

Yesterday for Launching the Boat, the Lee part of the Island, therefore Much Smoother and Now Make no Doubt of Getting her Safe in a Calm Day. Upon Our Return Found the Carpenter had Finishe'd the Saw, which Cutts Very Well the People are all Upon the Wreck looking for Water and provissions, Except **Two Deans**[26] on of Which Says he Served 2 Years of his Time to a Smith and Promises Great Things in Regard to Making of Tools. Therefore Sett Them to Work To Mend the Bellows. This Evening Discovere'd a Smoke on the Main, Which Made Us of Some Thoughts of Going Over as Soon as Our little Boat is Repair'd. The People Returned from the Wreck without any Success than What's Mentione'd.

Wednesday 23d. Wind and Wear as pr day past. The People Employ'd in the Morning Carrying Plank and Timber lickwise Some Sails and Cordage, the Carpenter getting What Few Tools he has in Readiness for begining the Boat as Soon as he is Able to Stand having his Great Toe almost Out of with the Rocks in Coming on Shore. The Man who, for the future I shall Call Smith, Making his Forge. In the Afternoon it Rain'd so hard that it Sett our Tent all Afloat, Therefore Carry'd no Plank but got Another Sail Over our Tent and Secured it as well as we Could From Blowing Down, Which I Expected Every Minute, But tho it Stood all Night But few of us got Little Rest.

Thursday 24 July. Moderate Breezes W'erly and pleasent Wear. Went to work To Bring up Plank and Some peices to Make a Keel, and to Our great Joy the Carpenter and Another went to Work. The Smith Finish'd The Forge, and our Next Care is to get Coals Which we Soon procured by the Burning of Firr to Charcoal. The Next place my Self **Mr Collett** and the Carpenter Consulted what Demensions the Boat Should be of, and was Agreed She Should be 30 foot Keel and 12 Broad. Upon Examining Our Pork found Some of it Stinking and the Rest of it little Better, a Very Disagreable Discovery but Made the Best of it we Could, by Hanging it up in the Tent & Smoaking of it Which Preserv's it.

Friday 25th. Fresh Gales Wterly & fair Wear. The Carpenter & the Other at Work upon The Keel, Others Making a Tent Over the Smiths Forge, The Rest Upon the Wreck looking For Water and provissions, but Found None and Indeed There is Nothing to Be Seen but dead Corps which we Meet with Every Step we take on the Wreck And all parts of the Island.

Saturday 26th. Wind and Wear as yesterday the Carpenters have most Finishe'd The Keel, and Intend Making the Stern Next. Got up a Peice of 4 Inch Plank for that Purpose. The Smith Made himself 2 Hammers. People Employ'd bringing Up Wood for the Kiln to Make Charcoal. This Day we all Dine'd on Greens that Grows Upon the Uper part of the Rocks, the Leaf is Much like that of Merry gold; and There is Another Sort, which the People Bruise and Dress Their Wounds with, like Mash Mallows. We have 8 people Sick Now.

Sunday 27th. Wind Variable and fair Wear. Did no Work this day. Kept the Sabbath, Having of Prayers. This Day the Birds Which Left the Island, Settled Again in Such Quantities as Almost Cover'd it. They Are what We Call **Gannetts.** Knock'd Down Some of them for Dinner; the Flesh is Very black & Eats Very Fishey.

Monday 28th. Calm Pleasant Wear. The Smith Compleate'd a Hamer for the Carpenter & Attempted to Make an Adze but did not Succeed, but however Intends to have Another

[26] *I. e.*, Danes.

Tryall for it. The People Employed in the Fore Noon Carrying Planks & in the Afternoon, Making a Tent for the Carpenter, and Mending our Own & One for a Store Tent.

Tuesday 29th. Little Winds Eterly & fair Wear. Carpenter at Work upon the Boats Stern; the Smith Repairing a Camp Kettle which was pickd Up this Morning; people Carrying up Wood to the place for Blocks; my Self Looking Round the Wreck for Water & provissions and Tools, but Found Neither, in the Evening Made a **Cattamaran,**[27] and got the Brandy in the Great Tent.

Wednesday 30th July. Light Breezes Wterly & fair Wear. Carpenter Employd as before. Smith Made 2 Gimbletts & the People Carrying Wood for the Ship, in the Evening on of The People Attempted to go out on the Cattamaran to Try if he Could Catch any Fish but Managed her so Badly that he was Glad to gett her Back Again before he Had gott 10 Yards from the Rocks. Our Carpenter is Taken ill which Disheartens us Very Much.

Thursday 31st. Hard Gales at S W with Frequent Squalls, Blow'd the Carpenters Tent down & Uncovered the Store Tent. Our provissions this day was **Young Sea Lions** As Mr. Anson Calls them, which is very Indifferent Eating and I Fear not Wholesome for 5 of the People Fell Sick. The Next day, the Carpenter Continues so ill that This is a Lost day to us.

Friday Augt 1st. Wind and Wear as pr Day past. The Carpenter so Much Recover'd That he went to Work. The people Employ'd Carrying Plank, Smith a Repairing a kettle that was Found. In the Evening Dug a Well to Try if there was any fresh Water In the Island but Could not find None that was fitt to Drink; tho What we Met with was Not Salt it had a Very Sour Nasty Taste which I Take it is Occasion'd by the Running from the Hill thro' the Birds Dung. Went to Short Allowance of Bread About 2 Ounces a Man pr Day.

Saturday 2d. Wind Westerly and Fair Wear. This Morning the Carpenter Employe'd Laying the Blocks the People Carrying Over the Keel Stem & Sternpost, Smith Making Bolts for the Scarf of the Keel, in the Afternoon Lay'd it, & Got up The Stem & Stern post, this Day Kill'd a Hogg 7 of them having got on Shore Alive Which I forgot to Mention the First day.

Sunday 3d. Wind Variable and pleasent Wear. Every Body Dined Very Hearty on Roast Pork.

Monday 4th. Wind W S W and pleasent Wear. The Carpenter Employd Bolting The Scarf of the Keel Stem & Stern post. The Smith Made a Maul and Some Bolts. People Carrying Plank to the Building Place, and to the kill [Kiln]. In looking About the Rocks found a Butt $\frac{1}{3}$ full of Water which we got up Immediatly. In the Evening, **Mr Collett** thought he Saw a Sail, and Call'd out with a Laudable [an audible] Voice, a Sail. I never was so Agreeably Surpriz'd in my Life, And all that was [were] in hearing Confesse'd the Same, and Indeed their Behaviour Shew'd it by Running for Wood & Tarr to Make a Smoak, but upon looking With the Glass, Discovere'd it only to be a Spott [Spot] on the Land that we

[27] A small raft of logs lashed together.

had not Observe'd before. This Sudden Turn, had Such an Affect Upon the People that there was no Work done that day.

Tuesday Aug^{t} 5. The Wind at N W & fair Wea^{r}. The Carpenter Making Moulds For the Floor Timbers; Smith Making Gimblets & Trying Again at an Adze, which I Am in great Hopes he will Finish; People Carrying Up Wood with Nails and Bolts in it, to Burn them Out, Lickwise Plank and Timber for the Boat. The Pork which Was Washed, Upon the Rocks is all Expended. The Birds Which Were so Numerous at our first Coming on Shore, have Entirely left the Island, and the Seals Much Scarcer & Shyer, So that at present have Nothing to live on but an Animal Between Fish & Fowl. There is plenty of them Here and No ways Shy, they Walk As Upright as a Man, These Were Our Food this Day.

Wednesday 6th Aug^{t}. The First Part Wind at N W Latter Southerly. People Employe'd Carrying Plank & Timber Over to the Building Place; Carpenter Securing the Sternpost. And to Our great Joy the Smith Made an Adze, And began an Ax. One Man Attempted to Go out on the Cattamaran & Made no hand of it. Another who was a Combmaker, is Making a Cross Cutt Saw Out of a Sword Blade.

Thursday 7th. The First part Wind N W Fresh Gales and Cloudy Wea^{r} with Some Rain, the Latter Hard Showers which put our Tent a Float. Got Another Sail Over it And Spread another to Save Water. The Smith Finished An Ax, and an Auger: and in the Room of a Better, the Carpenter Finishe'd a Gun Truck for a Grindstone, which I hope will Answer the End, After we have Beat Some Sand and Shells, into The Wood. The Combmaker Finish'ed the Saw, Which does but Badly, but the Carpenter Says he Can Mend her [it].

Friday 8th. Fresh Gales W^{t}erly with Heavy Rain of Which We Save'd 3 Tonns, Which gave us Great Spirits being in hopes we shall not want water during our Stay here, but there Seldom Comes a Good One, but a Bad One Attend's 'it, by Preventing the Carpenter from Working. Our food this day was Young Seals.

Saturday Aug^{t} 9th. The First Part Fresh Gales at N W & Cloudy Wea^{r} latter, Wind Southerly. This day 7 of the People Taken Very ill, Which I Judge is Owing to Eating too hearty of the Seals; for my Part, Live'd Upon Greens; Therefore Escape'd this Time. The Smith and his Assistant is [are] two of them. The Carpenter at Work on the Floor Timbers. Found a Butt of Water & a Hogshead of Brandy, which we got up Immediatly. Din'd This Day on Muscles, and in the Evening Kill'd a Large Bird, Which was for Supper. Lickwise Kill^{d} a Hogg for Sundays Dinner.

Sunday 10th. Wind at S W & fair Wea^{r}. In Looking About the Rocks Found a Copper Stewpan. The People Are Much Better, My Self and Messmates Caught as Many Small Fish, with Pin hooks, as Serve'd 10 Men for Supper.

Monday Aug^{t} 11th. First Part Wind S E, the Latter N W & Cloudy Wea^{r}. 4 of the People quite recover'd. The Smith Made Some Bolts, and two Caulking Irons. The Carpenter as before. The Peope [*sic*] Clearing a Grapnail, which wash'd on Shore with The Cables; when Clear'd, found it wanted One Fluke.

Tuesday 12th. Fresh gales W^{t}erly & fair Wea^{r}. Carpenter as before. One Man [of our Men] Broke An Ax. People Carrying Plank to the Building Place, & Clear'g a Tow Line To Make a Cable for the Boat but Could Not [effect it].

Wednesday 13th. Wind N W & fair Wea^{r}. The Carpenter Compleat'd all the Floor Timbers And began the Futtocks. The Smith Made Another Ax. The People Employe'd Clearing a Piece of One of the Bower Anchor which Came on Shore on the Ship's Side. Got it up to Make an Anvill for The Smith, having One of the Steering Sail Boom Irons Before. Lickwise Found a Barrell [Barrel] of Pitch, which was Very much Wanted, not Having any Before to Pay the Seams with.

Thursday 14th. Wind and Wea^{r} as p^{r} day past. We are [were] greatly Distress^{d} for provissions. Therefore we Carry'd our Little Boat Over to the Building Place to be Repair'^{d} determining to go out and Try to Catch Fish, tho' the Risk is very Great, by Reason of an Ugly Barr [Bar], to go Over, before there is any [a] Chance of Catching any. Also Enlarge'd the Cattamaran to Carry two men, & Made Another.

Friday 15th. The First part Wind W^{t}erly with Rain, the Latter Southerly and fair Wea^{r} This Forenoon the Wea^{r} Prevented the Carpenter from Working on the Boat, Therefore Employ^{d} himself Sharping of his Tools, and Making Trumels. In the Afternoon Went to Work on the Boats Timbers. The Smith Made a Grindstone, out of a Flatt [Flat] Stone he Pick^{d} up. Building a Tent for the Carpenter to work under out of The Sun.

Saturday 16. The Wind E^{t}erly and some Rain. Carpenter as before. The Smith Finishe'd the Grindstone & is Making an Ax. People Employe'd Carrying Plank for the Timbers. Two of them went on the Cattamaran to try for Fish, but found Too Much Sea, so Come [Came] in Again.

Sunday 17th. Fresh Gales Eterly and Fair Weather. This Morning Saw a Large Smoak to the E^{t}ward on the Main Which Riess Our drooping Spirits a little, being in hopes it is Occasione'd from Burning their Land. Therefore Are in Greater hopes of Success, when our Boat Goes Over, which will be the First Calm Wea^{r}, After She is Finishe'd. The Carpenter Intends going about her to Morrow. This Day as we dont Work on the Boat All hands is amongst [are Among] the Rocks a Fishing for [endeavouring to catch] Small Fish About the bigness of a Spratt [Sprat]. We had the good Fortune to Catch a Few of, and this Week past has Help'^{d} us Greatly.

Monday Aug^{t} 18th. Light Variable Breezes, and Fair Wea^{r}. The Carpenter Employed, Mending the Little Boat, the Smith Making an Adze. Two Men went out on the Cattamaran & to our great Joy Brought in **Fish Enough for all Hands.** The Next *(sic)* Clearing a Tow line for a Cable. The Smoak Continues Still to the Eastward, therefore Am Confirm'd it is Burning the Land.

Tuesday 19th. The first part Fresh Gales Northerly the Middle Moderate, the Latter fresh Gales at S W; about 11 o Clock two men went out on the Cattamaran and returned in About 2 Hours and Caught 14 fine fish Which we was [were] Glad to See, being in Hopes We Shall not Starve As Our living was Very Bad Before; Wou'd not Miss Any Oppertunity to Catch Fish

and Being Encouraged by our good Success, Mr Collett and another [Mr Yates][28] went out on the Cattamaran. Towards 4 o Clock, the Wind Freshned to the Wtward but they being to the Leeward of the Island and Finding the Water Continue Smooth did not Apprehend There Woud be any Danger of Getting in, therefore Continued Fishing till they Thought they had Caught Enough for 2 days, in Case the Weather Should be bad And Not Able to go out [again]. They then Cut away the Stone which Rid them, because They would be better Able to put in without it, thinking the fish would make the Cattamaran Swim to deep. As it Blows [blew] fresh I was Apprehensive they Could Not get in, therefore Kept a Good look out when they Should Attempt it, Which I had not long done, before I perceivd they loos'd [lost] Ground, which Made me Very Uneasy. I Soon Alarm'd all the people. and the Only thing I Could think of to Save them from driving to Sea, and perishing, was, to perswade two of the People to Venture Out to them, on the Other Cattamaran, with Another Cable & Killock, Taking the Same for themselvs, and try to ride till it grew Moderate; And tho The danger was so great, that theire [there] was Very little probability of their Returning, two of them Attempted to go out, but was [were twice] Washed off Ropes Killocks And all. By this time, the Others were Drove a Great way. When I Found it was in Vain to try the Cattamaran any More, I got all the Cordage We had Saved, in hopes a Hogshead would Carry the End to them, but by the Time it was got Ready I Saw plainly it would be Needless to Attempt it, for they Were Almost out of Sight. So had quite given them Over, when [till] One of the men Came And told me, the Carpenter thought he Could make the Boat Swim, with One Man to Bail, [first] Stopping the Holes in her Bottom with Lead. And [At last] Three of the people Went out & Brought them in Safe, tho' with much difficulty, for them two [Messieurs Collet & Yates] Getting into the Boat from the Cattamaran, She Swam so deep & Leek'd so fast, it was As much as they Could do to keep her Above Water. [During the Absence of the Boat we][29] talk'd of Nothing but going to Morrow [after them] if it provd Moderate Wear.

Wednesday Augt 20th. The Wind Northerly, and Cloudy Weather. The Carpenter Employd On the Small Boat. People Getting up Plank & Timber. We Should have Snappd Very Short to day, if Providence had not directed 3 or 4 of the Old Inhabitants of the Island to us, Which we took Sleeping and Made Broth of them for Supper. Saw a Smoak on the Main Opposite us.

Thursday 21st. Hard Gales Wterly & heavy Squalls. Carpenter Finished the Small Boat. People Cleaning & Coiling Some Cordage. This day had Nothing for Dinner but a few greens therefore Killd a Hogg in Order to have a good Supper.

Friday 22d. The First part Light Airs Wterly the Latter a Fresh Breeze, Southerly. At Day Light 3 Men Attempted to go out in the Boat a Fishing, but the great Surf on The Barr [Bar] Obliged them to put Back again. About 10 o Clock 2 Men Venture'd thro' it & Got to the Fishing Ground and Caught 30 Fish, but in Coming in, a Sea Broke into the Boat and Filld her So that the men as well as the Fish were Sett [set] A Swimming and with Much Difficulty got Safe on Shore on the Other Island About ½ a Mile from the One we Are one [upon]. A Shoal place from this to that Occasions the Barr [Bar]. At the first [On our first] Discovering this Accident, I was in pain for The Men, thinking they would not be Able to gett [get] on Shore, but Soon was Agreeably Deceivd, by Seeing them Crawling upon the Rocks. Our Next Care Was to Save the Boat, was in a Great panick about [which we were in great Pain for], but were Soon Relieved from that, by Sending the Large Cattamaran to Tow her in;[30] and After [Afterwards] Fetched the men From the Island.

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[28] 'Mr Yates' written over 'another.' [29] 'During — we' written over words erased. [30] A line erased here.

Saturday 23d. The first part Light Breezes Westerly, latter fresh Gales Easterly. At Day light 4 Men went on the great Cattamaran, and at Noon Brought in 30 Fish. Lickwise Sent the Small Cattamaran Over to the Other Island to See what Casks they Were the people Inform'd us they Saw Yesterday; and to Our Great joy one of them prou'd to be a Cask of pork, the Other [of] Brandy, the latter Quite Whole, the other Stove, by Which the Pork am [was] damag'd so much that I am [was] Afraid Smoaking will [wou'd] Scarce preserve it. Smith Employd Making Fishing Hooks and Mending a Saucepan to Boil Salt Water [in order] to Make Salt.

Sunday Augt 24th. Fresh Gales Wterly and fair Weat. This day it was Agreed that 5 Men Should go Over to the Main the First Oppertunity; 3 on the Cattamaran & 2 in the Small Boat. It Blows [blew] too hard to go a Fishing.

(To be continued.)

WAR SONGS OF THE MÂPPILAS OF MALABAR.

BY F. FAWCETT.

WHEN introducing A Popular Mopla (Mâppila) Song (*ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 64), I wrote :— "The Mâppilas of Malabar, ardent and fanatical Muhammadans as they are, are much devoted to songs, mostly religious, about the Prophet's battles and also their own for the most part . . . . The songs are written in the Arabic character, and their language is a curious polyglot patois of Malayalam, the local Vernacular, Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Arabic, and of many another tongue, a word of which is here and there brought in for some special use." The song which was then given in translation, "The Story of Hasanu'l-Jamâl and Badaru'l-Munîr," is of love and wonderful adventure in the fashion of a story in *The Arabian Nights*.

I will now consider those **songs of the Mâppilas which relate to war and stir up fanatic fervour.** In quantity they form probably about nine-tenths of their literature — such as it is. But before doing this something must be said of the **Mâppilas themselves.** They were described by the present writer in the October (1897) number of *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* as "men who exhibit a courage which is absolutely dauntless, and a **contempt for death** which is rarely paralleled and certainly unsurpassed in any other part of the world by any race." This was not long after they had given proof of these qualities, when 92 of them met their death near Manjêrî, the chief town of the Ernâḍ *tâlûkâ* of Malabar. And yet so little was the effect of this terrible punishment on their fanatic fervour that a gang of seven started out the next day, having devoted themselves to death. A strange people truly!

The Mânjêrî[1] Temple, a shrine of the Hindu Bhâgavatî, situated on the summit of a small hill just outside the village of Mânjêrî, which lies, roughly, between Ootacamund, the summer capital of Southern India, and the sea to the west, has been the scene of more than one little battle. In 1784 this temple and the palace of the Karunamalpâḍ, its owner, were besieged by a large body of Mâppilas, and after three days' fighting utterly destroyed. The rebel Mâppilas were attacked by some of Tippu Sultân's troops, a thousand strong, and were victorious, slaying Tippu's commander. The temple was restored in April, 1849, and in August of the same year during the Muhammadan Ramazân, a body of 30 Mâppilas desecrated it, and routed two companies of sepoys, killing 4 Privates and a European Officer, Lieut. Wyse. Their number soon rose to 64, and a few days afterwards they were destroyed fighting gallantly, by European troops, who lost 2 Privates killed and 2 Officers and 6 Privates wounded.

The temporary defeat of our well-armed troops was effected by the Mâppilas with **war knives,** in shape between a bill-hook and a Gurkhâ *kukrî*. They tie them to the hand and wrist, sometimes one to each hand, while madly rushing at their foes. Of this kind of warfare there has been much in Malabar.

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[1] This and much of what follows is taken from the article just mentioned

Even when, in 1894, the British troops were armed with the Lee-Metford rifle and the Police with Sniders, some of the fanatics reached the bayonets ere meeting what they sought: death and entrance into paradise. To the Western mind this **devotion to death,** which combines tender longing with fiendish fury is altogether incomprehensible. How is it that the severest of all punishments has no effect in preventing one outburst succeeding another, in none of which a Mâppila has ever been taken unwounded? Men, old and feeble, as well as the young and lusty, come on unflinchingly until the bullet or the bayonet ends their existence. The lad, in his father's house quiet and inoffensive until a few hours before he faces the British troops, will rush on as if to the manner born; will throw himself, on the bayonet, if he can, and, covered with wounds, will try to strike at a soldier. Others will leave the plough or sickle, or their cattle, in order to join a passing gang of *shahîds*, or intending martyrs of the faith. There may have been instances of half-heartedness before a battle, but in the struggle of death no case of flinching or being taken unwounded has ever been known. The man who goes out to die and does not die, even though he seeks death with all the heroism of which a man is capable is never forgiven, and his life would not be safe for a moment among his own people. Father, mother, brothers, sisters and wife would not as much as listen to me when telling how one dear to them a few days before, was lying in Hospital with bullets through his body. "Why did this would-be-*shahîd* not die?" is all the notice that a family gives in such a case: or else, "He is gone ; he is nothing to us.'' Just after the outbreak in 1894 when 32 fanatics were shot, of whom but 2 survived — one a convert shot through the spleen, and a boy of 15 wounded in the leg — the mother of one of the survivors was heard to say indignantly: "If I were a man, I would not come back wounded!"

This longing for death, which is so opposed to Western feelings, no matter what the belief in a future existence may be, was evinced with greater strength than ever during the last outbreak; for it was plain that nearly one half of the dead were self-slain, or had been slain by their comrades. They were wounded perhaps by military or Police rifle bullets, but not unto death; determined, however, not to to be taken wounded, they asked their comrades to kill them. One survivor, whose left humerus was smashed and who had also a few flesh wounds, was lying on his back. One of his fellows went over to finish him. The keen knife was already on his throat and had severed the skin, when the would-be slayer was shot dead by our men. The killing of Mâppila by Mâppila is, however, a new departure, and somewhat at variance with their ideas.

The tract inhabited by the Mâppilas, who are fanatically inclined (all are not so, but those of a certain tract only), was disarmed some 15 years ago, but the operation has not in the least scotched **the spirit of "shahîdism."** In accordance with it there must be no chance of capture. The position taken up should be chosen most carefully, as it must not be one in which the fighters can be caught like rats in a trap. But of late there here has been, however, some change in tactics, and in the last few outbreaks guns have been used for defence of the position taken up. To secure as many as possible of these the country round is scoured by the gang. The war knife is prohibited by law, but a very efficient substitute, and almost identical in shape, is the common wood-chopper of the locality; these and swords are now used.

The band which takes the initiative is composed of men who have, through continuous religious devotions, assumed an attitude of mind in which the ordinary functions of the brain are stayed by religious ecstasy. **The orthodox procedure** then is to dispose of all their worldly possessions, divorce their wives, solemnly give up body and soul to God, dress in a long white coat and white cap, and finally to go out calmly in order to seek death whilst fighting. The above directions are not always and strictly followed, for many of the *shahîds* possess nothing but their wives, and these are not divorced for fear of their intentions to fight and die becoming known. With the exception of the unfortunate murder of Mr. Conolly, District Magistrate of Malabar in 1855, **the first overt act** has been invariably the murder of some landlord or land agent, or of an apostate. Confused ideas as to Mâppila outbreaks being purely agrarian, or purely fanatical, have thereby arisen. Agrarian they are, fanatical too, to a considerable extent, but fixing on any social phenomenon as the product of any single cause is and must be an error.

Before discussing further this portion of the subject let us consider **how Islam was brought to Malabar** — events which are often referred to in their songs. Ceremonies, too, perpetuate them. For example, the Mahârâjâ of Travancore takes possession of the throne only "until his uncle returns from Mecca." **The word "Mâppila"** is said to be a contraction of Mahâ (great) and 'Pillai' ('child,' an honorary title; as amongst Nayars in Travancore), and it was probably a title of honor conferred on the early Muhammadan immigrants and possibly on the still earlier Christian immigrants . . . . **The Muhammadans** are usually called **Jonaka or Chânaka Mâppillas** to distinguish them from the **Christian Mâppilas**, who are also called **Nasarâni**[2] **Mâppilas. Jonaka** . . . . is believed to stand for Yavanaka = Ionian = **Greek.**" Be that as it may, **Mâppilas of the tract subject to fanatic outbreak are Muhammadans** to a man. It is only in Cochin and Travancore that certain Christians are termed Mâppilas.

The following **account of the conversion to Islam** is taken from Logan's *Manual of the Malabar District* : —

"All Malayâli accounts are substantially in accord as to the following facts : — The last king or emperor of Malabar was one **Chêramân Perumâl** who reigned at **Kôḍungallûr (Cranganore,** the Mouziris of the Greeks, the Muyiri-Kodu of the Cochin Jews). He dreamed that the full moon appeared on the night of the new moon at Mecca in Arabia, and that when at the meridian, she split into two,[3] one half remaining and the other half descending to the foot of a hill called Ahi Kubais, when the two halves joined and set. Sometime afterwards a party of Muhammadan pilgrims on their way to the foot-print shrine at Adam's Peak in Ceylon chanced to visit the Perumâl's capital, and were admitted to an audience and treated most hospitably. On being asked if there was any news in their country, one, by name Sheikh Sekke-ud-din, it is said, related to Perumâl the apocryphal story of Muhammad having, by the miracle about which the Perumâl had dreamt, converted a number of unbelievers."

And so it came about that the Perumâl wished to unite himself to them. A vessel was made ready and the Perumâl landed eventually at Shahr on the Arabian Coast.

"It is uncertain whether it was here (Shahr) that the Perumâl came for the first time into contact with persons who were to be **the prisoners of Islam in Malabar,** or whether they or some of them had been of the party of pilgrims with whom he originally set out from Kôḍungallûr. But, however this may be, the names of the persons have been handed down by tradition as (1) **Malik-ibn-Dînâr,** (2) **Habîb-ibn-Malik,** (3) **Sherf-ibn-Malik,** (4) **Malik-ibn-Habîb** and his wife Kumarieth, with their ten sons and five daughters. The **Perumâl** apparently changed his name to that which is said to appear on his tomb, namely, **'Abd-u'r-Rahmân Samiri.**"[4]

After some time he wished to return to Malabar to spread the new religion and build places of worship, but while the ship was being built he fell ill, and, feeling death at hand, implored his companions to do that which he had intended to do himself, and gave them letters to the various chiefs of Malabar. "And after this he surrendered his soul to the unbounded mercy of God."[5]

"It has come to notice from the information of an Arab resident near the spot, that the tomb of the Perumâl still exists at Zaphâr on the Arabian Coast, at some distance from the place (Shahr) where he is reported to have landed. The facts have still to be authoritatively verified, but it is stated that on his tomb the inscription runs: 'Arrived at Zaphâr **A. H. 212**. Died there A. H. 216.' These dates correspond with the years **827-832 A. D.**" The Malabar Kôllam Era dates from the departure of Perumâl to Arabia in **825 A. D.** The current year 1901 A. D. is 1071 M. E. It is likely he spent two years at Shahr before proceeding to Zaphâr.

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[2] Nazrânî, *i. e.*, a Nazarene.

[3] *Qoran*, chap. 54.

[4] It will be remembered that the Portuguese grandees who visited Vijayanagar early in the sixteenth century, coming from the west coast, spoke of this potentate as the Samuri. Modern usage, through Portuguese, makes the word Zamorin.

[5] Rowlandson's *Thahafat-ul-Mujahidin*, p. 53, quoted in Logan's *Manual of the Malabar District*.

The Muhammadan Faith has since greatly spread, and **at the Census of 1891 the Muhammadans in Malabar, almost all of whom are Mâppilas, numbered 769, 857** or over 29 per cent. of the population.[6] And the population increases rapidly.

The mosques of the Mâppilas are quite unlike those of any other Muhammadans. Here one sees no minarets. The temple architecture of Malabar was noticed by Ferguson to be that of Nepaul; nothing like it exists between the two places. And the Mâppila mosque is much in the style of the Hindu temple, even to adoption of the turret-like edifice which, among Hindus, is here peculiar to the temples of Śiva. The general use nowadays of German Mission-made tiles is bringing about, alas! a metamorphosis in the architecture of Hindu temples and Mâppila mosques, the picturesqueness disappearing altogether, and in a few years it may may be difficult to find one of the old style. The mosque, though it may be little better than a hovel, is, however, always as grand as the community can make it, and **once built it can never be removed,** for the site is sacred ever afterwards. Every Mâppila would shed his blood rather than suffer any indignity to a mosque. It would be the case of the Malapuram *shahîds* all over again: for, once religious enthusiasm is aroused, death has no terrors, but only alluring smiles.

The Mâppilas are Sunnis, and claim to have had their religion from the fountain head. **The chief priest in Malabar, the Valiya Tangal of Ponâni,** styles himself Valiya Zarathingal[7] Sayid 'Ali *bin* Abdu'r-Rahmân Vali Tangal Ponâni, is a pure Arab by blood, claims direct descent from the Prophet. Curiously enough he inherits his sacred office in the female line — his nephew and not his son is the successor — after the custom of Malabar, while his family property passes according to Muhammadan law. Other Mâppila priestly offices, even that of **the Mahâdûm,** the chief representative of learning, who confers religious titles and degrees, are inherited in the same manner; while, as all over South Malabar (among Mâppilas) property devolves in the usual way, sons, daughters, and widows receiving certain shares: sons an equal share; a widow with sons, an eighth of the whole; a widow without sons, a sixth of the whole; daughters, half a son's share.

The **Nair tarwâḍ,** in which the devolution of property is through the female line, is the most stable of all arrangements for the preservation of the family and the family property. The Mâppilas of South Malabar have followed this custom as regards certain priestly offices, but the Mâppilas of North Malabar follow it in respect of property. They have changed their creed, but not their custom of inheritance. In the North they are well off, as every circumstance of the *tarwâḍ* tends towards aggrandizement. In the South they are very poor, for they are extremely prolific,[8] and they divide up their property in such a way that prosperity is impossible. Their prolificness and mode of inheritance are enough to destroy the most capable people in the world, situated as the Mâppilas are.

Not only are they prolific, but their numbers are increased largely every year by fresh adherents from the Hindus, as well as from the inferior races. In the decade preceding 1891 the Hindus increased by less than 8 per cent., while the Muhammadans increased over 15 per cent. No wonder the man of inferior caste is often induced towards the latter. The position of even the slave-like Cheruman is changed at once when he enters Islam; instead of his very presence carrying pollution to people within 100 yards of him, he can walk where he will and hold his head as high as the best, and what is more, every Mâppila will stick to him through thick and thin.

A people prolific and overcrowding, and at the same time wretchedly poor, as are the Mâppilas of East Malabar, are most unfortunate subjects for fanaticism; and more especially so when the customary land tenures are, as it were, arranged specially for the purpose of making people discontented. Of this **fanaticism** I will now say something, and endeavour to account for its existence. In many places people are poor and prolific, but not fanatic. Why then are the Mâppilas so?

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[6] This includes the Laccadive Islands.

[7] Valeaza-arathengal = belonging to the great shrine.

[8] Much more so than Hindus. Many a man has 10 and 12 out of one wife; and I know of one, having 3 wives, who is blessed with 33 children.

When a civilized community adopts Islam as a creed, there is no great change wrought in the ordinary course of life. We were told at the Congress of Orientalists in London of 1891, that Muhammad's Paradise was no more materialistic than that of the Christians as described in Revelations ; it was purely spiritual, but clothed in language, the everyday interpretation of which, and not the poetic inference, was accepted. Montaigne had the same idea. Now, whether the civilized entering Islam adopt the exalted interpretation which is said to have been Muhammad's meaning, or whether, as is usual, religion has very little hold on life among civilized peoples in the towns, the fact remains that they do not feel bound to go out, become *shahîds*, and kill those whose persuasion is not theirs.

In contrast to this prosaic and sensible attitude of the civilized followers of Islam, if the shrine at Mambram or the Malapuram Mosque were to be destroyed by order of the Government, there is hardly a Mâppila in Malabar, who would not give his blood to avenge the disgrace to "his pearl-like faith." There would be much bloodshed. The most insignificant shrine, a wayside mosque, even though no better or larger in structure than a hen-house, cannot be moved without much blood being shed. Why is this ? When a Hindu temple is desecrated and made abominable by a handful of Mâppilas, no one raises a hand to avenge the insult to the religion. Nor will those of that creed stand up to save their temple. The gods or goddesses, Śiva and Bhâgavatî, must look after themselves in these ebullitions of excitement. If their shrine is made a place for filth, or even for the slaughter of the sacred cow, the people look on with equanimity. All that is looked for is ceremonies which will make it just as sanctified as ever it was, and the disgrace is swallowed. Why is this ? The people are much the same in blood as their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen.

If the difference is not to be found in the blood it is to be found **in the creed.** During the Soudan War there was unmistakable evidence of the extraordinary influence which Islam has on the lower and uncivilized races. What made the immortal "Fuzzy Wuzzy" of Kipling's ballad such a "first rate fighting man ?" Really nothing but the effect of Islâm on his receptive nature. More recent instances of this there have been in China. It is a creed which, as if by magic, turns the submissive into heroes. We have evidence of this here. The Cherumans and Kanakans, inferior races in Malabar, are submissive to the last degree ; in their lives the most harmless of beings, exemplifying many of the virtues which are supposed to be exclusively Christian, and always in peace. But let one of these adopt Islâm and he is changed altogether. The psychic effect is marvellous. A youth shot down in the outbreak of 1894, who recovered, was a convert of only a few months. Two of those shot in 1896 were Cherumans and converts : one had become a Mâppila only 15 hours before he was shot ! The head and front of the last outbreak was a converted Cheruman. So it is with Tîyans and others who join the Mâppila's faith, but **the effect on those of the lowest races is the strongest.** The localities where the element of danger is greatest are where the Mâppilas belong in blood to the lowest races. The most dangerous criminals, the worst dacoits, are also to be found amongst this mixture. In a place called Nâdâpuram, in North Malabar, the whole community of Nairs was turned wholesale into Mâppilas during the troublous time of Tippu Sultân, but no more peaceable people dwell in the province. The effect on the lower races and on the close mixture with them is altogether different.[9]

Now, the hold which Islâm has fixed on this mixture of lower races is very strong indeed. The foreign or Arab blood in Eastern Malabar is very slight if at all existent. Following M. Broca's method of indicating the racial position of mongrels or *mestizos*, if there has been foreign blood it has been eliminated long ago in the locality where fanaticism is alive. True, there are individuals of Arab blood, but, as a rule, they are not among the dangerous ones. **To the Arab blood has been imputed the extraordinary fanatic character of the religion of the Mâppilas,** who are

[9] The Cheruman, it may be said, is barely 5 ft. 2 in. in height (the average for the North Malabar Tîyan being almost exactly 5 ft. 5 in., while the Nair is taller), much darker in colour, his nose is broader, and is cranial capacity is much smaller: his head length is 18·2 in. and the width 13·6. Compare this with the Aryan Nambudri, 19·2 and 14·6!

quite unique among the Muhammadans of Southern India. **But this is an error.** There are within the same province a class of their co-religionists to called Rowthans (Râvuthans), descendants, it is said, of Tippu's cavalry, who, themselves converts — but not from the inferior races, — settled near Pâghâṭ ; but these Rowthans are as cowardly as the Ērnâḍ Mâppilas are courageous ; and if the fanatic element came from the Arab, we should find it strongest amongst those who are of pure or almost pure Arab blood living on the West Coast, but there we see no signs whatever of it. Not only the pure Arab Mâppilas, but the class calling themselves Bôtkals (Arab traders hailing from the Persian Gulf) are as peaceful as any class in any class in Malabar, and are as little likely to go out and become *shahîds* as their so-called brethren in the faith living in England.

It seems to be incontestable, whether in Africa, or in China, or in Malabar, that the fanatical feelings which make people fight quite regardless of life are to be accounted for in the extraordinary effect which Islâm has on untutored races. The Mâppila of Ērnâḍ is certainly exceedingly impressionable and emotional. He holds the truths and beliefs of his faith, as interpreted subjectively, with the very strongest tenacity. The Salvation Army-man, who invites his brethren to embark for the shores of "kingdom come," chiding those who prefer to hesitate, has not the smallest intention of embarking himself until he is compelled to do so. He is not so strongly affected by the reality of what he sings about as to possess the slightest inclination to be off at once to the meeting by the river, when the path is death. The reality of the unseen, or that which lies in animism, is much stronger in the lower races than it is in the higher, as any investigator may find out for himself. **To the Mâppila, the pleasures of heaven which await those who die fighting are not a far off and indistinct vision,** or, as with many people, what they think they believe; it is not this, but something which impresses his whole being ; it is altogether real ; so real that he can, with that kind of confidence which makes his courage sublime, meet death with delight.

The Mâppila is indeed **essentially religious,** although his religion may be sometimes in the style of the *ghâzî*. With the shows of the Muharram he has no sympathy, and will have none of them. The Ramazân fast he keeps faithfully, and prayer is never far from him. It is supposed that his devotion to religious teaching is a drag on his advancement in secular education — that so long as he retains it, he will remain behind in the general struggle for advancement in a country ordinarily well ordered and peaceful ; but with this I do not at all agree. It is much to his credit that he will have that which he feels with every fibre of his body to be the Word of God before everything else, and will not submit to have anything substituted for it. He is only too glad to have proper secular teaching after a certain portion of the day has been devoted to the *Qorân*.

The Mâppila College at Ponâni disseminates darkness where it should give light. The Musaliars, who have qualified to "read at the lamp," and the Tangals are grossly ignorant. And as for the Mullas, who teach the sacred book to the children, I have never yet met one who had the remotest idea of the meaning of a single word of the *Qorân*. Thus the children are taught to read, but not to understand ; what they read, incoherent Arabic, is gibberish to them ; what they learn is quite another thing. Some time ago the *Qorân* was transcribed into Malayalam, retaining the Arabic character ; it being then supposed that people would like to understand what they read. This transcription is used on the W. Coast, but not where fanaticism smoulders ; there they will not use it, and the book finds no sale, for the effluence of the spirit of the *Qorân* is felt through mere reading or hearing it in the original, even though not a word is comprehended, to be better a thousand times than any transcription into the vernacular. And, of course, the *musaliars* of the mosques are against it, for if the people could read and expound for themselves, their influence and pecuniary gains would disappear.[10]

[10] The marked difference between a Mâppila and a Hindu is observable in other ways than those where fanatic fervour comes in view. All the kinds of work requiring pluck, energy and sustained effort are done by Mâppilas. Mâppilas have done the heaviest work and earned the reputation of being the best workmen, steady, tractable, and never troublesome while well treated, in the building of the big iron bridges which the Madras Railway Company have thrown over the big rivers of the Madras Presidency ; and in the gold mines of South India the best miners are said to be Mâppilas. They work as Hindus never do.

There survive impressions of the displaced religions of the lower races, whose blood is in the Mâppila. There is much vowing in the way that Hindus vow, and prayer is offered to deceased and semi-deified persons, notable priests, *tangals* and *shahîds*. The most important oath by which a Mâppila can swear is "By the feet of the Mambram Tangal," and many vows are made at the shrine of this great priest, who came from Arabia to spread the faith in Malabar, and died there. On the West Coast, where the Arab blood and influence is strongest, the religion is, so to speak, purely spiritual ; in the interior, where there is little or no Arab blood, it is more animistic: the religion is more strongly infused with the once universal ancestral worship and its concomitant phases. For example, on the Coast the favourite "Mauludh" ceremony is entirely spiritual in its essence — as an Arab Mâppila priest describes it ; but in the interior, where we find fanaticism, it is to obtain some favour from a deceased person who is invoked.

With this introduction we may examine their war songs, and we will begin appropriately with one which illustrates their ideas as to how the dead may aid the living. It is entitled "Shahîdu Mâla Pâttu" — a Garland of Songs about the Shahîds, the heroes of defence of the Malapuram[11] Mosque being indicated. The poet says his song is "A Hymn of Praise for the benefit of all mankind . . . . Its name is Kâliyath Shifa . . . . As a necklace for kings have I composed it. Those who wear this necklace here will be rewarded by God hereafter with a necklace of gold. I am always praying to God to bless those who repeat this song." He asks God to forgive orthographical errors for the sake of the Malapuram *shahîds*, and then, naming every ill and misfortune possible to man, asks that for the sake of the same intercessors he may come to no harm. He goes the length of asking that he may be "One of the great men who attend to the wants and defects of the house of God," and that he too may die a *shahîd*! The song is also intended to be repeated amidst vows in times of sickness. Although any want may be supplied, any disease cured, wells filled, and even cholera driven away simply by invoking the Malapuram *shahîds*, it must not be supposed that these mighty beings are ever confused with God. "There is no God but God;" nevertheless there is nothing which these cannot do for man, for by means of their glorious death they have been invested with much power. Having given body and soul to God while in this world, they have earned the privilege of obtaining assent from God whenever they ask Him for anything on behalf of those on earth.

The poet's modest apology for his errors is not uncommon in the Mâppilas' songs, and it will not be out of place to mention here for the sake of better appreciation of these that the Mâppilas form no class with a fine literature of their own, but that they are the most backward in the Madras Presidency in the matter of education. The poets are illiterate men in the sense that they could not even pass a Lower Primary examination in the Government Schools; and they have procured the facts and legends, which they have woven so strangely into their songs, from tradition and, partly no doubt, from the regular stream of communication with Arabia which is maintained until the present day.

The War Songs.

No. I.

The Song of the Malapuram Shahîds.[11]

"In the name of God I begin this song. I pray to Muhammad the Prophet who is the cause of all created things. I pray also to his relatives and to the Ashabi army. I pray to all Mussalmans."

The poet goes on to say that "Abu Betir Siddik was the first true shahîd. Even the angels of God hold him in high respect. He was a true man and he never exposed his person to anyone until his death. May God always bless him."

[11] Malapuram lies 18 miles north of Tirûr on the Madras Railway and about 31 miles east of Calicut.

Omar Bin Katab is the next. He "held the Faith dearer than all his wealth and all his children. The dust in his hand was transformed to musk by the Most High, and the odour of that musk always pervaded his body."[12]

"**Usman Bin Alvân is the third great shahîd.** He had the Prophet's permission to admit anyone he pleased to heaven. He visits every place like the lightning of heaven. He is the most celebrated man in heaven or earth; and he married two of the Prophet's daughters."

Isman Ali is the fourth. "He is described as a tiger in Bait-ul-Issa. The angels of death fear him. He was the son of Abdulla's brother, the most beloved of the Prophet and the husband of Fatima the Prophet's daughter, dearer to him than eyesight." A tremendous fighter! "His name is written 'Tiger' on the cot in Aesh" . . . . "He is the gate of the hall of wisdom. May God always bless him."

The story of the Perumâl, the last king among kinglets of Malabar, and his voyage to Arabia where he met the Prophet are then told. Then we come to **the destruction of the Malapuram Mosque,** when 44 Mâppilas, the bravest of the brave, fought to death: parents, wives, children, tried to dissuade them, but to no purpose. The wives were told they would by their husbands' death in glory obtain salvation. But what about the present? "Do you not see the sky sustained without a pillar . . . . the frog in the deep recess of the rock, the chicken in the egg, and the child nourished in the womb? Is it reasonable that you will be helpless? Does a man in the grave think of his parents? When we are weighed in the balance who but God will help us? Can one's parents? If men permit sacrilege to their mosque all pains of hell await them: it is only by dying for the glory of God they can obtain heavenly bliss: and then they can bless and aid their families.

"Ho! ye brethren! The shahîds are most mighty ghosts and bhutas fear them. The wicked Eblis is their enemy. Those who sing their praise obtain salvation from God. Those who slight them will suffer untold misery" . . . . "Nothing is more pleasing to God than sacrificing one's body and soul in defence of God, and none are more honoured than these shahîds" . . . . "They did not become shahîds under compulsion but of their own faith and conviction; therefore God gave them a special place in heaven and a crown in Taj-il-Okar. Their bodies are always fragrant. God takes special care of them."

No. II.

The Song of Alungal Kandi.

Another of the songs was written by the popular Mâppila **poet Alungal Kandi Môyankutti Vàidiâr**, grandson of a convert from Hinduism, of the stock of the old Vêlan or Vâidiâr, a hereditary Hindu physician. The poem begins with extolling Muhammad, and tells how the king of Damascus was convinced of the truth of his mission when the Prophet made the moon rise at the wrong time, ascend the zenith, divide, and each half pass through the sleeves of his coat. Then follows a version of the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and how the innocent minister ascended to heaven telling the king who suspected him that he would be pardoned if he accepted "the new *Vêda*!" which a prophet was then bringing to men from over the sea.

Regardless of chronology, the poet tells how Islam was brought to Kêrala[13] and how eventually a grand mosque was built at Malapuram.[14] Mâppilas will not allow even an atom of the *cadjan* roof of the mosque to be burnt. They will fight to death for it, and they are glad of the opportunity. The poem continues:—

[12] Extracts only are given of this song. I cannot give here more than a meagre outline of it, and the special characteristics of the Arab *shahîds* can be only alluded to in the briefest manner.

[13] The old name for Malabar.

[14] An absurdity is that the Perumâl is compelled to do the *hajj* or pilgrimage while Muhammad was alive. Muhammad was dead 200 years before Islam was brought to Malabar or the Perumâl, the last emperor, went to Arabia.

"The soul in our body is in the hand of God. Can we live for ever in this world ? Must we not die once ? Everything will die, but God alone will not. Such being the commandment of God we will have no excuse when we are brought before Him after death ; so determine earnestly to fight and die. If we die fighting with the wicked men who attempt forcibly to burn this holy mosque, which is the house of God, we shall obtain complete salvation. The occasion to fight and die for the faith is like unto embarking in a vessel which has come to bear the believer to the shores of bliss. Therefore embark ! How well for you that such a vessel has come! It will bear you to the broad gates of heaven. Is it not for the arrival of such a vessel that we should pray ? . . . . The pleasures of wealth, or family, are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness. Our most venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the houris who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the houris. The splendour of the sun, of the moon, and of the lightning is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead, head are incomparably lovely. Their lips are like corals: their teeth like the seeds of the *thalimathalam* ; their breasts like cups of gold, the pomegranate, or like beautiful flowers. It is not possible for the mind to conceive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders . . . . If they wash in the sea the salt becomes like honey, and as fragrant as attar. If they were to come down to earth and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voice. When they wear red silk garments bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skin, bones, and muscles can be seen through them. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clap their hands, the clang of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 500 years' journey. They clap their hands and dance and sing as they come like swans to the battle-field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their smile or their dance, he would die (with longing) on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, they rub away the blood and cure the pain ; they kiss and embrace the martyrs, give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with carpets set with precious stones will be brought, and a voice will say : — 'Let my men mount ; let them dance with celestial houris.' Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads; they mount the beautiful horses which will dance and leap and take them away to heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy."

. . . .

"Such is the fate which awaits those who die fighting bravely. At the dissolution of the world they will be sped like lightning over the bridge across hell. In Heaven they will attend the marriage of Muhammad. They will be decorated with bunches of pearls and crowns of gold ; they will sit on the tusk of Muhammad's elephant, and enjoy supreme happiness. It is impossible to describe the pleasures which await those who die fighting bravely without flinching. All their sins will be forgiven and God will listen to all their prayers."

Far otherwise is it with the coward. " All his virtuous actions are ignored. He incurs the wrath of God. He will be written down a renegade in the book of God. His prayers are vain. He will die a sinner and be thrown into hell where fresh kinds of torture will be given him. In hell are countless myriads of scorpions, snakes and frightful dragons. It is a pit of everlasting fire." The pleasures of heaven and the pains of hell have been revealed to Muhammad " who in his turn taught his disciples. It is the learned Musaliars who now hold this knowledge."

Let it not be supposed that the above feelings are entirely sensual and erotic. On the contrary the Mâppilas' version of Islam has had a strong effect for good on his life and morality.

No. III.

The Battle of Bedr.

Another song by the same poet is of Muhammad's famous **Battle of Bedr,** where he routed the Koreish ; also a subject of endless interest to Mâppilas, **They say that as the battle was fought on the 17th Ramazân in the 2nd year of the Hijra, it is a good day on which to die**

fighting. Curiously enough, the month of fasting, during which it is enjoined not to fight unless forced to do so, is the very one in which the Mâppila, the ultra strict follower of the Prophet according to his lights, chooses to go out to fight and die. The twelfth day of Ramazân is with them a good day on which to start out under devotion to death and it was selected in a last rising.

The poet describes how the Angel Gabriel told the Prophet that bliss awaited those of his followers who died fighting the infidel. The Prophet then tells them how they could gain Paradise and be met by the houris "whose eyes are like the waxing moon, whose cheeks are like the plantain's leaves who are soft as the petals of the young shoe-flower," by way of inspiring them with courage. The imagery is not quite so happy as before, for the necks of the *hûrîs* when they walk "wave to and fro like the neck of a rutting elephant." But their "breast is like a lake wherein are lotus flowers, and they are always 16 years old and very amorous" . . . . "They come like sporting elephants to bear away those who die in battle and strive with each other saying, 'I will take him — I will take him.' The Prophet swore to his army that such happiness would be theirs if they died fighting bravely." Omar was eating dates; when he heard this he cast them away. The Prophet asked why. He replied that he wished to waste no time in eating dates:—"I wish to use my time for fighting;" and so saying he rushed like a lion among a flock of sheep, killed many and died fighting: he met the death he wished for." The father fought against the son, for the bond of the faith is stronger than the bond of blood. The angels of death fought on the side of the Prophet and the Koreish were defeated.[15]

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOOSY — COPOSS.

Ante, Vol. XXIX. p. 338, I have shown that soosy was Anglo-Indian for a mixed silk and cotton cloth. The following quotations from Holwell's *Interesting Historical Events Relative to Bengal, etc.*, 1765, a veritable mine of wealth for the hunter after *Hobson-Jobsons*, go to show the correctness of the identification beyond doubt. **Coposs, cotton (kapâs)**, is unnoticed by Yule.

Page 196. — "This district produces raw-silk and **coposs** [raw-cotton, called, p. 193, "**coposs** or Bengal Cotton"] sufficient only for manufacturing their **soosies, cuttanees and gurras.**"

Page 200. — "The produce of the country consists of **shaal timbers** (a wood equal in quality to the best of our oak) **dammer lacca's**, an inferior sortment of raw-silk and **coposs** and grain, sufficient only for their own consumption."

Soosies, cuttanees and gurras were therefore all mixed piece-goods, which is valuable information. Yule quotes the second passage for **saul-wood (sâl)**, but **dammer-lacca** is especially interesting, unless we ought to place a comma between *dammer* and *lacca*, as it goes to show that **Bengal dammer** (pitch) was made from a resin (*lacca*, lac).

R. C. TEMPLE.

SOME FORMS OF FERINGEE.

1679. — "Between 3 and 4 of the morning we set out and about 9 with easy travelling came to Yentapollam: in the way we passed over a place which have been formerly inhabited by Portuguese called **Feringee Burane.**" — Streynsham Master's *Memorial*, March 19th.

1883. — "Near the line of the old Madras Road is the spot known as **Feringhee or Frângula Dibba**, the mound of the foreigners, where there was once a Portuguese Settlement." — Mackenzie, *Kistna District*, p. 206.

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JUFFYE — JUMP OF THE CULTCH.

HERE are two slang expressions for the learned in things Anglo-Indian to exercise their knowledge or ingenuity upon. A common slang expression of contempt among Eurasians towards a native, who apes European manners and dress, is **juffye**, or **jump of the cultch** or simply a **jumper**. The term **jumper** here is explainable as vernacular English for a man who does anything he has no natural or legal right to do, but the other two terms apparently require a good deal of explanation.

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[15] The next song is given in full. Here as elsewhere the translation is necessarily somewhat free. The songs were first of all put into Malayalam and then into English. Though nearly every Mâppila understands them more or less, few among them are capable of rendering them in the vernacular.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the Untikavâṭikâ grant.

THIS record has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 88 ff. I am quoting it, however, from ink-impressions made by myself.

The record introduces first a certain **Mânâṅka,** whom it describes as "an ornament of the **Râshṭrakûṭas** whose fame was adorned by a number of many good qualities." His son was **Dêvarâja.** Dêvarâja, it says, had three sons; of whom, however, it mentions only one by name,— **Bhavishya.** Bhavishya's son was **Abhimanyu.** And the record recites that, — têna **Mâna-puram**=adhyâsanên=âlaṅkurvvatâ mâtâpitrôḥ=puṇya-nimitt-âbhivṛiddhayê[1] **pêṭha-Paṅgarakîya-Dakshiṇa-Śivasya Uṇṭikavâṭikâ**[2]-nâma-grâmakô **Jaṭâbhâra**-pravrajitasya udaka-pûrvvakô dattaḥ . . . . **Harivatsa-koṭṭa**-nigraha(? hi)[3]-**Jayasiṅgha**-samakshaṁ.

The Pandit rendered this passage thus:—"By him, adorning Mânapura by his residence (*therein*), there is given, with libations of water, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, the village named Uṇḍikavâtikâ,[4] to the recluse Jaṭâbhâra, (*on behalf*) of (*the god*) Dakshiṇa-Śiva of Pethapaṅgaraka. . . . . (*This grant has been made*) in the presence of Jayasiṅgha, the chastiser of the Koṭṭa Harivatsa."

To this, however, there are objections. In the first place, in order to support such a rendering, there is the obligation of supplying some such word as *artham* or *arthê,* "on behalf," to govern the genitive ending with *Dakshiṇa-Śivasya.* And secondly, there is no evidence of the existence of a word *koṭṭa* as the name of any person, family, or tribe.[5] And, on this latter point, the following remarks may as well be made; because the matter is so thoroughly typical of the way in which there have been evolved, in connection with the ancient history of India, so many curious mistakes, some of which are recognised only when the time comes for verifying the assertions in which they are presented, and can be eliminated only by a full examination of the supposed authorities for those assertions. The Pandit gave[6] a certain reference in connection with his rendering of the record with which we are dealing, and in support of a remark, partly based on his estimate of the period to which it should be referred, that "this shows that there were Koṭṭa chiefs at least as late "as about the fifth century A.D." And, turning to the place referred to by him, we find that he had already formed the belief,—from a Gupta record which, according to his opinion at that time, was to be referred to the end of the second century A.D., and which we shall notice again further on,—that Koṭṭa did exist as a tribal name, and that a Koṭṭa king was reigning in Upper India about A.D. 190; also, that he considered that he had obtained Prâkṛit forms of the name Koṭṭa in a word which he read as Koḍa or Kôḍa in an early inscription at Sopârâ in the Ṭhâṇa district, Bombay, and in a word Kâda which he found on an early coin obtained by him at Sahâranpur in the Meerut division, North-West Provinces;[7] and also that, on these grounds, he was of opinion

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[1] This seems to be a mistake for *puṇy-âbhivṛiddhi-nimittaṁ* or *puṇy-âbhivṛiddhi-nimittâya.*

[2] The Pandit read this name as Uṇḍikavâṭikâ, with *ṇd* in the second syllable. The original uses that *akshara* in respect of which, as I have before now had occasion to remark, it is often impossible to decide whether it means *ṇṭ* or *ṇḍ*; except, of course, in well-known words such as the Sanskrit *maṇḍala* and *kaṇṭaka* and the Kanarese *gâmuṇḍa* and *uṇṭâta.* I read the name with *ṇṭ* because of the identification of the place, which will be shewn further on.

[3] Over the *ha* there is a mark, which may be a flaw in the copper, or may be an imperfect attempt to attach a superscript *i* to the consonant.

[4] See note 2 above.

[5] I do not overlook the facts, that Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, the revised edition, gives us Koṭṭapura as the name of a town in Magadha, from the *Bhadrabâhucharitra,* and that two records, Nos. 655 and 656 in Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. Appendix, pp 83, 89), give us the personal name of "Koṭṭabhañja, of the Bhañja family."

[6] *Loc. cit.* p. 88, note 1.

[7] For, perhaps, the identical coin, see Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India,* Plate II., No. 21; the reading is distinctly *Kôḍasa,* on both the obverse and the reverse.

that the Koḍas, Kôḍas, or Koṭṭas were widely spread over India and had already been a ruling power for nearly three hundred years.[8] Elsewhere, we have been told that the details adduced by the Pandit "seem to show that about B. C. 200 the tribe of the Kodas or Kottas, who seem about that "time to have been ruling near Mirat and afterwards (A.D. 190) near Patna, had a settlement at "Sopára."[9] As a rider to this, a remark has been made about an "apparent relation between the "Kods of the Sopára burial circles and the Kols and Gonds of the Central Provinces."[10] And finally, we have been informed that there was an "early widespread tribe allied to the Gonds known "as Koṭṭas and Koḍs in the Central Provinces North Konkan and Delhi," and that their head-quarters were probably in the Central Provinces.[11] But, if we turn back to the reference put forward by the Pandit himself, we find that the origin of all this matter is simply that the Pandit believed that "Skandagupta's" — [read Samudragupta's] — "inscription on the Allahâbâd pillar "states that he punished the scion of a Kotta" — [read Kotṭa, as shewn by the Pandit's Dêvanâgarî rendering of the text, given in a footnote] — "family in Pâṭaliputra."[12] That, however, is a pure mistake. It was some member of a family named Kôta, whom, the Allahâbâd record says, in a passage which mentions also Pushpa[pura], = Pâtaliputra, = Patna, Samudragupta caused (at some time about A.D. 375) to be captured by his armies.[13] The name Kôta with the dental *t*, is quite distinct from any such word as *koṭṭa*, with the lingual *ṭṭ*. And, so far at any rate as anything as yet brought to light may go, we may dismiss entirely the idea that there ever was a ruling power in India known by the name of Koṭṭa.

Now, on the other hand, in the first place, the construction of the sentence, quoted from the record with which we are dealing, is such that only the genitive *Jaṭâbhâra-pravrajitasya* is necessarily connected in any way with the verb *dattaḥ*, by which it is governed, and that the genitive ending with *Dakshiṇa-Sivasya* is governed in the most natural way by the immediately following word *Uṇṭikavâṭikâ-nâma-grâmakô* ; and this collocation of the words marks the village Uṇṭikavâṭikâ as already belonging to the god Dakshiṇa-Śiva at the time when it was conveyed by the record to someone else. And in the second place, the word *koṭṭa*, as also *kôṭa*, is well known as meaning 'a fort, a stronghold;' while there is nothing appropriate in speaking of the witness to a deed of gift or transfer as a chastiser of anyone when there is nothing in the record to indicate some such achievement as the motive for the grant, it is quite suitable that he should be described by a title which marks him as a local official; we have the word *koṭṭapâla*, meaning 'a guard, protector, keeper of a fort, a commander of a fort;'[14] and *koṭṭanigraha* or *koṭṭanigrahin*, in which the second component is from *ni* + *grah*, 'to hold down, keep or hold back, seize, hold, hold fast,' *etc.*, may quite well be taken as an official title meaning much the same thing. Further, *grâmaka* has the meaning of 'a small village.' The word *pravrajita* has the technical meaning of 'one who has left home and wandered forth as an ascetic mendicant;' but it can hardly be fairly rendered by 'recluse,' or by any single word, except perhaps in connection with Jain and Buddhist writings, in which it seems to be used in the sense of 'a monk;' and it has also the general meaning of 'gone astray, gone abroad.' The word *jaṭâbhâra*, which means literally 'a mass of braided hair,' must certainly be taken here, as it was taken by the Pandit, as a proper name; but the word reminds us at once of *jaṭâdhara*, 'carrying or wearing braided hair,' which is well known as an epithet of Śiva; and, while it does not seem either appropriate or probable that a village, specifically described as belonging to a god, should be given away to any ordinary person without a distinct proviso that he should hold it for that god, it might quite suitably be transferred to another form of that god, or to some other god connected with that god.[15]

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[8] See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 290.

[9] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIII., Ṭhâṇa, Part II., p 409.

[10] *Ibid.* p. 730.

[11] *Id.* Vol. I. Part I. p. 132 "Delhi" seems to be a mistake for Behar or anything else.

[12] See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 290, and note.

[13] See *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 12.

[14] See Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, revised edition, under *koṭṭa* and *pâla*.

[15] We seem to have at any rate one instance of an analogous kind. The *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha gave a village named Dhavashaṇḍikâ to certain persons, as a *dêvâgrahâra* or '*agrahâra* of the god,' for the benefit of the god Vishṇu in the form of Bhagavat; see *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 121. And his son Śarvanâtha gave half the said village to another person for the benefit of the divine (*bhagavatî*) goddess Pishṭapurikâdêvî: see *ibid.* p. 130.

And, for the above-mentioned reasons, — partly suggested, of course, but, I think it will be admitted, fully supported, by what I have to say further on in identifying the god and the places mentioned in the record, — I translate the passage thus: — "By him (**Abhimanyu**), adorning **Mânapura** by residing at it, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, the small village named **Uṇṭikavâṭikâ**, of (*i. e.* belonging to) the god **Dakshiṇa-Śiva of the Paṅgaraka pêṭha**, has been given, with the pouring out of water, to the **Jaṭâbhâra** who has left his home and gone abroad (*i. e.* to that same god who has gone from the place belonging to him as Dakshiṇa-Śiva and has settled elsewhere as Jaṭâbhâra). . . . . (*This has been done*) in the presence of **Jayasiṅgha**, the keeper of the fort of **Harivatsakoṭṭa**." Or, if it should be considered better to take Jaṭâbhâra as the name of a place, then part of the translation would be :— "to him (*i. e.* that same god) who has left his home (at the place belonging to him as Dakshiṇa-Śiva) and has gone abroad to (and settled at) **Jaṭâbhâra**."

Now, the record does not mention the territorial division, in which lay the village Uṇṭikavâṭikâ. Nor does it specify the boundaries of the village. Nor do we even know where it was obtained. And so we have nothing specific to guide us in the allocation of it. But the suggestion has been made, — whether by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, or by his editor, is not clear, — that the god Dakshiṇa-Śiva may be the god of **the great Śaiva shrine in the Mahâdêva hills** in the Hôshaṅgâbâd district, Central Provinces, because that shrine is under the management of the petty Chief of a place named **Pagâra**.[16] This suggestion is certainly correct. And, by way of an introduction to what I have to say about the matter in proving the point, it may be conveniently stated here that, in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 71, S. W. (1899), **the particular hill which is called 'Mahádeo'** in it and is marked as 4,834 feet high, and on which there is the shrine in question, is located in lat. 22° 24′, long. 78° 28′, about three miles south-by-west from the well-known hill-station of Pachmarhî in the Sôhâgpur tahsîl of the Hôshaṅgâbâd district, and about fifty miles towards the east-south-east-half-south from Hôshaṅgâbâd, which town is on the south bank of the Nerbudda; and that, while the principal of the *Bhôpâs* or hereditary guardians of the shrine is the Chief of the Pachmarhî zamîndârî, which comprises six villages,[17] another of the *Bhôpâs* is the Chief of the Pagâra zamîndârî, which consists of twelve villages[18] and apparently has its head-quarters at **Pagâra** itself, which is in lat. 22° 31′, long. 78° 29′, about four miles on the north of Pachmarhî and on the road to Pachmarhî from the Paparia or Piparia station on the G. I. P. Railway from Bombay to Jabalpur: from the 'Mahádeo' hill, Pagâra is about seven miles north-half-east.

The Mahâdêva hills are a part of the Sâtpuḍâ range; but they are isolated, by precipitous ravines, from the hills which are actually known as the Sâtpuḍâs. The earliest mention of them that I can trace, is in Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer*, second edition, Vol. II. (1828), p. 161, where they are described as "a range of hills in the province of Gundwana, where stands the "celebrated temple to which the Hindoos resort in pilgrimage." They are famous for a peculiar variety of sandstone known as the "Mahâdêva sandstone," in connection with which a full account of them, from that point of view, has been given in the *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. II. (1860), which work speaks of them as "the Puchmuri or Mahadeva hills" (page 183). And, according to Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III. (1854), p. 358, they took their appellation from the temple, and they may be considered as lying between lat. 21° 30′ and 22° 40′ and long. 78° and 80°.

Hamilton's work speaks also of **the Mahâdêva temple**, which it describes as "a celebrated "Hindoo place of worship in the province of Gundwana, situated among the Mahadeo hills, sixty "miles south-east from Hussingabad, on the Nerbudda river." It places the temple, not quite accurately, in lat. 22° 22′, long. 78° 35′. It further quotes Jenkins' *Medical Transactions* to the

[16] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 132.

[17] See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X. p. 522. This chief is describe as "a Kurkû by caste."

[18] See *ibid.* p. 527.

effect that, at the festival held in February, 1820, more than eight thousand people visited the shrine, in spite of the fact that it could hardly have become known, by that time, that the taxes, which had ranged from one rupee to ten rupees per pilgrim, and even to fourteen rupees in the case of a pilgrim having a bullock with him, had been remitted. And, from all this, we gather that the shrine really is one of considerable repute.

In 1833 or 1834, the Mahâdêva hills were visited, for geological inquiries, by Mr. Spilsbury, of the Bengal Medical Establishment, who then published an account of them in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. (1834), p. 388 ff., with a sketch-map opposite page 392. He climbed the range *viâ* "Pugara, a small Goand village, belonging to a Thakur"[19] He located "**the cave of Mahadeo,**" — from which we infer that the "temple" is a shrine in a cave, — some four or five hundred feet **below a peak,** which he mentioned in one place as "Putta Sunkur"[20] but in another as "**Jutta Shunkur,**"[21] and which he further shewed in his map as "**Jutur Sunkur.**" He has further told us that the occasion of the annual *jâtrâ* or pilgrimage is the Śivarâtri, and that the pilgrims assemble, before making the ascent to the cave, at a place named "Bhawun," which, however, is not marked either in his map or in the Indian Atlas sheet. And he has drawn attention to "a singular shaped hill," near "Bhawun," which is called "Terí Kothí" because "all Goands firmly believe the locusts issue" from it.[22] His map locates this hill about four miles on the south-east of "Jutur Sunkur." And his sketch of the hill itself presents what looks like an enormous *liṅga* on a huge mound, the combined height of the two being shewn as about a hundred and fifty feet.

We may now consider **the details of the record.** And we will take, in the first place, **the prefix Dakshiṇa** in the name of the god **Dakshiṇa-Śiva,** "the southern Śiva, **the Śiva of the South.**" We have the same prefix in the name of the god Dakshiṇa-Kêdârêśvara, "the Kêdârêśvara of the South," of Baḷagâmi in Mysore, which was plainly an image established there as the local representative of Śiva in the form of Kêdâra or Kêdârêśvara as worshipped at Kêdârnâth, which is a famous temple and place of pilgrimage in the Himâlayas, in the Garhwâl district, North-West Provinces.[23] And we have it again in the name of the god Dakshiṇa-Sômanâtha, "the Sômanâtha of the South," of Huligere, *i. e.* Lakshmêshwar, within the limits of the Dhârwâr district,[24] which was plainly a local representative, at that place, of the famous form of Śiva as Sômanâtha at Sômanâthapaṭṭana or Pâṭan-Sômnâth in Kâṭhiâwâr. Evidently, the prefix was customarily used, in a very appropriate manner, to denote certain gods **in the Dakshiṇâpatha or Dekkan,** *i. e.* in the territory on the south of the Nerbudda, which were representatives and namesakes, in that part of the country, of celebrated gods of Northern India. And so far, therefore, as the name of the god is concerned, there is at least no objection to connect the record with the locality suggested by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji or by his editor.

To the preceding point, we have to add the fact that **the characters of the record are of the southern class of alphabets.** And in this respect, again, there is no objection to connect the record with the suggested locality.

But, further, I find **a distinct connection between the record and the locality,** through what is evidently the real local name of the shrine which is now known as the temple of Mahâdêva, and is probably also the local name for the peak below which the shrine is. Spilsbury's map places that peak just where the Indian Atlas sheet[25] places the peak which it calls 'Mahádeo.' As has been mentioned above, Spilsbury's printed account speaks of the peak as "Putta Sunkur" and "Jutta Shunkur;" and it is shewn in his map as "Jutur Sunkur." The "Putta" is certainly a misprint; compare "Dokgur" three times, on page 392, for the "Dobgur" at the top of the same page and the "Dobgurh" of his map, which stands for a name which is given in the Atlas sheet

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[19] *Loc. cit.* p. 391. [20] *Loc. cit.* p. 392, note. [21] *Loc. cit.* p. 393. [22] *Loc. cit.* p. 393.
[23] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 221, and note 4. [24] *Ibid.* pp. 243, 255, and page 247, text lines 30, 31.
[25] See page 511 above.

as 'Dhupgarh.' It can hardly be questioned that the "**Jutta Shunkur**" and "**Jutur Sunkur,**" though possibly confused by Spilsbury in some way with the word *jâtrâ*, 'pilgrimage,' really mean **Jaṭâ-Saṁkara**, or "Saṁkara (Siva) of the braided hair."[26] And we can hardly avoid recognising a direct connection of some kind between that appellation and the name **Jaṭâbhâra** which we actually have in the record. We can also easily understand how the present name of the range came to be established. Evidently, the first European visitor to the locality found it without any particular name of its own; he heard of the existence of a famous and much frequented shrine on some hill in it, and, no doubt, the particular hill was pointed out to him; he asked the name of the hill, or of the shrine or its god, and was told Jaṭâ-Saṁkara; this name not being familiar to him, he asked more precisely who the god might be, and was answered Mahâdêva; and this well-known name of Siva was readily accepted as furnishing a convenient appellation, first for the particular peak, and then for the entire range of hills.

There is no difficulty about taking the modern name **Pagâra** as representing the ancient **Paṅgaraka.**[27] We might perhaps take **the prefix pêṭha** as meaning 'a market-town.' And, in that case, the epithet *pêṭha-Paṅgarakîya* would locate the god Dakshiṇa-Siva at the modern Pagâra itself, about four miles on the north of Pachmarhî. But we have no information as to the existence of any god of repute at Pagâra. Also, it would appear from Molesworth and Candy's Marâṭhî Dictionary that the word *pêṭh* or *pêṇṭh*, in the sense of 'a market-town,' is of Hindustânî origin. I am more inclined, therefore, to take the prefix *pêṭha* as the same word which we find used as **a territorial term,** in records of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. from a part of the country not far distant from that with which we are dealing, in the expression "the Maṇinâga *pêṭha*,"[28] and which seems to be the origin of the Marâṭhî *pêṭâ* in the sense of a subdivision of a parganâ or of a tâluka. And, from this point of view, I interpret the record, not as locating the god Dakshiṇa-Siva at Pagâra itself, but as marking the god as the god of a territorial division which was known as **the Paṅgaraka pêṭha** and derived its appellation from the ancient Paṅgaraka, now represented by **Pagâra,** as its head-quarters town.

I take **the actual state of the case** to be as follows. The locality first derived its sanctity from **the hill called 'Terí Kothí,'** the summit of which so strikingly resembles an enormous *liṅga*, about four miles on the south-east of the peak known as Jaṭâ-Saṁkara and Mahâdêva;[29] and that summit itself was **the original god Dakshiṇa-Siva,** "the Siva of the South," of the Paṅgaraka *pêṭha*. The god, in that form, had been endowed with the village of Uṇṭikavâṭikâ. Subsequently, it was desired to set up an actual image of the god. A suitable place was found in the cave below **the above-mentioned peak.** Either the god himself was installed there in the more specific form of **Jaṭâbhâra**; or perhaps the place itself was doubly recommended, and was named **Jaṭâbhâra,** in consequence of having, over the entrance to the cave, a mass of gnarled and twisted roots and rocks resembling braided hair; and this name became afterwards modified into **Jaṭâ-Saṁkara.** And, when the god was thus installed in the cave, the previous endowment of the village of Uṇṭikavâṭikâ was transferred, by this charter, to the new shrine.

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26 Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, revised edition, gives Jaṭâ-Saṁkara as the name of a *tîrtha*, from the *Rasikaramaṇa*, xii. 22. — The Postal List of the 'Wardhâ' district, Central Provinces, shews a place named 'Jatta-Shankar' in the 'Arvî' tahsîl, post-town 'Ashṭi.' But I cannot find it in the Atlas sheets Nos. 54, and 72, S. W.

27 There are various other places, in different parts of the country, the names of which are given in maps, *etc.*, as 'Pagara,' 'Pangra,' and 'Pangara.' It is sufficient to state that there are no grounds for identifying any of them with the Paṅgaraka of the record — The Village List of the 'Wûn' district, Berars, shews a place named 'Pitha-pongara' in the 'Kelapur' tâluka, post-town 'Pandherkowra.' But I cannot find it, unless it is the 'Pitapungli' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 73 (1896), a small village about eleven miles south-west-half-south from 'Kelapur.' About forty miles towards the north-west from 'Pitapungli,' there is a small village or hamlet called 'Maapur,' in the 'Yeotmal' tâluka of the same district. There is, however, nothing to lead us to refer the record to this locality.

28 *Gupta Inscrs.* pp. 116, 133. Another form of the original word occurs as *veṇṭha*, in line 30-31 of the Harihar plates of A. D. 1354; see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 347. And we have also *veṇṭheya* or *peṇṭheya* in line 24 of the Harihar inscription of A. D. 1538; see Vol. IV, above, p. 331.

29 See above.

As regards **Uṇṭikavâṭikâ,** I find that it is quite suitably represented by the '**Oontiya**' of the Indian Atlas sheet, nine miles towards the north-north-east from Sôhâgpur, and thirty miles north-north-west-three-quarters-west from the Jaṭâ-Śaṁkara or Mahâdêva peak. There is another 'Oontiya' about four miles towards the east-north-east from that one. But it seems to be a larger village. And the record appears to distinctly single out the smaller of the two. These villages are both on the south of the Nerbudda, and within a quite reasonable distance from the shrine, so as to be conveniently managed by the priest or priests of the shrine.

And **the fort of Harivatsakoṭṭa** is probably the hill-fort which the Indian Atlas sheet shews as '**Dhupgarh**' and places on a peak 4,454 feet high, about three miles on the north-west of the Jaṭâ-Śaṁkara or Mahâdêva peak. The commander of that fort would be a most suitable witness to the transfer registered in the record.

The place which is mentioned as **Mânapura** cannot be satisfactorily identified. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was at first somewhat inclined to identify it with Mânyakhêṭa-Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizam's Dominions,[30] the capital of the well-known dynasty of Râshṭrakûṭas which was founded by Dantidurga about A. D. 750, some three hundred and eighty miles away to the south from the locality to which our results fix us. And, later on, he or his editor has suggested more plainly "Mánpur in the Vindhya hills;"[31] meaning, I think, a place which I myself had meanwhile proposed,[32] namely Mânpur in Mâlwa, the head-quarters of the Mânpur parganâ under the Bhôpâwar Agency in Central India, about twelve miles south-west from Mhow and one hundred and seventy miles to the west from our locality. Neither of these proposals, however, is really admissible. At the time to which the present record is properly to be referred, namely in or closely about the period A. D. 650 to 700, there cannot have been any independent Râshṭrakûṭas at Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizam's Dominions; moreover, the ancient Sanskṛit name of Mâlkhêḍ has never yet been met with otherwise than in the form of Mânyakhêṭa. And Mânpur in Mâlwa is put out of the question by its being on the north of the Nerbudda. If the Mànapura of the record was the capital of Abhimanyu, it may possibly be Mânpur near 'Bandhogarh' in Rêwa, about two hundred miles towards the north-east-by-east from our locality, which certainly seems to be the Mànapura that is mentioned in a record of A. D. 462 or thereabouts.[33] But there is nothing in our record to mark its Mânapura as a capital. And the text reads more as if it was simply an ordinary town or village, somewhere in the vicinity of the other places, which Abhimanyu had honoured by camping at it in the course of a tour. The name Mânpur is of frequent occurrence as a village-name in Rêwa, Baghêlkhaṇḍ, the Central Provinces, the Berars, and the Nizam's Dominions. But I do not at present find in the maps any Mânpur which is reasonably close to the Jaṭâ-Śaṁkar or Mahâdêva peak, and so may have been used as a camp by Abhimanyu for the purpose of visiting the shrine.[34] And I am inclined to think, therefore, that the Mânapura of the record may be not in existence now. It is, however, not impossible that it is, in some way or another, the village which is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet as 'Bhanpoor,' on the south bank of the Nerbudda, two and a half miles north-by-west from Uṇṭikavâṭikâ-'Oontiya.'[35] And it is also not impossible that Mânapura may have been the older name of Sôhâgpur, or of Sôbhâpur which is a large village six miles on the north-east of Sôhâgpur.

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[30] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 89.

[31] *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part I. p. 132.

[32] Vol. XVIII. above, p. 233.

[33] *Gupta Inscrs.* pp. 136, 138.

[34] I may state that I have recently had occasion to examine sheets of the Indian Atlas covering a great deal of country, especially along the course of the Nerbudda and to the south of that river. In sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), in lat. 22° 6', long 73° 7', there is a village called 'Manpur,' in the Baroda territory, about six miles on the north of Miyâgâm. And, curiously enough, there is an 'Untia' about two and a half miles on the north-east of this 'Manpur,' and there is another 'Untia' about seven miles further on in the same direction. With these exceptions, I have not found any other name answering to Uṇṭikavâṭikâ (or Uṇḍikavâṭikâ) And these places can hardly have any connection with the present record; because they are on the north of the Nerbudda, and some three hundred miles away from the locality to which the other considerations lead us: nothing can be found, in that direction, to represent Pangaraka and the god Dakshiṇa-Śiva and the name Jaṭâbhâra.

[35] There is not, as yet, any Survey or Topographical map available for testing this point.

The places mentioned in the Paiṭhaṇ plates of A. D. 794.

This record has been edited by Prof. Kielhorn, with a facsimile lithograph, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 103 ff. It recites that, on a specified day in the year Śaka-Saṁvat 716 (expired), falling in A. D. 794, the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III. gave to some Brâhmaṇs a village named **Limbârâmikâ**, in a group of villages known as **the Sârâkachchha or Sânâkachchha twelve**[1] which was in a territorial division called **the Pratishṭhâna bhukti.** And it specifies the boundaries of the village as being, on the east, a village named **Samatîrthaka** ; on the south, **the river Gôdâvarî** ; and on the west, (a village named) **Brahmapurî.** On the north, the record places a village the name of which has been read as Dhônagrâma, with the remark that the consonant of the first syllable may be either *dh*, *v*, or *ch*, and that of the second syllable may be either *n* or *t* ; but, in view of the identification that can be made, we may safely say that the real name given in the record is certainly **Vôḍagrâma.**[2]

Pratishṭhâna is the modern **Paiṭhaṇ**, on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî, the head-quarters, apparently, of the Paithaṇ sarkâr of the Auraṅgâbâd district in the Nizam's Dominions; in the Indian Atlas sheet 38, S. E. (1886), it is shewn as 'Paithan,' in lat. 19° 27′, long. 75° 26′. As the village that was granted was in **the Pratishṭhâna bhukti**, which can only have been a small subdivision of a much larger territory which would be known as the Pratishṭhâna *dêśa*, we ought to find it somewhere in the vicinity of Paiṭhaṇ itself. And I find that **Limbârâmikâ** must have stood just about where the maps shew a village which is entered as '**Cusnapur**' in the Atlas quarter-sheet of 1886 mentioned above and as 'Cúsnapúr' in the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 17 of 1877, but as '**Kristnapooree**' in the full Atlas sheet No. 38 of 1857 and in the beautiful Survey map of the Paithaṇ sarkâr executed under the superintendence of Captain H. Morland in 1842-43. The said village, 'Cusnapur-Kristnapooree,' is **on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî**, twelve miles west-north-west-three-quarters-north from Paithaṇ. **Samatîrthaka** is evidently a village on the same bank of the Gôdâvarî, two miles on the south-east of 'Cusnapur-Kristnapooree,' which is shewn as '**Sewatta**' in the Atlas quarter-sheet of 1886 and as '**Sewátta**' in the Deccan Topographical sheet of 1877, but in the full Atlas sheet of 1857 and in the Paiṭhaṇ Survey map of 1842-43 is shewn as '**Savutha,**' which probably represents some such pronunication as Saumtha. **Vôḍagrâma** is evidently the village which is shewn as '**Vadgaon**' in the Atlas quarter-sheet of 1886 and is referred to as '**Wargáon,**' in the indication of certain cart-tracks or foot-paths, in the Deccan Topographical sheet of 1877, but is shewn in the full Atlas sheet of 1857 and in the Paiṭhaṇ Survey map of 1842-43 as '**Vaudgaon,**' — which stands, no doubt, for **Vôḍgaon**, with perhaps a pronunciation of the *ô* like the *aw* in 'Cawnpore' and the *au* in 'maund,'[3] — three miles towards the north-east-by-east from 'Cusnapur-Kristnapooree.' And

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[1] The published text gives *Sârâkachchha*, with the first two syllables marked as doubtful. The consonant of the first syllable seems to be certainly *s*. For the possibility of reading the consonant of the second syllable as *n*, rather than *r*, compare the *n* of *Pratishṭhâna* in the same line.

[2] The name stands in line 56 of the text. There is no question that the first syllable may be read either as *dhô* or as *vô*. And the record presents several instances in which there are forms of *n* and *t* closely resembling the consonant of the second syllable. But, for the point that the second syllable is really *ḍa*, compare *khaḍgaṁ*, line 4, *gaḍgaṁ* for *khaḍgaṁ*, line 5, *Pâṇḍya*, line 11, and, still more clearly, *ôḍayaḥ* for *ôdayaḥ*, line 31, and *jyê(shṭha)ḍaś-ôttarêshu*, lines 60-61.

[3] When the Paiṭhaṇ Survey map of 1842-43 and the Atlas sheet of 1857 were prepared, the sounds of the short *o* and the long *ô* were, of course, often represented by *o* ; but also other devices were used, such as *oa* in 'Toandoly,' four miles north-north-east, and 'Poargaon,' eleven miles towards the north-east-by-east, from 'Vaudgaon,' which are shewn as 'Tondoli' and 'Porgaon' in the quarter-sheet of 1886, and such as the insertion of an *e* after the consonant, as in 'Donegaon,' twelve miles towards the east-north-east from 'Vaudgaon,' which is shewn as 'Dongaon' in the quarter-sheet of 1886. And *au* was very often used for *ô* ; as in 'Vaugwaddy,' seventeen miles towards the east from 'Vaudgaon,' and in 'Wauksure,' six and a half miles south-east-by-east from Paiṭhaṇ, which are shewn in the quarter-sheet of 1886 as 'Vagwari' and 'Waksari.' And I do not find any other certain instance in the neighbourhood of the locality with which we are concerned, in which *au* stands for *o*. But the *au* of the present day, — while occasionally represented (wrongly) by *au*, as in the 'Sawkhaid' of the Paithaṇ Survey map, five miles west-north-west from 'Vaudgaon,' which appears in the Atlas sheet of 1857 as 'Sowkhaid,' and even in the quarter-sheet of 1886 as 'Sowkhera,' — was almost always represented by *ow* or *ou*, as in 'Kowdgaon,' six miles north-east-half-north, and 'Ourungpoor,' five and a half miles north-north-west from 'Vaudgaon,' which are shewn in the quarter-sheet of 1886

Brahmapurî is perhaps the 'Bramagaon' of the Atlas quarter-sheet of 1886, and the 'Brumagovan' of the full Atlas sheet of 1857 and of the Paithaṇ Survey map of 1842-43, about four miles almost due north of 'Cusnapur Kristnapooree;' it is quite possible that its lands may have originally extended southwards along the nullah on which it stands, so as to include certain other villages which now exist separately under the names of 'Mauzegaon-Mouzegovan,' 'Lamgaon-Lamgovan,' and 'Jogisari-Jogeshwur,' so as to reach the Gôdâvarî on the west of 'Cusnapur-Kristnapooree.'[4] The name **Limbârâmikâ** does not seem to exist, now, anywhere on the north of the Gôdâvarî, in the locality to which these results fix us; nor, I may add, can any such name, or any other names resembling Samatîrthaka and the name (no matter how it may be read) of the village on the north of Limbârâmikâ, be found anywhere else along the Gôdâvarî in the whole extent of country covered by the Atlas sheets 38, 55, and 56. But it has left **a clear trace of itself,** in the name of a village on the south bank of the Gôdâvarî, immediately opposite 'Cusnapur-Kristnapooree,' which is not shewn at all in the Atlas quarter-sheet of 1886, but is shewn as '**Nimbári**' in the Deccan Topographical sheet of 1877 and as '**Limbaree**' in the full Atlas sheet of 1857 and the Paithaṇ Survey map of 1842-43. And I suspect that Limbârî-Nimbârî was an offshoot from the original Limbârâmikâ; that 'Cusnapur-Kristnapooree,' = Kṛishṇapurî,[5] was the *dêvapurî* or "ward of the gods" of Limbârâmikâ; that the original *brahmapurî*, or "Brahmaṇ's ward" of the village, became absorbed into Kṛishṇapurî; and that that is why we can now trace the original name only on the south bank of the river.

The appellation of the group of villages known as **the Sârâkachchha or Sânâkachchha twelve** seems, not to have been derived from the name of any town or village, but to mean "the twelve (villages) on the bank or banks of the Sârâ or Sânâ." The reference may be to the original name of the 'Ganda,' a small river which flows into the Gôdâvarî from the north at a point about three and a half miles on the west of 'Vaudgaon;' and, in this case, the name is to be taken as denoting a group of villages on the east bank of that river. Or it may be that the name belongs to a large nullah which passes 'Vaudgaon' on the east and flows into the Gôdâvarî at a point about three miles on the north-west of Paithaṇ; and, in this case, the name probably denoted a group of villages on both sides of that nullah. Close on the west of the 'Ganda,' there flows into the Gôdâvarî, also from the north, another small river, the name of which is given in the full Atlas sheet of 1857 as 'Sinnna,' but in the Paithaṇ Survey map as 'Seev,' and in the Deccan Topographical sheet as 'Sheo,' and in the Atlas quarter-sheet of 1886 as 'Siv;' it does not seem that this can be concerned in the matter.

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as 'Kaudgaon' and 'Aurangpur.' And, even if the actual modern name of the village should be either Vêḍgaon or Vauḍgaon, — which I very much question, — there can be no reasonable doubt that it is the village which is mentioned, as Vôḍagrâma, in the record. It may be added that the sound of *aw* in 'Cawnpore' and of *au* in 'maund' is the sound which the *o* and *ô* naturally assume when they are followed by an *r* which has not a vowel after it, and that there is always more or less of an *r*-sound in the lingual *ḍ*. — There seems to be really no end to the vagaries of those who fix the spelling of place-names for use in maps. The Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 17 (1877) marks a road, which crosses the Gôdâvarî about eight miles on the north-east of Newâsa in the Ahmednagar district, as going 'to Árungabád;' and it gives the same words in connection with a track from the neighbouring village of 'Kaigaon.' It really means "to Aurangábád." And, in addition to presenting *u* instead of *a* and *á* instead of *â* in what purports to be up-to-date spelling, it furnishes an instance of a fantastic use of *â* for *au*, exactly the opposite of the use of *au* for *â* mentioned above.

[4] As I have before now had occasion to indicate, from the maps we can only take the distances and bearings from village-site to village-site, and this only locates approximately the relative positions of the lands belonging to the different villages.

[5] Either form of the name means, of course, Kṛishṇapurî. And I think I am safe in saying that Kusna is actually current as a vulgar or corrupt pronunciation of Kṛishṇa. But, both in this detail and in some others which will have been recognised above, the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet and the supposed up-to-date quarter-sheet of the Atlas, are, manifestly, anything but an improvement on the earlier maps. — A curious and very unsatisfactory feature in the Atlas quarter-sheet, is the introduction of G. for "great" and L. for "little;" for instance, in 'G. Shendra' and 'L. Shendra,' eight miles east of Aurangâbâd, where the full sheet of 1857 shews 'Shaindra' and 'Ch. Shaidra,' and in 'G. Julkeh' and 'L. Julkeh,' five miles east of Newâsa in the Ahmednagar district, where the Deccan Topographical sheet No. 17 shews 'Júlkeh B.' and 'Júlkeh K.' Of course, the maps ought to perpetuate the local usage, and to tell us whether the terms employed in particular localities are *budrûkh* and *khurd*, or *hir.* and *chikka*, or *baḍâ* and *chhôṭâ*, and so on.

The passage in the record which mentioned **the residences of the grantees, with their names** and other details, "has been greatly tampered with, for the purpose of reducing the number of "grantees, which originally was seven, to four."[6] The following remarks, however, may be made. One of these residences was **Pratishṭhâna-Paiṭhaṇ** itself (line 48). Another was a place in respect of which only the last component of its name, **bhadra**, can be read, in the same line; it seems to be the '**Umbud**' and '**Ambad**' of the maps, about twenty-seven miles east-north-east from Paiṭhaṇ. The name of another has been read as Jakali, line 49, with the remark that "possibly, what is engraved may be Takali; and perhaps the word has been engraved in the place "of another name:" the name 'Takli,' 'Taklee,' is so common in the part of the country with which we are concerned, that, as I do not find any Jakali, I would certainly read **Tâkali**; and the place may be the '**Takli**' of the maps, eight and a half miles north-by-west from Paiṭhaṇ, or it may be the larger '**Taklee**,' forty-two miles from Paiṭhaṇ in the same direction. Another name, in line 47, seems to be **Avilaṭhâ(?)vâ(?)rêśa**, with the possibility that the penultimate syllable may be *lê*: this perhaps has some connection with the '**Valooz**' and '**G. Walauj**' of the maps, on the 'Ganda' river, about twenty-four miles north-north-west from Paiṭhaṇ. The remaining name is **Kachchhauraja** (lines 52-53); regarding this I cannot at present offer any remarks.

The places mentioned in the Paiṭhaṇ plates of A. D. 1272.

This record has been edited by me in Vol. XIV. above, p. 314 ff. It recites that, on a specified day in the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1193 expired, falling in A. D. 1272, the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Râmachandra gave as an *agrahâra*, to fifty-seven Brâhmaṇs, a village named **Vâḍâṭhâṇagrâma**, which is described as an ornament of **the Sêuṇa country** (*dêśa*) and as being situated on the north bank of **the river Gôdâvarî**, together with two other villages named **Pâṭâra-Pimpalagrâma** and **Vaidya-Ghôgharagrâma**. And it specifies the boundaries of the *agrahâra* as being, on the east, the village of **Vâhagâṁvu**; on the south-east, the village of **Nêuragâṁvu**; on the south, the village of **Dêigâṁvu**, and then **the Gaṅgâ**; on the west, **the Gaṅgâ**, and then the villages of **Khâtigâṁvu**, **Âlueṁgâṁvu**, and **Nâgamaṭhâṇa**; on the north-west, the village of **Jântêgâṁvu**; on the north. (the village of) **Pâniva**; and on the north-east, (the village of) **Vâḍakhala.**

The places are found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 38, S. E. (1886), in the Daulatâbâd sarkâr of the Auraṅgâbâd district, Nizam's Dominions. **Vâḍâṭhâṇagrâma**, indeed, seems to have disappeared.[1] But **Pâṭâra-Pimpalagrâma** is '**Piplegaon**,' — the name of which we may conveniently take as **Pippaḷgaon**, though possibly it is actually Pimpaḷgaon, — in lat. 19° 43′, long. 74° 55′, about thirty-two miles west-south-west-a-quarter-west from Auraṅgâbâd; and **Vaidya-Ghôgharagrâma** is '**Ghogargaon**,' two miles north of Pippaḷgaon: the prefixes in the ancient names evidently distinguished these two villages from another 'Piplegaon,' seven miles to the west-north-west from Pippaḷgaon, and from 'Kali-Pipalgaon,' ten miles north-north-east from Pippaḷgaon, and from another 'Ghogargaon,' on the south bank of the Gôdâvarî, five and a half miles south-by-west from Pippaḷgaon. **Vâhagâṁvu** is '**Vaigaon**,' three miles east-by-south from Pippaḷgaon. **Nêuragâṁvu** is '**Newargaon**,' on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî, five and a half miles south-south-east-half-south from Pippaḷgaon. **Dêigâṁvu** is '**Deogaon**,' on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî, four and a half miles towards the south-south-west from Pippaḷgaon. The **Gaṅgâ** must be **the Gôdâvarî itself**; unless the name can belong to a very small nullah which flows into the Gôdâvarî from the north at a point about three and a half miles west-south-west from Pippaḷgaon. The name of **Khâtigâṁvu** seems to have disappeared. **Âlueṁgâṁvu** is '**Awalgaon**,' on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî, three and a half miles west-by-south from Pippaḷgaon. **Nâgamathâna** is '**Nagamthan**,' on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî, five miles towards the west-by-

[6] See *loc. cit.* p. 108, note 7.

[1] It hardly appears likely that it can be represented either by the 'Wakthi' and 'Wukthee' of the maps, three and a half miles on the north of Pippalgaon, or by the 'Madthas Wadgaon' and 'Mudthus Waudgaon' of the maps, four and a half miles on the east of Pippalgaon and two miles beyond, and on the east-north-east of, 'Vaigaon' = Vâhagâṁvu.

north from Pippalgaon. **Jântegâmvu** is '**Jathagaon**,' five miles north-west-by-north from Pippalgaon. **Pâniva** is '**Panui**,' four miles north of Pippalgaon. And the name of **Vâḍakhala** seems to be represented by '**Warkhed**,' three and a half miles north-east from Pippalgaon. In the full Atlas sheet No. 38 of 1857, and in the beautiful Survey map of the Daulatâbâd sarkâr executed under the superintendence of Captain H. Morland in 1847, the above-mentioned names are given as Peeplegaon, Gogurgaon, Peeplegaon, Katee Peepulgaon and Kalee Peepulgaon, Ghogorgaon and Gogurgaon, Voygaon, Navurgaon, Daregaon and Davegaon, Auvulgaon, Nagumtan, Jathagaon, Panvee and Panwee, and Wurkhaid.

The record locates these places in **the Sêuṇa country**. And Hêmâdri has told us, in one of the *praśastis* of his *Vratakhaṇḍa*, that in the same country there was **Dêvagiri**, the hereditary capital of the dynasty to which Râmachandra, the maker of the grant recorded in these plates, belonged.[2] Dêvagiri is **Daulatâbâd**, from which Pippalgaon is distant about twenty-seven miles towards the south-west-by-west. And, through the identification of the places mentioned in this record, we now have definite epigraphic proof to support the literary statement as to **the exact position of the Sêuṇa country**. We have been told that the Sêuṇa country extended from Nâsik to Dêvagiri-Daulatâbâd.[3] That, however, is not correct. The Nâsik country was a distinct territory, with a separate name of its own, namely the Nâsika *dêśa*.[4] And there is every reason to believe that the Sêuṇa country was separated on the west from the Nâsika country by very much the same boundary-line which now separates the Auraṅgâbâd district from the Sinnar, Niphâḍ, Yeola, and Nândgaon tâlukas of Nâsik. The southern boundary of it was doubtless the Gôdâvarî. And the eastern boundary probably left the Gôdâvarî at a point, about thirteen miles north-west-by-west from Paiṭhaṇ, where a small river called 'Ganda' flows into that river from the north, and ran northwards along the 'Ganda' and passed a few miles on the east of Dêvagiri-Daulatâbâd. It has also been suggested that Sêuṇa *dêśa* was very likely the original name of Khândêsh, and that the Sêuṇa country may have included parts of Khândêsh as far north as the Taptî.[5] There does not appear, however, to be any solid foundation for that suggestion. And we may in all probability take it that the northern boundary of the Sêuṇa country was very much the same boundary-line which now divides the Auraṅgâbâd district from the Châḷisgaon and Pâchôra tâlukas of Khândêsh. The territory will be best defined, and the position of it will be best indicated, if we speak of it as **the country round Dêvagiri-Daulatâbâd**.

Within the area indicated above for the Sêuṇa country, on the west bank of the 'Ganda' river, in lat 19° 41′, long. 75° 16′, there is a place which in the Atlas quarter-sheet No. 38, S. E., of 1886, is shewn as an ordinary village, but fortified, with the name of 'Sundarwara,' but in the full sheet of 1857, and in the Survey map of the Paiṭhaṇ sarkâr of 1847, is shewn as a large village or small town with the name of '**Chendravadah**.' It seems worth while that, when an opportunity occurs, local inquiries should be made, to determine what its name really is. 'Chendravadah' would of course stand for **Chandravâḍa**. And, if the name of the place is Chandravâḍa, it seems probable to me, now, that it, rather than '**Chândôr**,' in the Nâsik district, — of which the real name seems to be Chândôḍ or Chândwaḍ, also representing **Chandravâḍa**, — may be the **Chandrâdityapura** which, according to the Bassein plates of A. D. 1069, was the capital of Dṛiḍhaprahâra, the founder of the family of the Sêuṇa princes.[6]

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[2] See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (in the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part II.), Appendix C., p. 275, verses 19, 20.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 231.

[4] See Vol. XI. above, p. 162. The same record mentions a subdivision of the Nâsika *dêśa*, called the Vaṭanagara *vishaya*. It evidently took its appellation from Vaṭanagara as the ancient name of 'Wurner,' *i. e.* Waḍnêr, about twenty-two miles north-east from Nâsik.

[5] *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part I. p. 231.

[6] Vol. XII. above, pp. 121, 124; and see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part II.), p. 512.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D , M.R.A S.

(Concluded from p. 467.)

CHAPTER XIII.

Interpolations. Names of Suras. Initials.

REASON for and method of collecting the *Qorân* — Revelations omitted — Alleged integrity of the *Qorân* — Interpolated verses — The name "Muhammed" in the *Qorân* — Various theories on the initials — Synopsis of initials and conclusions.

Appendix : (Approximate) Chronological arrangement of revelations.

The *Qorân* is a comparatively small book, and for some time after the death of Muhammed it was not even a book, but the different pieces were scattered about in various private collections, all of which were incomplete. In most instances the revelations were committed to memory by the Believers. The condition of the *Qorân* faithfully reflected that of Islâm in the period immediately following the demise of the Prophet. Everything was out of joint. The Believers had no other guide in religious affair, which now permeated every action, than their individual knowledge of the *Qorân*, their recollections of how Muhammed had acted in certain emergencies, and the decisions of the *Imâm* or the *Khalifah* of the Prophet. This would, however, only describe how matters stood in Medina, the centre of Islâm; whilst the provinces were so badly provided with religious ministrations that Islâm only took root there with great difficulty.

Muhammed never had any intention of compiling a book. He did not even take any pains to have the revelations put down in writing till a considerable amount of those which were required for the spiritual guidance of the community were in existence. Besides the official oracles, there circulated in the memory of the people a mass of sayings, accessory to the *Qorân*, which were rightly or wrongly credited to Muhammed. Whenever a man, holding a prominent position, dies, a mass of *dicta* are attributed to him, and in good faith too, for which he is not responsible. This was the case in a much higher degree with a man like Muhammed, who was the very heart of Islâm, and whose most insignificant utterances were regarded as oracles. Official revelations and occasional supplementary remarks to the former lay stored up side by side in the memories of the Faithful, and Muhammed himself may not always have made it quite clear to which of the two classes words that had fallen from his lips, were to be reckoned. A short time after his death it was, therefore, impossible to draw a strict line between revelations and their appendage alluded to, even leaving the large class of fabricated sayings out of consideration.

Of the secretaries[12] whom Muhammed had appointed to jot down revelations for his own private purposes, **Zeid b. Thâbit** was known as the best authority on the matter. For this reason **Muhammed's immediate successors charged him with the compilation of all the speeches he could gather.** The history of this compilation is obscured rather than elucidated by a mass of traditions, and does not impress the student with the conviction that it was only composed of such speeches as Muhammed regarded as divine oracles. There are in this matter **two facts to be kept in mind** — (1) that the first impulse to undertake the task of collecting all available revelations was given by the circumstance that many of the oldest Moslims had passed away, and (2) that when Zeid set to work, he collected the revelations from those who had already started partial collections of their own from the sundry materials, on which he and his fellow secretaries had put them down, as also from the memories of the Believers. The work was superintended both by **Abu Bakr** and **Omar**, particularly the latter.

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[12] See *Khamîs*, I. p. 484.

From this way of proceeding we must draw our own conclusions. Omar is said to have accepted (on the instigation of Abu Bakr) only such revelations as genuine, as were supported by the evidence of two reliable witnesses,[13] or by two proofs if no living witness was forthcoming. This tradition, which is handed down on behalf of Omar, is so uncertain, that Ibn Hajar interprets the twofold evidence by "known by heart and written down by somebody."[14] Another authority[15] is of opinion that the "two witnesses" had to testify that such verses were written down in the presence of Muhammed, or at least were revealed in one of the usual ways of revelation.

There is so much vagueness about all this that the tradition in question is scarcely trustworthy, especially as traditionists admit a case in which a verse was accepted on the authority of only one witness.[16] This being so, **the memory of the Believers remains a prominent source of Qoranic verses,** and we have to judge the matter accordingly. Tradition has, indeed, handed down quite a number of verses which were not accepted as genuine, because their authenticity was not sufficiently attested. A complete compilation of these verses has been made by Nöldeke.[17] Although they are, from religious reasons, placed in the class of "abrogated" revelations (which I have discussed at another place), it is clear that they were either overlooked by the compilers, or treated as merely casual remarks of Muhammed, and omitted on purpose. Considering the way in which the compilation was made, it would have been a miracle, had the *Qorân* been kept free of omissions, as well as interpolations.

Noldeke denies emphatically that Zeid b. Thâbit or any of the Khalifahs responsible for the redaction of the *Qorân* had tampered with the book, and regards any view to the contrary as mistaken.[18] Now if omission was possible, why not addition? There was no hard and fast rule to distinguish between divine revelations and occasional utterances of Muhammed, especially as many of the latter are quite Qoranic in tone and style. The famous "verse concerning stoning"[19] may serve as an illustration. It reminds Believers to cling to their families, and to stone to death adulterers though they be advanced in years. Omar is stated to have treated this verse as genuine, but he refrained from inserting it in the *Qorân* for fear it might be said that he had interpolated it.[20] Here we have the complete contrast to the verse mentioned above, which, according to tradition *was* accepted on one authority alone. From this we may conclude that individual opinion was also a factor in accepting or rejecting doubtful verses, and it is possible that the "verse concerning stoning" was rejected for other reasons than the one mentioned. The affair which is said to have caused its revelation is closely connected with the tradition relating that the Jews in Medina brought before Muhammed a man who had committed adultery. On the Prophet's enquiry what punishment the Jews were accustomed to meet out for such crime, they answered: scourging. He then asked them whether the *Tôrâ* did not command stoning. This they denied. Abr Allâh b. Salâm had a copy of the *Tôrâ* brought, and requested the Jews to read it (*Qor.* iii. 87). The Rabbi (*Al Midrâs*) placed his hand upon the "verse concerning stoning" (Lev. xx. 10) in order to hide it, but Abd Allâh pushed it away, and showed the verse to Muhammed who thereupon sentenced the accused persons to death.[21] This tradition is most unreliable for various reasons. Firstly at the time Abd Allâh was converted, the Jews had been completely driven out of Medina, and could therefore not have made Muhammed judge in an affair which concerned them alone. Secondly the *Mishnah* (*Sanhedrin*, vii. 3) leaves no doubt as to what was to be done in such a case, even if we interpret the term '*Tôrâh*' by any religious code they might have brought to Muhammed. There is no other case mentioned in which Muhammed interfered with the jurisdiction of the Jews as long as they were externally on peaceful terms. As an outcome of Âisha's adventure, adultery was only to be punished with scourging (*Qor.* xxiv. 2), and Omar could therefore not accept as genuine a verse which demanded stoning. According to another version[22] Omar asked Muhammed when this verse was revealed, whether he should write it down "and it was as if he would not consent to such practice." We should think that, if this was an official divine revelation, the Prophet had no choice but to treat it as such, but it is pretty clear that the whole tradition was fabricated in order to justify Omar's course of action.

13 *Itqân*, p. 133. 14 *Ibid.* 15 *Al Sakhâwi, ibid.* 16 *Ibid.* 17 *Q.* p. 174 *sqq.*

18 *Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 56: "*Der Korân enthalt nur echte Stücke*"

19 Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 185, gives the various readings of this verse. 20 *Ibid.* p. 194; *cf Khamîs*, I. 14; *Itq.* p. 527.

21 *I. Hish.* p. 393; Bokh III. p. 217. 22 *Itq.* 528; Beiträge, p. 52; *cf.* S. John viii. 3.

Moslim theology holds that the distance which separates the divine oracles of the *Qorân*, and the Prophet's other utterances is not very great. Al Shâfiî (died 204/820), author of an epoch making work on "the Principles of the *Fiqh*," and founder of the latest of the four orthodox Muhammedan law schools teaches that everything ordained by Muhammed is deduced from the *Qorân*, and there exists nothing which cannot be inferred from it, so much so,[23] that in the last verse of *Sûra* lxiii. ("Allâh will never respite a soul when its appointed time has come"), an allusion to the sixty-three years which Muhammed lived, is found.[24]

The declaration of Omar, recorded above, is very remarkable. Why should he have feared suspicion? The idea of the possibilty of anything creeping into the *Qorân* which originally did not belong to it, should have been inadmissible. Yet the notion of interpolations was so far from being out of the question that, according to Al Shahrastâni,[25] the Ajârida, a branch of the sect of the Khawârij, maintained that *Sûra* xii. did not previously form part of the *Qorân*, because it was only a tale — moreover a love story which could not be the subject of divine revelation. This is the most powerful attack ever made by Moslims against the divinity of the *Qorân*. Ibu Ḥazm, therefore, places these people outside the pale of Islâm.[26] From this denunciation of a whole *sûra*, consisting of 111 verses, we may at any rate conclude that there existed soon after the death of Muhammed a feeling that some persons had tampered with the holy Book.[27]

All this being taken into consideration, no serious objection can be made against the suggestion that the *Qorân* contains passages which were not *à priori* intended to be there. If I speak of **interpolations,** I chiefly mean the shifting of the line which separates the *Qorân* from the *Ḥadîth*. This line has never been drawn by Muhammed himself, and it is hard to say, when and by whom it was fixed.

The first to suspect the genuineness of certain verses in the *Qorân* among European scholars was Silvestre de Sacy, who questioned the authenticity of *Sûra* iii. 138.[28] To this Weil[29] added verse 182; xvii. 1; xxi. 35-36; xxix. 57; xlvi. 14. Finally Sprenger has his doubts as to the genuineness of lix. 7.[30]

As regards xvii. 1 and xlvi. 14 there is not sufficient evidence for a verdict. Different is the case with iii. 138. Although the event which gave the occasion for the recitation of this verse is well known, I reproduce it for the sake of completeness. It is as follows: When Muhammed was dead, great consternation prevailed among the leaders of the community who apprehended great falling off of Believers. Omar said: "Some hyprocrites assert that Muhammed is dead, by Allâh, he is not dead, but was exalted to his Lord as Moses, who stopped away forty days, but returned though he was thought to be dead. Muhammed will also return and cut off the heads and legs of those whe believe him to be dead." Abu Bakr, who in the meanwhile had endeavoured to calm the fears of others, emphasised Omar's words, by saying: "Whoever serves Muhammed — well *he* is dead, but who serves Allâh — *He* never dies." Then he recited the verse alluded to,[31] the people listened attentively, but Omar said he felt as if he had never heard the verse before.[32]

It is rather strange that Omar should have confessed ignorance of a verse which, according to tradition, was revealed to Muhammed during the battle of Uḥud when he was struck and lay apparently dead. The Moslims, relates Al Tabari,[33] seeing the Prophet on the ground, called: "If he

[23] Al Ushmûni, *Manâr, al hudâ*, p. 15. Ibn Burhân (*ibid.*) teaches that Muhammed has said nothing which can not directly or indirectly be traced back to the *Qorân*.

[24] *Ibid.* [25] *Milal*, p. 95 *sq.* [26] *Milal*, fol. 136 vo. [27] *Cf.* Mewâqif, p. 357.

[28] *Journal des Savans*, 1832, p. 535 *sq.* [29] *Einleitung in sden Korân*, 2nd ed. p. 52 *sqq.* [30] Vol. III. p. 164.

[31] Ibn Hish. p. 1012; Bokh. III. 191. Al Shahrastâni, p. 11, gives a somewhat different version according to which Omar threatened to kill anyone who said Muhammed was dead, and compared his ascension to heaven to that of Jesus.

[32] Al Ya'qûbi, ed. Houtsma, II. p. 127, gives the story with the following variation. When Muhammed had died, the people said: We thought that the Prophet would not die until he had conquered the earth. Omar made the speech quoted above, but Abu Bakr said: Allâh has announced his death in the revelation (xxxix. 31): Thou diest and they die. Omar then said: I feel as if I had never heard this verse.— Possibly Al Ya'qûbi confounds this verse with ii. 138. At all events the uncertainty as to which verse Omar's words refer, should not be overlooked.

[33] VI. p. 1816 *sq.*

be dead, [remember that] all Messengers before him have died." When Muhammed recovered consciousness, he revealed *Sûra* iii. 138.

I believe neither in the authenticity of this exclamation, nor of the verse in question. This alone, however, is not sufficient to advance us beyond the arguments brought by Weil. The verse contains yet another element which speaks against its authenticity, *viz.*, the name **Muḥammed.** I even go further and assert that all verses in the *Qorân* in which this name, or **Aḥmad,** occurs are spurious. The reasons on which I base my suggestions are the following.

In Chapter II. I have endeavoured to shew that the fabrication of the name *Muhammed* stands in close connection with the elements of the Baḥîra legend. If this be so, that name could not have come into practical use until a period of the Prophet's life, when the material of the *Qorân* was all but complete. Now it might be objected that the texts of the missionary letters which Muhammed commenced to send in the seventh year of the Hijra to unconverted Arab chiefs, as well as to foreign potentates,[34] were headed by the phrase: "From Muhammed, the Messenger of Allâh, to, *etc.*" — The authenticity of the majority of these letters, one of which will occupy our attention presently, is very doubtful, and besides, even if the genuineness of the texts of the documents be admitted, the superscription may have been added by the traditionists who took it for granted. At any rate I do not believe that *Muhammed* was an official name till after the conversion of Abd Allâh b. Salâm, or a year or two before his death. At the period of the battle of Uḥud (A. H. 3) there was certainly no trace of the name, and it is too superfluous to demonstrate how unlikely it was that Muhammed's friends, seeing him prostrate, should have uttered the words quoted above. If they had really thought him dead, they would have run away, as all would then have been lost. If, on the other hand, we assume that the name *Muhammed* was meant to signify something similar to *Messiah,* the verse in question is nothing but an imitation of the chief portion of another which was revealed *before* the battle of Badr (*Sûra* v. 79) and runs thus: "The Messiah the son of Maryam, is nothing but a Messenger, the messengers before him have passed away . . . ." The authors of iii. 138 simply replaced *almasiḥ b'nu Maryama* by *Muḥammed*, and the verse was ready.

This is, however, not the only *Muḥammed*-verse which stands in connection with the Baḥîra legend, as in *S.* xxxiii. 40 we find another reference to it. This revelation is appended to one of the paragraphs which deal with the affairs of Muhammed's wives, though it does not belong to it, the preceding sermon ending with verse 39. As each of these paragraphs commences with the words: O thou Prophet ![35] we have seen that they refer to matters prior to the adoption of the name *Muhammed.* The verse in question runs thus: "Muhammed is no father of any of your men,[36] but [he is] the Messenger of Allâh and the **Seal of the Prophets,** Allâh knows everything." From its very place we can gather that the verse's only function is the condonation of the Prophet's marriage with the divorced wife of his adopted son,[37] which event took place in the year *four*. As to the "Seal of the Prophets," this is surely nothing but a skilful alteration of the "Seal of prophecy" in the Baḥîra legend.

It is interesting that as a *third* variation of the Seal the traditionists tell us about a real seal which Muhammed used for his letters, and Weil[38] as well as Sprenger seem to regard it as historic. It is, however, just as mythical as the other two seals, at any rate, in the fashion in which it appears in tradition. Before despatching his missionary letters, we read, Muhammed was afraid that the persons to whom they were sent, would not accept them unless they were duly sealed. Muhammed, therefore, had a seal made of gold, and those of his companions who could afford it, followed his example. On the morrow, however, the Archangel Gabriel came and forbade Muhammed to use

[34] I. Ish. p. 971. Weil has shown that the letter to Khosrau must have been written prior to the treaty of Hudeibiya Al Tabari, p. 1559, places it *after* the same. The authenticity of all these letters is questionable.

[35] Although this is not the case with verse 38, I am not at all convinced of its genuineness, because it bears a striking resemblance to verse 62. Besides this the verse has the obvious tendency of freeing Muhammed from obligations which he considered binding for others. Finally, the passage "those who have passed away" must not be overlooked.

[36] Al Beidhâwi refers these words to Muhammed's two sons who had died in infancy, so that he was left without male offspring. "Even if they had lived," he adds, "they would have been *his* men, but not *yours*."

[37] See Ch. XI.

[38] *Muhammed*, p. 196.

gold. Thereupon they all discarded their seals, but Muhammed had one made of silver on which the words were engraved: "Muhammed [is] the Messenger of Allâh," each word on a separate line.[39]

The *third* verse containing the name *Muhammed* is xlvii. 2, placed in the introduction of a *sûra* which was revealed shortly after the battle of Uḥud.[40] A closer examination, however, cannot fail to disclose the fact that the verse is wedged in between two which belong together, disturbing their logical connection. The translation of the verses in question will make this manifest in the following manner: (v. 1) Those who disbelieve and turn [others] from the [war] path of Allâh, He makes their works go wrong. (v. 3) This [is] because the infidels follow falsehood, and those who believe, follow the *truth from their Lord* — thus does Allâh set forth for men their parables. Between these two verses, which according to the usual logic of the *Qorân* fit exceedingly well together, stands the following: (v. 2) And those who believe and do right and believe on what is revealed upon *Muhammed* — and *it is the truth from their Lord*, may He forgive them their iniquities and set right their mind. Can anyone imagine that verse 3 forms a sequence to verse 2? On the other hand the words *the truth from their Lord* make it clear why the suspected verse was put in a place where it did not originally belong. This would, indeed, only prove that the verse is misplaced; but it is also so weak and invertebrate that we cannot tax Muhammed with its authorship. He is wont to assure Believers of their share in paradise, but not to *wish* that Allâh *may* pardon their sins. Besides, as the verse begins with "and," it could not have formed a detached revelation which the compilers did not know how to place. This circumstance is also much more easily explained, if we assume that the verse was fabricated.

There is one more verse containing the name *Muhammed*, *viz.*, xlviii. 29. It forms part of a letter which Muhammed is said to have dispatched to the Jews of Kheibar, although it is not stated in which year. It is, however, only necessary to cast a glance at the authorities on whose behalf the document was handed down, in order to recognise its untrustworthiness. It is preserved solely by Ibn Isḥâq[41] who reproduces it on the authority of: A freed slave of the family of Zeid b. Thâbit from Iqrima *or* Sa'îd b. Jubeir from Ibn Abbâs. The last name especially, augurs badly for the veracity of the letter. The verse itself, which is not given as a quotation from the *Qorân*, but as belonging to the text of the letter, has been discussed at the end of Chapter VIII. It stands in no connection whatever with the *sûra* to which it is appended, and the verse preceding it gives ample evidence why it was placed here. Finally it is to be observed that the words "in order to enrage the infidels" are borrowed from ix. 121 and lvii., 9, passages which are very late, having been revealed during the expedition to Tabûk. For so late a period the verse in question is much too clumsy and confused.

Now for what purpose were these four verses embodied in the *Qorân?* It appears that Muhammed had adopted the name too late to be addressed by it in a revelation, but it was considered necessary to have it officially recorded in the *Qorân*. The interpolators were sure of not meeting with opposition when offering verses which furnished a name for the mouth-piece of Allâh. One might, however, object that an appropriate name for the Prophet was to be found in one of the Hallelûjah addresses composed in celebration of the victory of Badr, *viz.*, lxi. 6, where Jesus announced to the children of Israel a messenger to come after him bearing the name *Aḥmad*. But the genuineness of this verse is not beyond doubt. It is improbable that it was revealed at so early an epoch when there were enough Christians left in North Arabia to contradict it. After the surrender of the northern tribes this was not to be feared. The verse was, however, a convenient battle-cry for the army which was sent to Syria shortly after the death of Muhammed. The form *Aḥmad* is nothing but a variation of *Muhammed*, and shews how little the latter name had then become settled in the minds of the Moslims.

There is less certainty about the spurious character of the following verse, but I cannot refrain from making a few observations as regards the suspicious elements of the same. *Sûra* v. 73 is,

[39] *Khamîs*, II. p. 29; Bokhâri, VIII. 457.

[40] See Ch. X.

[41] Page 376, *cf.* Uyûn al Athâr. As to other letters of the similar character see *J. Q. R.* Vol. X. p. 113.

excepting a slight change in the wording, a verbal repetition of ii. 59:[42] "Verily those who believe, and those who are Jews, and the Baptists, and the Christians, whoever believes in Allâh and the last day, and does what is right,[43] there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve." It seems to me that this verse owes its place not to any theological tendency, but to a mistake, and is actually identical with the other. Probably it was found in some collection with the words: *they have their reward at their Lord* missing, and was therefore regarded as a separate revelation. It is easy to see that the verse is out of place. The preceding one recalls to both Jews and Christians that they stood on nought until they fulfilled the *Tôrâ* and the Gospel. This being in reality only a variation of the old reproach of tampering with the holy books, it is difficult to understand, how so encouraging a revelation could follow immediately after it.

Verse 101 of the same *sûra*, alluded to on a formed occasion,[44] appears as if it had been composed after the death of the man who found a reply to every question addressed to him. It is quite natural that (before the *Sunna* was in anything like working order) many questions on religious matters were asked, especially by later converts. What can, therefore, be the meaning of the words: "And if you ask about them when the *Qorân*[45] is revealed, they are made manifest to you?" Evidently that it was too late now to ask questions beyond what was laid down in the *Qorân* itself. The growth of the *Hadîth* then supplemented what was wanting.

In conclusion there only remain a few observations to be made on **the mysterious letters which stand at the head of twenty-nine sûras,** and which have hitherto not found satisfactory explanation. The Moslim commentators of the *Qorân*, it is true, do not fail to give them all kinds of sacred interpretations, but these are without any foundation, and completely valueless. Yet these letters have not only occupied the minds of theologians, but no less a man than Ibn Sîna[46] is supposed to have devoted a small treatise to their explanation. He moved, however, so entirely in the ways of scholastic philosophy, that he enlightens us no more than the theologians do. When the letters were put their places, Arab philosophy was yet unborn.

Of the endeavours of modern scholars to decipher those letters, the best known is Sprenger's who took the five letters standing at the beginning of *Sûra* xix. to mean I N R I.[47] This theory has been finally disposed of by Nöldeke. In my opinion the last named scholar made a successful beginning in the explanation of the letters. Unfortunately he gave it up, and adopted the older theory of the late Dr. Loth, who saw in these initials cabbalistic ciphers contrived by Muhammed after Jewish models.[48] In accordance with this view Nöldeke takes the letters as mystic signs which stands in relation to the heavenly archtype, and originated from Muhammed himself. This is, however, untenable. Jewish mysticism of this kind does not go back as far as the period in which these initials were written. On the contrary the oldest books of Jewish mystic literature show traces of Arab influence, and are at least 150 years later than the official text of the *Qorân*. Besides, there is no mysticism visible in the whole *Qorân*. Even *Sûras* cxiii. and cxiv. look like protests against magic practices, rather than magic formulas,[49] as they consistently place Allâh in sharp contrast to witchcraft.

If Muhammed were the author of those initials, he must have had an important share in the arrangement of the *sûras*, and this would contradict all we know of the compilation of the *Qorân*. We should also have traditions on the matter handed down by himself, but the few given by Al Bokhâri in the chapter headed *Kitâb tafsîr alqorân* do not go back far, and reveal a complete ignorance of the meanings of the letters in question. It is also strange that out

[42] *Cf.* xxii. 17, and Ch. XII.

[43] Verse ii. 59 has here the words: their reward is with their Lord.

[44] See Ch. XII.

[45] Palmer endeavours to meet the difficulty by inserting the word *whole*. He also translates: "they *shall* be shown," but it should be translated: "they *are* divulged."

[46] *Alrisâla Alneirûziyya*, Constantinople 1298 together with other small treatises.

[47] Vol. II. p. 182.

[48] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, IXth ed., article "Korân."

[49] The tradition given by Al Beidâwi is evidently late and fabricated, no authority i mentioned for it, and Ibn Hish. does not mention it at all.

of the more than two hundred addresses (of which the hundred and fourteen *sûras* of the *Qorân* are composed) only twenty-nine are preceded by initials, and that they are invariably found at the heads of compound *sûras*. No one will for a moment make Muhammed responsible for the arrangement of, *e. g.*, *Sûras* ii. and iii. Finally, if mystic relations existed between the *Qorân* and its heavenly architype, why were these restricted to so small a number only, givig these a more sac red character than the majority of addresses?

Thus much is clear that the letters were added when the arrangement of the *Qorân* in its present form was completed. One can further not fail to observe that *sûras* with the same (or similar) initials stand in groups. *Sûras* ii., iii. and xxix. to xxxii. have [al]*M*; *Sûras* x. to xv. have [al]*R* except *Sûra* xiii. which has [al]*MR*; *Sûras* xxvi. to xxviii. have *ṬS* and *ṬSM* respectively; *Sûras* xl to xlvi. have *ḤM*, except *Sûra* xlii. which has *ḤM'ASQ*; *Sura* vii. has [al]*MṢ*; *Sûra* xix. has *J* [or *N*] *'AS*; *Sûra* xx. has *TH*; *Sûra* xxxvi. has *J* [or *N*] *S*; *Sûra* xxviii. has *Ṣ*; *Sûra* l. has *N*, and lastly *Sûra* lxviii. has *Q*.

The *Sûras* ii., iii., xxix. to xxxi. evidently belong together, but had to be separated on account of their unequal length, and we know that the length of the *sûras* was an important factor in their final arrangement. This is alone sufficient to show that the initials have no sacred characters at all but are, as Nöldeke at first rightly suggested, **monograms of private collectors or authorities prior to the official edition of the book.** In one of the MSS. of al Dânis' *Kitab altaisîr* (Cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 3068, fol. 72ᵛ l. 2) the letters *ṬH* (*Sûra* xx.) are followed by the words *alaihi as salâm*[50] (peace upon him). From this we may conclude that Al Dâni (or the copyist) had a tradition that at least these two letters referred to a person, whilst the *sûra* to which they belong, has no other name or heading at all. Nöldeke, endeavouring to explain the letters has rightly hit upon Talḥa, but I believe that only the *Ṭ* refers to him, whilst *H*, which occurs again in *Sûra* xix. belongs to another person, probably Abu *H*ureira. The meaning of *ṬH* would, then, be that *Sûra* xx. was found in the collections of the two persons named. Such collections, we know, were made or kept by other people also, and probably marked with the name or initial of the collector or owner. At any rate, when Zeid b. Thâbit made use of these collections for the compilation of the *Qorân*, he incorporated them bodily into his volume. but from personal or other reasons kept the initials. This explains the fact that whole groups of *sûras* are headed by the same letters, and it is easily seen how such a manner of working facilitated the edition of the *Qorân*. Probably there was much less scrutiny used about it than tradition will have us believe. Even the best readers of the *Qorân* may not have mastered the whole book, but scanned a comparatively small part of it, so that it was quite possible to intersperse verses of very doubtful authenticity. Now when pieces found in sundry note books were united into one *sûra*, Zeid collected all initials belonging to them, and placed them together at the head. For the large majority of addresses which were not contained in any such collections, Zeid had his hand free to arrange on the lines dictated by Omar, or followed his own judgment. This portion, therefore, shows no initials at all, being understood to be Zeid's.

A parallel to this is offered by **the superscriptions of the sûras.** Some have none, and the initials attached to them are used as such, *viz.*, *Sûras* xx., xxxvi., xxxviii., l. *Sûra* lxviii. is named both after its initials and the first word. *Sûra* xlii. is titled after the initials and a word in verse 36, and many other *sûras* have two or more superscriptions. Different collectors probably chose different names, whilst the final compiler of the *Qorân* followed the same practice as he did with the initials, and preserved them all. Their inferior importance is however, shown by the liberties which were taken with them in subsequent copies.

A very superficial enquiry into this matter will show that the word chosen as superscription is often quite trivial, but the piece serves as nucleus round which other, nameless, pieces are gathered.

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[50] The Codd. Add. 7232 and 9485 have only طه.

Endeavouring now to substitute full names for the cyphers, I read with Nöldeke's *first* attempt — *Z* instead of *R*, but also *N* for *J* (ن for ج). If we further follow the Arabic custom of regarding cyphers not as representatives of the first letter only, but rather the most prominent of the word, we receive the following — of course only hypothetical — list : —

M = Al *M*ughîra.
Ṣ = Ḥaf*Ṣ*a.
R [*Z*] = Al *Z*ubeir.
K = Abu Ba*K*r.
H = Abu *H*ureira.
N = 'Othmâ*N*.
Ṭ = *Ṭ*alḥa.
S = *S*a'd [b. Abi Waqqâṣ].
Ḥ = *Ḥ*uḏaifa.
'— = '*O*mar [or '*A*liy, Ibn '*A*bbâs, '*Â*isha].
Q = *Q*âsim b. Rabî'a.
Al forms the article before Mughira and Zubeir, and is to be found with no other cypher.

[APPROXIMATELY] CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE REVELATIONS.

A. — MECCAN REVELATIONS.

I. — First Proclamation.

Sûra 96, verse 1-5

II. — The Confirmatory Revelations.

Sûra 87
„ 68, verse 1-33
„ 112
„ 69, verse 40-52
„ 26 „ 221-228
„ 52 „ 29-49
„ 74 „ 1-30, 35-55
„ 73 „ 1-14
„ 76
Sûra 94
„ 96, verse 6-19
„ 111
„ 104
„ 79, verse 15-26
„ 53 „ 1-18, 24-62
„ 93 „ 1-8
„ 109

III. — The Declamatory Revelations.

Sûra 81
„ 82
„ 84
„ 99
„ 80
„ 86
„ 75
„ 83
„ 88
„ 79, verse 1-14
„ 77
„ 69, verse 1-39
„ 78
„ 56
„ 52, verse 1-28
„ 70
„ 100
Sûra 101
„ 106
„ 107
„ 108
„ 90
„ 92
„ 91
„ 105
„ 102
„ 97
„ 98
„ 89
„ 72
„ 85, verse 1-8, 12-22
„ 103
„ 95

IV. — The Narrative Revelations.

Sûra 68, verse 34-52
" 51
" 26, verse 1-220
" 54
" 37
" 44
" 38
" 27, verse 1-59
" 28
" 15
" 18
" 12
" 19
" 43, verse 25-89
" 21
" 14

Sûra 20
" 11
" 34
" 7, verse 1-27, 57-155, 186-205
" 17 " 1-8, 103-111
" 73 " 15-19
" 40 " 1-6, 24, 57
" 29 " 13-42
" 10 " 72-109
" 23 " 23-52
" 46 " 20-35
" 5 " 23-38, 109-120
" 2 " 200-210
" 6 " 74-91
" 1

V. — The Descriptive Revelations.

Sûra 79, verse 27-46
" 71
" 55
" 50
" 45
" 42
" 41
" 35
" 32
" 67
" 25, verse 1-63
" 23 " 1-22, 53-118
" 16 " 1-115
" 43 " 1-24
" 13

Sûra 113
" 114
" 10, verse 1-57, 58-71
" 31 " 1-10, 19-34
" 36
" 27, verse 60-95
" 30
" 39
" 22, verse 1-13, 62-71
" 40 " 7-23, 58-85
" 2 " 158-162
" 29 " 43-69
" 17 " 87-102
" 6 " 92-117

VI. — The Legislative Revelations

Sûra 6, verse 1-45, 46-73
" 93 " 9-11
" 25 " 64-72
" 31 " 11-18
" 7 " 28-56
" 29 " 1-12

Sûra 46 verse 1-19
" 17 " 9-86
" 6 " 152-165
" 9 " 129-130
" 85 " 9-11

B. — MEDINIAN REVELATIONS.

Sûra 2, verse 1-19_a
" 19_b-37
" 38-58
" 59
Sûra 5, " 71-88
" 2 " 60-97
" 98-115
" 116-147
" 163-184

verse 211-223
" 244-268
" 269-281
Sûra 8 " 1-41 (after Badr)
" 42-76
Sûra 3 " 1-29
" 30-75
" 76-90
Sûra 47

Sûra 3, verse 91-113 (?)
„ 114-137, 139-200
Sûra **57**
„ **7**, verse 174-185
„ **59**
„ **61**
„ **62**
„ **16**, verse 116-128 (?)
„ **64**
„ **4**, verse 1-45
„ 126-129
„ 46-72
„ 73-86 (after Uḥud)
Sûra **2** „ 148-157
„ 87-95
Sûra **5** „ 56-63
„ **2** „ 282-284
„ **4** „ 96-105 (A. 4)
„ 106-125
„ 130-138 (?), 139 ?
„ 140-145
„ 146-151
„ 152-175
Sûra **33** (A. 5)
„ **2**, verse 224-243 (?)
„ **65**
„ **24**
„ **66**
„ **63**
„ **58**
„ **22**, verse 14-61 (A. 6)
„ 72-78

Sûra **5** verse 39-44 (A. 7)
„ **2** „ 285-286
„ **48** „ 18-28
„ **2** „ 185-196a, 196b-199 (A. 8)
„ **60**
„ **110**
„ **49** (A. 9)
„ **9**, verse 23-27
„ 38-73
Sûra **48** „ 1-17
„ **9** „ 74-94 (A. 10)
„ 120-128
„ 95-119
„ 1-12
„ 36-37
„ 13-22
„ 28-35
Sûra **7** „ 156-172
„ **5** „ 1-4
„ 5-7
„ 8-14
„ 15-17
„ 109-120
„ 18-22
„ 45-55
„ 64-70
„ 89-104
„ 105-108 (?)
Sûra **6** „ 117-151 (?)
„ **73** „ 20 (?)
„ **74** „ 31-34 (?)

Interpolated or uncertain.

Sûra **53**, verse 19-23
„ **3** „ 138
„ **33** „ 40
„ **47** „ 2

Sûra **48** verse 29
„ **61** „ 6
„ **5** „ 73 (?)
„ 101 (?)

WAR SONGS OF THE MAPPILAS OF MALABAR.

BY F. FAWCETT.

(Concluded from p. 508.)

No. IV.

The Battle of Hunain.

MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET, the founder of Islam and the greatest of all the 123,999 prophets since the time of Adam, was born unto Amîna by Abdulla. He was brought up at Mecca, the Queen of cities, the centre of the globe. The heathen Koreish began to speak of him as an imposter, for they feared he would destroy their religion; and they resolved to kill him. But Muhammad, warned by God, fled to Medîna.

And God said :— "Convert your own people first, then the aliens. If you are resisted, use the sword and make them embrace the true faith." So the prophet took up the sword against the infidels and was always successful. He came to Mecca with a large army. The Koreish begged for peace for 20 months in order to remove from Mecca. A treaty was then drawn up and signed formally by both sides: no mercy to be given to those violating it. But the treacherous Koreish broke it, so the prophet took up the sword. Two hundred pilgrims taking shelter with the Koreish were treated kindly and then slain mercilessly. The Angel Gabriel related the tragedy to the prophet, who, calling his followers, said:—" Our treaty is broken, we must capture Mecca." Mecca was captured, the Koreish defeated and their idols destroyed, by the fourth minister Imam Ali, the prophet's son-in-law and his father's brother's son.

The Koreish resolved to seek the aid of **Malik Bin Awauli**, Lord of the monarchs of earth, saying, " he will defeat the prophet and prevent the spread of his religion. **Eblis** is his minister." They went to **Nazareth, near Missea**, where the king was, and saw Eblis, who thereupon drew up a document as follows: — "The followers of Muhammad have forced their way into the sacred temples and destroyed all images, presented to us by kings of old and adorned with gems. Chief of these was **Brâhma**, more than 4,000 *kôls* in height.[16] These have been our salvation, and now they are hacked to pieces. All persons young and old know this. If your highness does not extirpate the Mussalmans, their religion will be the only one in the world. Muhammad is the man for that. His face is more resplendent than the full moon. A lion approaching him open-mouthed would be calmed by the sweet honey of his words. He is clever in witchcraft, and all magic. He would win over your highness. There is not his like among men or angels. We implore your highness to protect us.[17] Who can endure to see their gods mutilated and thrown down? It is said by king that he has no equal in might."

So saying they threw off their coats and caps and lay in the dust, and wept. When he heard them, the king was speechless for an hour; then he roared like thunder, flung aside his crown, and bit his finger in his rage. He changed colour and his hair stood on end. Saying, "there never was done us such a wrong since the world began," he called his ministers to plan vengeance. They said "if we kill Muhammad and Imam Ali we will be famous, but if we fail, we must accept their religion." The king said: — " Be patient: we will see if he is so powerful." They answered: — "Slight him not. A glance of his eye was sufficient to fill a well, which has never diminished."

Then the king wished to subdue him in war, and wrote to call his warriors. The first letter was to **Banitha Mimu** :—"Muhammad the Nebi and his son-in-law Imam Ali have seized Mecca and defiled it: we must wage war on him: come soon." He [Banitha] came with 10,000 armed men before the king, who was pleased. The second letter was to '**Banihîlan,** who at once marched with 90,000 men. Many others were sent for in like manner. When all had assembled the king burst into tears. Another king enquired the cause and was told that the thought of the destruction of the gods was too distressful. The other king consoled him saying that **King Urubath** was equal to 10,000 Turks. So Urubath was called, and he came with 20,000 men. Refreshments were served, and King Urubath recited a *sloka* [!] which meant: " O king, dearer than the pupil of my eye, your charity has pervaded the world as a cooling shower, and tears have been shed by you, so I am prepared to draw blood from Muhammad and his son-in-law. Will the brass of Ashin prevail against us? We will kill him as timber."

The king was pleased, and said:—" Our gods are cut down, but their divine spirit remains. We propitiate them. They will favour us rather than our enemies who have desecrated them." So saying, the king went to the camp and ordered the heads of Muhammad and his son-in-law to be cut off, and their followers to be brought in alive with handcuffs so that they might be flayed or burnt

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[16] A *kôl* is the carpenter's measure in Malabar; it corresponds, roughly, to a yard.

[17] The poet has forgotten to tell us that the suppliants went before the king with the petition prepared by Eblis.

with hot irons. The army replied they would do so. Then the king ordered his prime minister to open a barrel of liquor. The men drank more than they could contain and fought with each other like lunatics, forgetting their great purpose. **Imish, an ascetic, appeared to them as an old Brahman** [!]. They asked his advice. He beat his breast and wept:—"Oh warriors, you have become shameful cowards. You come to fight with Muhammad but you have most shamefully indulged in liquor. Muhammad, taking advantage, has enticed some people from our side." Then he beat his breast again and wept. The army enquired who he was. He said he was (in Arabic) "The father of evil speakers" and **his native place was Negith, a despicable Hell.** They thanked him, and set out to fight. The ascetic clapped his hands and laughed. "You are brave warriors," said he, "but when you go to fight you should take with you your wives and children, all your relatives young and old, male and female, so that you may think of them."

Rebiath, a brave young warrior, said: — "You need not open your mouth to speak nonsense. Go away. A child would not heed you. You would tell us — If we are defeated, Muhammad will capture our women and kinsmen. Who are so hot after women as the Arabs? If our women fall into their hands we cannot receive them back." Then spake **Kola Baith**:—"What? Is Rebiath mad? What the ascetic says is true. If we have our women with us we will feel vigorous and courageous. We can never withstand a long battle without them." The army consented, and the king ordered the families to be brought. They spread like an ocean. Mothers with crying babies, children carried on the necks of adults, old people with sticks in their hands. Women could not suckle their infants, and beat them; the bigger children cried for food; there was confusion everywhere.

The king paused a moment; then ordered the band to be played, the trumpets also. In the van of the army were kings with golden crowns on horseback, having 18 kinds of weapons. Then came camels, mules, conveyances, and the infantry armed with blowing instruments, noisy bells, 14 kinds of arrows, and swords. They reached a mountain and pitched their tents under it.

They saw other warriors encamped on the hill, their leader seated in their midst. He was **a stout blind Kaffir,** 300 years old, **Duraita** by name, the terror of his age, well versed in war; of profound spiritual knowledge, adept in witchcraft, astronomy, physiognomy and other sciences. He asked:—"What is that noise of babies and mothers in the midst of sounds like thunder?" He was told that King Malik had encamped there with his army, and their women and relatives. Thereupon he expressed a desire to see the king. The king came and salamed. Duraita asked who he was. The king then told his name and was asked to be seated. Duraita asked why he had come. He said Muhammad and his son-in-law had defiled their gods, so he had come with his army of 250,000 to overcome him. Duraita said the number was too small: there must be at least five lakhs of men. Malik's ministers displayed indifference and whispered in the king's ear that Muhammad had not more than 1,000 men. Then Duraita spake in anger: — "Believe me, you are not fit to engage Muhammad. Oh king! your minister deceives you. Come; try a fight with my men, 100 in number. If you beat them, you can beat Muhammad." King Malik caught his hands and pacified him:—"Oh great man: be not angry; I will collect as many men as you want."

And he sent out messengers who brought 5 lakhs of men; then he continued his march. They reached **the Honin hills** and pitched their tents. Then Eblis appeared before Duraita and spoke of the coming battle, and told him he would be slain by a soldier of the prophet's army, Rebiath by name. Duraita was horror struck, but he consoled himself saying, "Oh god! if this is my fate, I have no fear." The king heard this and was sorry; and he said: — "Eblis is a traitor: heed him not; I will help you." Duraita was encouraged, and remained at the foot of the hills.

Now **while the prophet was at Medina** performing his ablutions and other religious services, seated at noon in the chief mosque, he saw a young man clad in silk and wearing priceless gems approaching on horseback accompanied by 2 men as a bodyguard. The young man asked:—"Where is Muhammad, protector of the world, with his ten beautiful colours?" Imam Ali enquired why he

wanted to know. The young man said :—"To pay my respects." A *sayyid* pointed out where the Lord of creation, more handsome than white pearls, was seated. When he saw Muhammad who has no shadow of self on earth, the young man dismounted, and said respectfully :—" O Nebi ! ocean of charity, the magnanimous, the nearest thing to God as the string to the bow, I long wished to see you, and now I have the honour."

Some of his disciples arose and told the prophet the youth was one who had fled at the battle of Mecca and had been ordered to be killed, and touched their swords. When Muhammad saw this he said that **Shaikhuvan** should not be killed, although he is wicked : " we must know why he has forsaken his evil companions and come here." He said to Muhammad, who approached him :—" God created you and you have traversed the seven skies and above them. You are a great favourite of God. I have come to reveal my sorrow." The prophet told him to speak. " Oh prophet ! you have made the full moon to rise on the new moon night, taken hold of it and split it in two, joined the halves together and sent them back to the skies. You have converted many who saw this. Oh prophet ! our father, I have fought against thee and beg forgiveness. Thou hast produced peacocks out of granite and borne the world on the tip of thy little finger. I pray thee bless me that I may fight against heretics." Muhammad stretched out his hand, held him and taught him prayer, and he became a Mussulman.

Shaikhuvan said :—" Oh prophet ! Thou hast been laying at the feet of God for 14,000 years without raising thy head. King Malik with 5 lakhs of men has encamped on **Mount Hunai** to fight thee. Muhammad was thunderstruck. Then the angel of God came, and saluting the prophet, told him the news was true, and that he should at once fight King Malik, and he will have special indulgence in Heaven and Earth. The drums were then beaten, and the prophet explained God's message, saying those who fought for him would go to Heaven. He described Heaven thus:— " There are many pleasures in heaven, but something must be said of the celestial virgins. The beauty of their faces defies the disc of the setting sun, or of the moon. Their bodies are more brilliant than superior gold ; in fact, they are so lovely that God has never created and never will create their like. Their hair is blacker and more beautiful than the cuckoo or the wings of the beetle. The jewels on their heads are indescribable. Their eyes are ravishing, fascinating any man and filling him with lust. Their necks are more graceful than the deer's, neat and well shaped. Their mouth is like a fruit filled with honey. A drop of their spittle will turn the ocean into pure honey. Their noses are like pointed arrows. Their breasts of admirable shape, resemble two golden cups, are of full size and never fading beauty. Their bodies are well formed and polished. Their waists narrow, slender and charming. Their arms and legs are like the branches of the plantain tree. It would take up many pages to describe their jewels, for they wear many. They never menstruate, and they are unceasingly lustful. Those of you who fight along with me and die in battle, will have houris such as I have described, besides other enjoyments."

The army asked Muhammad to lead on so that they migh partake the pleasures he had described. He sent them home to bid farewell to their families[18] and return at 6 o'clock the next morning to go to war. They were in all 1,060 men, and they offered prayers to God. Then Muhammad sent his private secretary to bring from his house, banners, arms, armour, horses and other necessaries of war. This was done. Muhammad was mounted on a **horse called Trubath**. . . . . They started for Medina, and camped near it. Muhammad gave the first banner to **Subari-bin-alavan,** the second to **Abitharklophar,** the third to **Abbas,** his uncle, the fourth to **Magdhathi-bini Aso Dhul Kathi,** the fifth to **Khalithi binal Holith** . . . . Each of these ten men recited a verse in Arabic when he received his flag. Then there were with Muhammad, in all, 12,000 warriors, who had joined him in the plain. He set out for war together with his four ministers. When it was time to do so, they assembled for prayers, and then retired to their tents to sleep. But the first minister **Abu Bakr Siddik** went to Muhammad's tent, and having obtained permission, entered and said the expedition was a splendid one as their army was composed of heroes and more than a match for the enemy's army of five lakhs of men.

[18] Mâppila [Mopla] fanatics always bid farewell to their families before going out to di .

Muhammad was displeased and repeated a religious *mantram* [!], exhaustive and deep, meaning that none but God can do anything. He was uneasy and had little sleep, thinking of the words of the first minister. In the morning his uneasiness continued, and after prayer when he had mounted his throne, **his father's elder brother Abbas** came to him and asked the cause of his gloom. Muhammad said the words of the first minister were unsavoury, and he did not know what evil awaited them. Then the Angel Gabriel appeared before Muhammad and taught him two prayers to be repeated by the whole army. In the evening Muhammad saw a band of **Kaffir soldiers,** who said they were of the **Vanibava tribe (sect)** and they were going to fight a certain king whose subjects they hated. He then prayed and retired to rest. And God's messenger appeared again before him and taught him a prayer (?) of deep meaning: briefly, that throughout the **Hunai War** many wonders would be worked by him (Muhammad), and God will avenge his enemies. He was filled with joy and thanked God.

The Kaffir soldiers hid behind the mountain and in the night their chief asked whether they knew the Arabs they had met. They did not. He said they had conversed with **Muhammad, the King of Mecca,** who was waging war against their king: would any one volunteer to bring in the head of Muhammad? Some arose in answer, but their leader warned them saying Muhammad was powerful, an athelete and of extraordinary prudence. They said Muhammad's tent was in a lonely place; and two lion-like men went away saying that by the grace of God they would bring in his head. They saw him engaged in prayer under a tree, his hands placed on his belly, a mile distant from his army; and they hid in a hollow of the tree. Muhammad's sword was left leaning against the tree, and he was lying on his face praying. One of them took the sword thinking it was sharper than their own and aimed a blow at Muhammad's neck. But he saw them with the small eyes on his head, and prayed to God. And a branch of the tree bent down and the sword struck it, and stuck to it and to the man's hand. When he had finished his prayers he looked around and saw the two men lying on the ground. They begged for mercy, invoking his God. He raised them up and let them go, telling them God would punish them with everlasting hell. **Ismanli, the lion,** the fourth minister, was told by the prophet what had happened. Seized with passion, he begged leave to kill them twain and annihilate the whole army. The prophet said that God would arrange: he would do nothing without God's order. God had saved him from them, and he should likewise save them. He is answerable to God. As the two Kaffirs were going (to lie) to their king, a mighty wind swept them into the sea. The king and his army enquired in several countries what had become of them. Behold! their corpses were found in the sea.

Muhammad with his army encamped near the enemy, and looking round, asked whether any one would spy in the enemies' camp. A man called **Raphi** stood up and said he would go. In the direct way there were hills, mountains, pits, trees, forests and many difficulties, besides guards were posted. Muhammad said though that way was a difficult one, Raphi should take it. Then Abbas, the uncle of Muhammad, said that Raphi had spoken truthfully. Muhammad said to Raphi that God would take him unto Himself. Again he explained what Heaven was. In it there were many beautiful things, tables, chairs,[19] mattresses, beds; different kinds of music; all sorts of fruits; pure water; valuable jewels for the celestial virgins. "God will give you all these." Then Raphi said he felt confident of all this happiness, but he was grieved to think that if he were killed he would not be able to return with news (!). While Muhammad was deep in thought the Angel Gabriel appeared and said to him that what he had promised Raphi had already been promised by God 14,000 years before. Moreover, God had sent him to say that Raphi would not be killed.

Raphi then started, and found the kings on their thrones and the army surrounding them. The old blind man [Duraita ?] discovered his presence by means of astrology, and by the time Raphi had heard the kings conversing together as to the destruction of Muhammad, and ascertained the number of their flags, they were informed that a spy was in their midst. Search was at once made. Raphi prayed to God and Muhammad to save him. A surprising thing then happened. No one could see

[19] Chairs are very modern in Malabar!

Raphi. Then they mocked the old blind astrologer, but he persisted he was right. The king told him to find the Arab or die on the spot. The old man asked each man to come in front of him and make a certain noise. Raphi was in great anxiety and prayed to God and Muhammad. A man asked him who he was, and he answered he was one of themselves. He was taken before the astrologer to whom he gave a false name. He was told to make the noise. Again he prayed to God and Muhammad and made the noise so that the astrologer did not distinguish him. The king and his men again mocked the astrologer, and said no Arab had entered the camp. The astrologer swore by their gods that there had, and he would not eat until he had found him. He then asked the men to come in pairs, one on his right one on his left, and make the noise. When Raphi made the noise the astrologer held his hand and asked him who he was. He said he was chief of the flagsmen. Was he sure? Yes. Then he was let off. The troops clapped their hands and said the old man was childish. The astrologer contended the Arab spy was among them, and that he was invisible through witchcraft.

When the king's army partook of food Raphi was served with the flesh of sheep and camels to eat, and toddy to drink. He carried it to where the mules were tied. After eating food the army was about to fall in for war when Duraita told them not to march. The king asked why not. He said they should hide under the slope of the hill and by a sudden rush fall on Muhammad's men before they could take up their arms: there was no other way to conquer such great warriors. So the king ordered Duraita to prepare the army for battle. The attack was to be made in five companies. Cavalry armed with swords and formed in four sections to be in front; each section to assist the others. Men with daggers, also formed in four sections to be behind the cavalry. Men with bows and arrows to be behind these again. Women and children to be in rear.

Naratha Maharishi, that is, Eblis, then told the king the men in front would not fight well if their women and children were so far away, so these were placed behind the men in front. Raphi returned to his camp, all the way invoking Divine help against the Kaffirs. He told Muhammad what he had seen. The Kaffirs were countless and they had 2,000 flags. Muhammad then said that there were as a rule 250 men for each flag, so there must be at least 5 lakhs of men; and he ordered his men to start: the enemy should not be kept waiting for them. He ordered one to go and see if the enemy stood ready. Report was brought that the enemy, horses, camels, mules, *etc.*, with twice their number of men, also women and children, were there. Muhammad said that God's angel **Drubri** had told him of this, and gave the order to mount and prepare to attack the enemy at the foot of **Mount Abuthassoli.** The army marched to the hill and found there some small temples and big trees, and some men from the king's army who were doing *pújá* [!] in the temples. The first minister took the priest before Muhammad who enquired whether the gods in the hill were equal to the great gods of Mecca, or were they greater. The priest replied they were related to the gods of Mecca. Muhammad asked why he worshipped those stones when he might worship the true God. He did not answer and Muhammad orderd him away. Some one said the priest was a Kaffir, and Muhammad said such was God's will.

Muhammad then orderd Imam Ali to cut down a tree on the top of the hill. Imam Ali did so, and a columm of smoke at once rose to the skies. He ran in fear to the prophet who said that 3 *jinns* were living in the tree and were now leaving it. Then Ablas came up and said there was a snake on the hill, so huge that only God knows its magnitude, and flames shot from its mouth. The prophet with a few followers went to see it. The Arabs began to run like sheep before the tiger. But the prophet said: — "Do not fear: stand behind me." They did so. The prophet looked at the serpent, it lowered its head and creeping towards him knocked its head on the ground, saying, "Oh prophet of world-wide renown, I am not a serpent, but a leader of the *jinns*. I am a Mussalman. There are Kaffirs and Mussalmans among the *jinns*. The prophet knows why we wander in the world: to bite and kill the prophet's enemies. Give me leave and I will destroy the king's army." Then the prophet said: — "We do not need you now. I will tell you if we do. Leave this place and may God bless you." The serpent fled to another country.

The prophet remained in the hill and next morning left for **Hunain, the enemy's camp.** The Kaffir king was startled, invoked his gods and ordered his army to pray, and to get into battle array. "God will bless you. If they are 12,000, we are 500,000." The king called his minister called **Mûsa,** "Ho minister! Get up this tree and tell me the number of the enemy and their equipments." He climbed the tree and said:— "A man carrying a flag is in front. They come like lightning. Their horses are as if dancing." The king said:— "Who comes in front?" The minister replied: — "Two chiefs on horse-back, each carrying a flag." "Of what colour?" "One is white and the other is yellow. Behind comes one with a green flag. All their turbans are green, and their coats are white. Both are very clever." "You know the people of Mecca," said the king, "who are they?" One is Abbas, the prophet's father's elder brother, the tiger of men; a rich man. The other is **Fakalu, a brave warrior.**" Looking again, the minister said:— "Oh king! I see something very wonderful: a great warrior comes. His horse is like an eagle and he comes like a lion that has seen a deer. He looks as if he will kill us all." The king asked his name. The minister replied:— "Imam Ali, the fourth minister; there is none so brave in Muhammad's army." The king ordered him to look again. "Great king, I see one whom I am powerless to describe: my tongue fails: my eyes become dim. He will confound your army. His clothes shine like the sun at noon. He rides a huge horse. His beauty is beyond description. The sun and moon cannot be compared to him. His horse's hoofs touch the ground like thunder. His splendour fills the earth and the skies. The clouds are as an umbrella over his head." The king asked: — "Who is it?" "Oh king! it is Muhammad the prophet." Then the king said sorrowfully: — Ah God! when they see him, my army will not be able to fight." The king and the minister then went to their tent.

The king cried out: —"The prophet has come with his army. Fear not. Be firm." The army answered:— "They are great sorcerers; we are not able to fight them." An angel said:—"Fear not! Adorn your gods and hold them before the army; call out their names and pray, and you will succeed." Seeing that panic seized his army, the king ordered liqnor to be brought. The whole army drank, and taking their gods placed them in front. The king said:—"Fear not in battle: if you have any fear, you will lose." And he promised large rewards.

By this time the prophet's army came in sight. The prophet said:—"The enemy deceives us. They are in ambush by the hill." Then the Angels Gabriel and Michael came with a thousand angels and joined the prophet's army. The reason for their coming was this:— The Kaffirs numbered 5 lakhs and the prophet's army but 12,000. The Kaffirs looked at them and laughed, saying, "We should not have brought so many." So the prophet's army was in fear, saying, "We are but a few, and they mock us. Then the prophet prayed to God who sent his angels who descended from the sky on aëreal horses. They said:— "The Kaffirs lie in wait. We will go in front; you come behind us. We can see them as fish in a bottle of water. If you come with us they will perish." Then rushing at those who were concealed they killed them all. A few escaped and told the king on the hill top what had happened. Eblis came and took the king by the hand as he said: — "Have angels also come for the battle?" and he began to run. So the king said:— "Who will help us if you run away?" Eblis said:— "I cannot fight against angels." The king implored him, but Eblis shook him off and fled. The king was thrown far and fell on a blind man's neck. The blind man asked:— "Who are you?" "I am the king." The blind man said: — "Will the king fall on a blind man's neck? Liar!" and drew his sword to kill him. But the king swore by all his gods; and both went to the tent.

The two armies fought. A mounted warrior of the king's army, armed with 18 weapons, rushed to the prophet's army and said:— "I am **Akubath.** Let Muhammad's army come on." The prophet called out **Jabagir** and said:— "Fight him. God will bless you." There was a desperate conflict. He cut Akubath and his horse in two with one blow. Another Kaffir rushed forward and he too was slain. So the Arab killed 15 Kaffirs. More Kaffirs ventured, but the Arab mocked them, making his horse dance. A valiant Kaffir **Makmas** said:—"Wretch! I will cleave your skull!" "Many wished to engage him, but the prophet prevented them saying he was a mighty warrior and

called on his fourth minister Imam Ali, who went forward and said:—"I am Imam Ali! I broke your idols." He touched the Kaffir with his sword and as he fell, cut him in two. Another Kaffir came and fought for ten hours and was killed. Twelve others were killed.

Then the king called out his third minister. His helmet weighed 30 lbs. His sword was 14 cubits in length and he was as tall as a cocoanut tree, and as big as a hill. God never created such a human being. If he fell, 1,000 men would die at once. The Arabs were afraid to see him and prayed to God. The prophet himself was confounded, and said:— "Let the fourth minister meet him. There is no other help." There was a hard fight and the fourth minister cut to pieces his 18 weapons and killed him. The prophet praised God.

The Kaffirs were about to fly, but the king rallied them; and then they said it was by witchcraft and not in fair fight that their hero was killed. A general battle took place, and the fourth minister and 130 Arabs were wounded. But the prophet touched them with his hands and they were at once healed. Suddenly the Arabs fled, for in the front rank of the Kaffirs were kings, and when they were killed the Arabs began to rifle their gems, upon which the Kaffirs sent volleys of rockets [!] amongst them. And there was another reason. The prophet's first minister, Abu-Bakr-Siddik said:— "The enemy are numberless; whereupon 8,000 of the prophet's army fled. Four thousand were left, and of these only 1,000 fought, the others merely looking on. One said:—"We are 4,000 while they are five lakhs: we will have to run." But a voice from Heaven said:—"Despair not! Let them be ten lakhs." Again they fought, but at last they began to fly. Then Eblis, assuming the form of the second minister, said:— "Ho ye Arabs! Fly for your lives! You are in a boundless ocean of sorrow. There is no escape but in flight. The prophet is killed. Is there battle without a king?" The prophet's army fled, and there were but seven persons left, and of these, four were the ministers. These ran to the prophet and said:—"We are but seven persons against more than four lakhs. What can we do?" Then the prophet raised his hands towards heaven, lifted his eyes and prayed. He put on his armour and rode on his favourite vehicle. The four ministers stood beside him and God commanded 2,000 angels to descend at once to help the prophet. They came, looking like young men; their coats were white and their turbans were black. The earth shook as they alighted. They stood on 4 sides and ordered the ministers to fight. All fought bravely and the enemy began to fly. The prophet asked a minister to recall his army. **Patel** said:—"Where can they be found? Call them!" The sound was carried by the air to the ears of the army, and they returned and begged for pardon, saying Eblis had deceived them. Laying their swords to their stomachs, the soldiers said they would kill themselves if not pardoned. An angel from God said they had spoken the truth. The ministers of the king said:—"We cannot defeat the Arabs. The four ministers of the prophet are invincible." They caused our swords to fall, and their horses ran over our heads like lightning. They killed forty to our one. Three lakhs of our army are slain." Women and children dashed their heads on the ground and said to the king:—"Our husbands, fathers and brothers are killed: send us home."

The king ordered them to be fed. Then he mounted his war horse, and dressed in his brightest gems went out and challenged the prophet. The prophet sent a man **Vazir** to meet him. The king killed him and four others. A young warrior, **Jaffari,** with the prophet's permission went to meet him. It was the day after his wedding, and he was 16 years old. The king cut him together with his horse in pieces in the twinkling of an eye. One of his ministers told the king to go back; he would fight in his stead and kill 12,000 Arabs. The Arabs said:— "There is no devil equal to him. With one blow he will kill 1,000 of us." The prophet sent **Abdulla,** but the Kaffir cut him in pieces. His brother **Abdul Keriva** went out, and he too was killed. No more Arabs ventured.

Seeing no more coming to meet him, he returned to his tent, and his wife said, "Where is the head of Ali?" He replied:— "I will give it to you to-morrow." She asked:—"Is Ali 100 cubits high?" "May be so. There is no such warrior in the prophet's army." "Do not approach or touch me: I will not be your wife until you bring the head of Ali." He was furious, and rushed out

calling, "Ho ye prophet! Send me your best man, or your whole army;" and he beat the ground. The prophet said:— "God will give special benefits to whoever kills this wretch. I guarantee it." An Amir went and was killed at once. The Kaffir cried:— "Where are your brave men? **Kalid? Suvar? Sayid?** Where is the brave **Talhat?** Where is **Abu Bakr?** Where is **Omar?** Where is the world-renowned **Ali?** My heart beats like the waves of ocean to fight the tiger-like Ali. Oh Muhammad! where is your God!" An Arab, **Athusamed,** leaped forward but the Kaffir took him by the leg and dashed him to the ground.

Then the prophet said:— "Where is **Imam Ali?**" "He is fighting on the hill." "Let 500 take his place and send him here." He came. The prophet prayed. The Kaffir asked:— "Oh beautiful youth, who are you?" He replied:— "Imam Ali." The Kaffir said:— "You are his slave. Send him to me and save your life." They fought for 3 days. On the 4th day Ali said:— "Embrace the prophet's faith or I kill you." The Kaffir said:— "You are brave. No one else could have fought me for 3 days." The Kaffir's wife watched the fight from a hill and sent her head dress by a slave, saying, "Cut off the head of Ali, and smear this cloth with his blood, or never come near me again." Then they fought desperately for six days. On the seventh day Ali made a noise which shook the earth and the sky. The Kaffir was stunned, and Ali cut off his head. The prophet asked what was the army doing, and Ali replied it was standing still and the Kaffir army had fled.

The prophet ordered the dead to be counted, and it was found that 1,000 **Ashabis** had been slain. The Kaffirs told their king:— "For one of them that we kill they kill 1,000. They believe they go to Heaven and do not fear death. Let us make peace. Our gods have not helped us. They have killed our brave men by witchcraft." The king was sad, and threw his crown on the ground. A vassal asked permission and went to the battle-field calling for the bravest of the prophet's men to meet him. An Arab went out, and the king killed him. Then the prophet ordered Imam Ali to fight the king. The king wounded him, but Ali mounted his horse and they fought for 22 hours. At night they separated. Again they met. At night Ali said:— "Oh king! do not lose your life: join **the fourth religion.**[20] If you do, you will gain Heaven." The king said:— "If you defeat me, I will join your faith. Let us dismount and fight with our hands. If you are victorious I will join you." They wrestled. Ali caught the king by his belt and was about to throw him when he called out, "I am defeated: do not throw me." Ali took him to the prophet and the merciful prophet embraced him, and told him the secret of his faith. Seeing this the Kaffir army fled.

The king wrote and collected 30,000 more soldiers and ordered them to fight. They challenged the Arabs. A leader of the Kaffirs wounded an Arab, but the prophet gently touched his wounds and healed them. There was a general battle and neither side prevailed. Meanwhile the prophet retired alone to a tree a mile distant to pray. A Kaffir approached stealthily to kill him, and raised his sword. In an instant, there was a wall of fire protecting the prophet, and the Kaffir was aghast. The prophet finished his prayers and smiled, saying:— "Ho king! fear not, but come before me." He came, and begged the prophet's mercy, and embraced his faith, and at once fought against the Kaffirs [*sic*]. The king was alarmed and sent a larger army to seize the prophet and his fourth minister, Ali.

There was a combat between **Shaibath** and **Rabiyath** for 2 days and neither prevailed. The prophet prayed to God, and an eagle carried off the turban of **Shaibath the Kaffir.** Then Rabiyath cut off his head. A magic square in his turban had protected him. It was the Angel Gabriel who, in the form of an eagle, carried off his turban. The Kaffir army then fled in great fear. The king rallied his men, and a dreadful battle ensued. For five days and nights it lasted. The Arabs were nearly overcome, when the prophet at the door of his tent prayed to God:— "Oh God, I never began anything without your command. It is said in the Koran that God helps those who carry out His commands. Give courage and strength to my soldiers. We cannot fight the Kaffirs who are coming like dark

[20] The Mâppilas call their religion the "Fourth Vêda."

clouds." God granted the strength of 1,000 lions to Ali, and to all the others the strength of from 4 to 40 lions. For seven days the battle lasted, and still the Kaffirs did not give way. Then the fourth minister made a sound which shook the earth and the skies, the sea and the hills. The Kaffirs became deaf and blind. The Kaffirs fled, and after them their king. The Arabs pursued and killed many. Then they returned to camp. One Arab did not return, for he had gone to find the enemy's hiding place.

The prophet asked how many were killed. His minister replied: — "Three thousand." "Such is the will of God. They will obtain paradise." He then asked:— "How many Kaffirs?" His minister said: — "God alone can say." Ordering the corpses to be buried he enquired where the Kaffir's army lay hidden. The Kaffirs had taken shelter in the fort of a friendly king. The prophet ordered the spoil to be counted, and sent all the gold to a fort to be there watched; and he commanded his army to march against **the fort Tayif.** The fort was taken, and the king was captured. Imam Ali offered the captive king the prophet's faith, or death. His offer was scorned, and he raised his sword to strike the king, when the prophet said:— "He is a king, and must not be killed." The prophet had his chains removed and let him free to go where he pleased. This act of mercy moved the king to tears. He fell at Muhammad's feet, and embraced his religion. The prophet thereupon restored to him all his wealth and possessions.

Note.—In conclusion I acknowledge with gratitude the invaluable assistance in translation given me by **Mr. T. Kannan of Calicut.**

THE ASA DI WAR, A MORNING PRAYER OF THE SIKHS.

BY M. MACAULIFFE.

NOTE.

IT is said that **Guru Nânak** on going to Pàk Pattan in the Panjàb to meet **Shêkh Brahm, otherwise called Farîd Sâni**, or Farîd the Second, was asked to give religious instruction, and in reply composed the greater portion of the *slôks* and *paurîs* of the hymns known under the name of **Âsâ dî Wâr.** Some of the remaining hymns were composed by **Guru Angad,** the second Sikh Guru. The *Âsâ dî Wâr* is repeated by religious Sikhs after the *Japjî* and the *Hazârê dê Shabd* as a morning divine service.

The word **Wâr** originally meant a dirge for the brave slain in battle, then it meant any song of praise, and in this collection it means God's praises generally. *Wârs* were composed in stanzas called *paurîs,* literally ladders, which were sung or chanted by professional minstrels. In the *Granth Sâhib, paurîs* always follow *slôks.* A *slôk* is a verse written in imitation of the Sanskrit measure so called.

The sixth Guru is said to have written in the *Granth Sâhib,* as a preface to this collection, that it should be sung to the air of "*Tundâ As Râjâ.*"[1]

ASA DI WAR.

There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent; by the favor of the Guru.[2]

Guru Nânak (Râg Âsâ).

This *Wâr* includes *slôks.* The *slôks* also were written by the first Guru, and should be sung to **the air of Tundâ As Râjâ.**

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[1] As, son of Chitrbîr, was a holy prince against whom a false charge had been preferred by his lascivious step-mother, which led to his hands and feet being cut off as punishment. One of the many Oriental versions of the story of Potiphar's Wife.

[2] *Guru Parshâd*— See my translation of the *Japjî* for another interpretation of these words.

Slôk I.

Guru Nânak.

I am a sacrifice to my Guru a hundred times a day,
Who without any delay made demi-gods out of men.

Guru Angad.

Were a hundred moons to rise, and a thousand suns to mount *the sky,*
Even with such light there would be appalling darkness without the Guru.

Guru Nânak.

Nânak, they who very clever in their own estimation think not of the Guru,
Shall be left like spurious sesames in a reaped field.
They shall be left in the field, saith Nânak, without an owner
The wretches may even bear fruit and flower, but they shall be as ashes within their bodies.

Pauṛî I.[3]

God Himself created the world and Himself gave names to *things.*
He made Mayâ[4] by His power; seated He beheld *His work* with delight.
O Creator, Thou art the Giver; being pleased Thou bestowest and practisest kindness
Thou knowest all things; Thou givest and takest life with a word.[5]
Seated Thou didst behold *Thy work* with delight.

Slôk II.

Guru Nânak.

True are Thy regions and true Thy universes;
True Thy worlds and true Thy creation;
True Thine acts and all Thy thoughts;
True Thine order and true Thy court;
True Thy command and true Thy behest;
True Thy favor and true *Thy* signs.
Hundreds of thousands and millions declare Thee true.
True is all Thy power, true all Thy strength;
True Thy praises, true *Thy* eulogies;
True Thy might, O true King.
Nânak, true are they who meditate on the True One.
They who die and are born *again* are the falsest of the false.[6]

Guru Nânak.[7]

Great is His glory whose name is great;
Great is His glory whose justice is true;
Great is His glory whose seat is immovable;
Great is His glory who understandeth *our* utterances;
Great is His greatness who knoweth all our feelings;
Great is the glory of Him who giveth without consulting *others;*
Great is the glory of Him who is all in all Himself.
Nânak, his acts cannot be described.
Whatever He did and hath to do all dependeth on His own will.

[3] The *pauṛîs* in this collection are all by Bâbâ Nânak, so in the original his name is omitted at their head.

[4] In Sanskrit literature Mâya is styled *anâdi*, without a beginning, hence uncreated, but this is not the doctrine of the Gurus. To believe that God did not create Mayâ would be to believe in a limitation of His power.

[5] *Kivaão* — also translated, thou givest and takest life from the body.

[6] *Kach* is here used as the correlative of *sach*, true.

[7] In the original — Mahala I. It is so written to mark the distinction between the preceding verses, which are *slôks*, and the following verses, which are in a different measure.

Guru Angad.

This world is the True One's chamber; the True One's dwelling is therein.
Some by His order He absorbeth in *Himself*; others by His order He destroyeth.[8]
Some at His pleasure He withdraweth from mammon; others *He causeth* to abide therein.
It cannot be even told whom He will regenerate.
Nânak, he to whom God revealeath Himself, is known as holy.

Pauṛî II.

Nânak, *God* having created animals recorded their names, and appointed Dharmrâj *to judge their acts.*
At His court the real truth is adjudged; He separateth and removeth those who are attached to mammon.
There the false find no place: they go to hell with blackened faces.
Those who are imbued with thy name win; the deceivers lose.
God recorded names and appointed Dharmrâj to record acts.

Slôk III.

Guru Nânak.

Wonderful Thy word, wonderful Thy knowledge;
Wonderful Thy creatures, wonderful their species;
Wonderful their forms, wonderful their colors;
Wonderful the animals who wander naked;
Wonderful Thy wind; wonderful Thy water;
Wonderful Thy fire which sporteth wondrously;
Wonderful the earth, wonderful the sources of production;
Wonderful the pleasures to which mortals are attached;
Wonderful is meeting, wonderful separation *from Thee*;
Wonderful is hunger, wonderful repletion;
Wonderful Thy praises, wonderful Thy eulogies;
Wonderful the desert, wonderful the road;
Wonderful Thy nearness, wonderful *Thy* remoteness,
Wonderful to behold Thee present.
Beholding these astonishing things I remain wondering.
Nânak, those who understand them are supremely fortunate.

Guru Nânak.

By Thy power we see, by Thy power we hear, by Thy power we fear, *or enjoy* the highest happiness;
By Thy power *were made* the nether regions and the heavens; by Thy power all creation;
By Thy power *were produced* the Vêds, the Purâns, the Muhammadan books, and by Thy power all compositions;
By Thy power we eat, drink, and clothe ourselves; by Thy power *springeth* all affection;
By Thy power are the species, genera, and colors of *creatures*; by Thy power are the animals of the world.[9]
By Thy power are virtues; by Thy power are vices: by Thy power are honor and dishonor;[10]
By Thy power are wind, water, and fire; by Thy power is the earth.[11]

[8] By separating from Himself.

[9] Also translated — By Thy power was created animate and inanimate nature

[10] *Mân abhmân.* The latter word is for *apimân*, as so often in the *Granth Sâhib*. Compare *mân abhimân madê so sêwak nahîn.* He who hath regard for honor or dishonor is not a holy man. (*Srî Râg Guru Arjan*, 23; see also *Kêdâra Kabîr*, 1.)

[11] *Dharti khâk.* It is probably unnecessary to translate the word *khâk*.

Every thing existeth by Thy power ; Thou art the omnipotent Creator ; Thy name is the holiest of the holy.

Saith Nânak, Thou beholdest and pervadest *all things* subject to Thy command : *Thou art* altogether unrivalled.

Pauṛî III.

Man having enjoyed himself becometh ashes, and the soul passeth away.

However great and wealthy a man may be, *the ministers of death* throw a chain on his neck and take him away.

There an account of his acts is read ; *the Judge* on his seat taketh the account and passeth sentence.

Such a man shall find no place *of shelter* ; when he is beaten, who will hear his cries ?

Man, blind that thou art, thou hast wasted thy life.

Slôk IV.

Guru Nânak.

In fear[12] the winds and breezes ever blow ;

In fear flow hundreds of thousands of rivers ;

In fear fire performeth its forced labor ;

In fear the earth is pressed by its burden ;

In fear Indar[13] moveth headlong : in fear *sitteth* Dharmrâj at *God's* gate ;

In fear is the sun, in fear the moon ; they travel millions of miles without *arriving* at an end ;

In fear are the Sidhs the Budhas, the demigods, and the Nâths ; in fear are the stars and the firmament ;[14]

In fear are wrestlers, very mighty men and divine heroes ;

In fear cargoes of men come and go.

God hath destined fear for every one ;[15] Nânak, the Formless One, the True, is alone without fear.

Guru Nânak.

Nânak, the Formless One is without fear ; all the Râmas were dust.

How many stories there are of Kṛishṇa ! how many Vêds and *religious* compositions ![16]

How many beggars dance, and fall, and again beat time !

Actors enter the market place and draw forth their appliances ,[17]

Kings and queens sing and utter nonsense ;[18]

They wear ear-rings worth hundreds of thousands, and necklaces worth hundreds of thousands.[19]

The body on which they are worn, O Nânak, shall become ashes.

Divine knowledge is not sought in *mere* words ; to speak *concerning it* were as hard as iron ;

If one be so destined, he obtaineth it ; skill and orders are useless *therefor*.

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[12] The fear of God is, of course, meant.

[13] The god of the firmament.

[14] *Adhânê* — from the Sanskrit *âdhânan*. The phrase is also translated — In fear is the firmament extended.

[15] *Literally*, God hath written the destiny of fear on the heads of all.

[16] *Vichâr* — see above Slôk III., *Kudrat sarb vichâr*. Also translated — How many expound the Vêds !

[17] *Kadâ bâzâr* — also translated — draw a crowd around them.

[18] *Bolâ âl pâṭâl* — *literally*, speak of the upper and lower regions. *Âl pâṭâl* is applied to the language put into the mouths of demons in Sanskrit dramas.

[19] *Lakh ṭakiân*. *Takâ* is really a double pice, or about a halfpenny of English money, but in the plural it means moneyin general.

Pauṛî IV.

If the Kind One look with kindness, then is the true Guru obtained.
The soul hath wandered through many births, and now the true Guru hath communicated the Word.
There is no benefactor so great as the true Guru; hear this, all ye people.
By meeting the true Guru who hath removed pride from his heart, and who preacheth the truest of the true,
The True One is obtained.

Slôk V.

Let all the *ghaṛîs* be your milk-maids, and the *pahars*[20] your Kṛishṇas and Gopâls :[21]
Let wind, water, and fire be your jewels ; and the moon and sun your avatars ;
The whole earth your *stage* properties and vessels, which are all entanglements.
Nânak, those who are devoid of divine knowledge are robbed; the minister of death hath devoured them.

Guru Nânak.

The disciples play, the Gurus dance,
Shake their feet, and roll their heads.
Dust flieth and falleth on their hair ;[22]
The audience seeing it laugh and go home.
For the sake of food *the performers* beat time,
And dash themselves on the ground.
The milk-maids sing, Kṛishṇas sing,
Sîtâs and royal Râmas sing.
Fearless is the Formless One, whose name is true,
And whose creation is the whole world.
The worshipers on whom *God* bestoweth kindness worship Him ;
Pleasant[23] is the night for those who long for Him in their heart.
By the Guru's instruction to his disciples this knowledge *is obtained,*
That the Kind One saveth *those on whom He looketh* with favor.
Oil-presses, spinning-wheels, hand-mills, potter's wheels,
Plates,[24] whirlwinds, many and endless,
Tops, churning-staves, countless[25]
Birds tumble and take no breath.
Men put animals on stakes and swing them round.
O Nânak, the tumblers are innumerable and endless.
In the same way those bound in entanglements are swung round ;
Every one danceth according to his own acts—
Those who dance and laugh shall weep on their departure;
They cannot fly or obtain supernatural power.
Dancing and jumping are mental recreations ;
Nânak, those who have fear in their hearts have also love.

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[20] The *ghaṛî*, a measure of time for which there is no English word, is twenty-two and a half minutes. Three hours make a *pahar*.

[21] *Gopâls* are herdsmen among whom Kṛishṇa used to sport.

[22] *Jhâṭâ* is a woman's head of hair. The actors, who in India are all men, wear female wigs,

[23] *Bhînî*, literally, dewy, when the atmosphere is calm and the heat not excessive.

[24] *Ṭhâl* — plates poised on a stick and spun round.

[25] *Angôh* ; some explain this to mean buffaloes which tread out corn.

Pauṛî V.

Thy name is the Formless : by repeating it *man* goeth not to hell.

The soul and body are all Thine : what Thou givest man eateth : to say *aught else were* waste of words.

If thou desire thine advantage, do good acts and be lowly.

Even though thou stave off old age, it will come to thee in the disguise of death.

None may remain when his measure[26] is full.

Slôk VI.

The Musalmans praise the Shariât, read it, and reflect on it;

But God's servants are they who employ themselves in His service in order to behold Him.

The Hindus praise the Praised One whose appearance and form are incomparable;

They bathe in holy streams, *perform* idol-worship[27] and adoration, use[28] copious incense of sandal.

Those who are Jôgîs meditate on God[29] the Creator, whom they call the Unseen,

Whose form is minute, whose name is the Bright One, and who is the measure of their bodies.[30]

In the minds of the generous contentment is produced in their desire to give.

Others give, but ask a thousand fold more, and *and still want* the world to honor them.

Why mention thieves, adulterers, perjurers, evil and sinful men?

Several depart from here after eating what they had amassed *in previous births* ;[31] shall they have any business whatever *in the next world* ?[32]

The *animals* which live in the water, dry land, the fourteen worlds, and all creation —

What they say Thou alone knowest; for them too Thou carest.

Saith Nânak, the saints hunger to praise Thee; the true Name *is their* support.

In everlasting joy they abide day and night: *may I obtain* the dust of the feet of such virtuous *men* !

Guru Nânak and Shêkh Brâhm discussed the question of the disposal of the dead. It is believed the Shekh maintained that a man who was buried would go to hell.

Guru Nânak.

The ashes of the Musalmân fall into the potter's clod ;

Vessels and bricks are fashioned from them ; they cry out as they burn.

The poor ashes burn and weep, and sparks fly from them.

Nânak, the Creator who made the world, knoweth [*whether it is better to be burned or buried.*[33]

Pauṛî VI.

Without the true Guru none hath found *God* ; without the true Guru none hath found *God.*

God hath put Himself into the true guru; He hath made manifest and proclaimed this.

Salvation is ever obtained by meeting the true Guru who hath banished worldly love from within him.

Best are the meditations of him who hath fixed his mind on the True One:

He hath found the Giver of life to the world.

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[26] *Paiai* — *pai* is a grain measure.

[27] *Archâ*. This word not only means worship, but the idol that is worshiped.

[28] Some suppose *kîr* to be a noun meaning the lines Hindus draw on the ground to enclose cooking places, within which others are not admitted.

[29] *Sun*, literally, void. compare the Greek κοῖλον, hollow, from which the Latin *cœlum*, heaven, was obtained.

[30] It will be observed here that the jogis have a different conception of God from the Hindus.

[31] And have done nothing meritorious in this birth.

[32] This verse is also translated — Several depart from here after spending what they possessed; had they any other business *in this world* ?

[33] *Ui lê jârê, ui lê gâdê* — The Hindus are burnt, the Musalmans are buried.— Kabir, *Sorath*, 1.

Slôk VII.

In pride[34] man cometh, in pride he departeth ;
In pride is man born, in pride doth he die ;
In pride he giveth, in pride he taketh ;
In pride he earneth, in pride he spendeth ;
In pride man becometh true *or* false ;
In pride man meditateth evil *or* good ;
In pride he goeth to hell or heaven ;
In pride he rejoiceth, in pride he mourneth ;
In pride he becometh filthy, in pride he is cleansed ;
In pride man loseth his caste and race ;
In pride is the ignorant, in pride is the clever man ;
In pride one knoweth not the value of deliverance or salvation ;
In pride is mammon and in pride its effect *on the heart* ;
In pride are animals created.
When pride is quenched, *God's* gate is seen.
Without divine knowledge man worrieth himself by talking.
Nânak, the Commander hath thus ordained it ;
As man regardeth *God*, so *God* regardeth him.[35]

Guru Angad.

It is the nature of pride that it produceth pride.[36]
This pride is a trammel which subjecteth *man* to repeated transmigration.
What is the origin of pride, and by what device shall it depart ?
For pride it is ordained that man wander according to his previous acts.
Pride is a chronic disease, but there is also a medicine for it in the heart.
If God bestow His grace, man shall avail himself of the guru's instruction ;
Saith Nânak, hear, O ye men, in this way trouble shall depart.

Paurî VII.

They who have meditated on God as the truest of the true, have done *real* worship and are contented ;
They have refrained from evil,[37] done good deeds, and practised honesty.
They have lived on a little corn and water, and burst the entanglements of the world.
Thou art the great Bestower ; ever Thou givest *gifts* which increase a quarter fold.
Those who have magnified the great God have found Him.

Slôk VIII.

Men, trees, the banks of sacred streams, clouds, fields,
Islands, peoples, countries, continents, the universe,
The sources of *production* from eggs, cauls, the earth, and perspiration,
Lakes, mountains, animals — O Nânak, God knoweth their condition.
Nânak, God having created animals taketh care of them all.[38]

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[34] *Hauṅ* — literally, egoism.

[35] Also translated —
(*a*) Treat men according to their acts.
(*b*) Treat others as thou wouldst be treated thyself.

[36] Literally — that it performeth works of pride.

[37] Literally — Have not put their feet into evil.

[38] Compare Guru Angad —
" *Nânak, chintâ mat karâh ; chintâ Tishi hôi*
Jal mâh jant upâiâṅ ; tinâṅ bhî rôjî d'i.
Nânak, be not anxious ; anxiety is for Him
Who created animals in the water ; to them also He giveth their daily food."

The Creator who created the world hath to take thought for it also.
It is the same Creator who made the world who taketh thought for it.
To Him be obeisance, blessings be on Him! His court is imperishable.
Nânak, without the true Name what is a sacrificial mark? what a sacrificial thread?

Guru Nânak.

Man may perform hundreds of thousands of good acts and deeds, hundreds of thousands of approved charities,
Hundreds of thousands of penances at sacred places, *sahaj jôg*[39] in the wilderness,
Hundreds of thousands of braveries, and part with his life in the conflict of battle;
He may study hundreds of thousands of Vêds and works of divine knowledge and meditation, and read the Purâns —
Nânak, these devices would be of no avail; true is the mark of destiny.[40]
The Creator who made the world hath decreed transmigration.

Pauṛî VIII.

Thou alone art the true Lord who hath diffused the real truth.
He to whom Thou givest obtaineth truth, and he then practiseth it.
Man obtaineth truth on meeting the true guru in whose heart the truth dwelleth.
The fool knoweth not truth, and hath wasted his life by obstinacy.
Why hath he come into the world?

Slôk IX.

Guru Nânak.

A man may load carts with books; he may load men with books *to take* with him;
Books may be put on boats, and pits be filled with them.
A man may read books for months, he may read them for years;
He may read them for life, he may read them while he has breath —
Nanak, only one word, *God's name,* would be of account; all else *would* be the senseless discussion of pride.

Guru Nânak.

The more one readeth and writeth, the more he is tormented;
The more one wandereth on pilgrimages, the more he babbleth;
The more religious garbs man weareth, the more discomfort he causeth his body.
Bear, O my soul, the *result* of thine own acts.
He who eateth not corn[41] hath lost the relish *of life.*
Men suffer much pain through their attachment to mammon.
Those who wear not clothes suffer terribly day and night.
Man ruineth himself by *perpetual* silence; how can he who sleepeth in ignorance be awaked without a Guru.
Even though man *go* bare-footed, he must still suffer for his own acts.[42]
If a man eat filth, and put ashes on his head,
The blind fool loseth respect; without the Name he obtaineth no *abiding* place.
The ignorant man who dwelleth in the wilderness and at burial and cremation grounds,[43] knoweth not *God* and shall afterwards repent.

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[39] *Sahaj jôg*, in contradistinction to the *hath jôg* of the *Aphorisms of Patanjali*, means keeping the mind fixed on God See Manni Singh's *Life of Guru Nanak.*

[40] *Karm* — also translated — God's grace.

[41] Several fakirs do not eat corn, some go naked, some practise perpetual silence, some go barefooted, some eat filth, *etc., etc.*

[42] The Gyânîs generally translate — If a man go bare-footed, he is *merely* suffering for his sins. The word *upêtâna* is derived from *upanâi* shoes, and *tyâgnâ* to leave off.

[43] *Marrî* is where a saintly Hindu's body or ashes repose; *masânî* is a cremation ground.

He who meeteth the true Guru and fixeth *God's* name in his heart, obtaineth comfort.
Nânak, he on whom *God* looketh with favor obtaineth Him.
He becometh free from hopes and fears, and destroyeth his pride by means of the Word.

Pauṛî IX.

The saints, *O Lord*, please Thy heart, adorn Thy gate, and hymn Thy praises.
Nânak, they who are outside Thy favor, find no entrance and wander *in many births.*
Some know not their origin, and have an inordinate opinion of themselves.
I am a singer of low caste; others call themselves of high caste.
I *only* beg of those who meditate on Thee.[44]

Slôk X.

Guru Nânak.

False are kings, false their subjects, false the whole world ;
False are mansions, false palaces, false those who dwell therein ;
False is gold ; false silver ; false he who weareth them ;
False the body; false raiment; false peerless beauty ;
False husbands ; false wives ; they pine and waste away.
Man who is false, loveth what is false, and forgetteth the Creator.
With whom contract friendship ? The whole world passeth away.
False is sweetness; false honey; in falsehood shiploads are drowned.
Nânak uttereth supplication—except Thee, O God, everything is thoroughly false.

Guru Nânak.

Man is then known as true when truth is in his heart;
When the filth of falsehood departeth, man washeth his body clean.
Man is then known as true when he beareth love to the True One ;
When man heareth the name and restraineth his mind,[45] he shall then attain the door of salvation.
Man shall then be known as true when he knoweth the *true* way ;
Having prepared the field of the body, put into it the seed of the Creator.
Man shall then be known as true when he receiveth true instruction ;
Let man know mercy to living things and perform some works of charity.
Man shall then be known as true, when he dwelleth in the pilgrimage of his heart;
Let man after enquiry from the true guru rest and abide *in his own heart* ;
Truth is the medicine for all; it removeth and washeth away sin.
Nânak maketh supplication to those who are in possession of truth.

Pauṛî X.

Be mine the gift of the dust of the *saints'* feet: if I obtain it, I shall apply it to my forehead.
Forsake false covetousness; concentrating thy mind meditate on the Unseen One.
Thou shalt obtain a reward in proportion to what thou hast done.
If it have been so allotted from the beginning, man shall obtain the dust of the saints' feet.
Ruin not thyself with scant service.[46]

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[44] Also translated — I beg *for a sight* of those who meditate on Thee.

[45] *Nâm sun man rahisiâi* — also translated—when one's mind becometh happy after hearing the Name.

[46] Compare — *Ochhî bhagtî kaisê uttarasi pârî?* How shall he of scant service be saved? —*Gaurî Kabîr*, 15.

Slôk XI.

Guru Nânak.

There is a dearth of truth ; falsehood prevaileth ; the blackness of this age *maketh men* demons.
Those who have sown the seed have departed with honor ; how can half seed germinate ?
If the seed be whole, it will germinate in the proper season.
Nânak, unbleached cloth cannot be dyed without a base.
If the body be put into the vat of fear, modesty be made its base,
And it be dyed with devotion, O Nânak, there will not be a trace of falsehood in it.

Guru Nânak.

Greed and sin are ruler and village accountant; falsehood is master of the mint.
Lust, his minister, summoneth and examineth men, and sitteth in judgment on them.
The subjects *are* blind and without wisdom, and satisfy *the judge's* greed with bribes.
Gyânîs dance, play musical instruments, disguise, and decorate themselves ;
They shout aloud,[47] sing of battles, and heroes' praises.
Fools call *themselves* pandits and with tricks and cavilling love to amass *wealth.*
Pretended religious men spoil their religious acts, *and yet* want the door of salvation ;
They call themselves continent, and leave their houses and homes, *yet* they know not the way.
Every one is perfect to himself: no one admitteth himself wanting.
If the weight of honor be put into the scale, then, Nânak, man shall appear *properly* weighed.

Guru Nânak.

Man's evil becometh known,[48] O Nânak ; the True One seeth *all.*
Every one maketh endeavors, *but* it is *only* what the Creator doeth that taketh place.
Caste hath no power in the next world : there is a new *order of* beings.
Those whose accounts are honored are the good.

Pauṛî XI.

Those whom Thou didst so destine from the beginning meditate on *Thee,* O Lord.
There is nothing in the power of creatures ; *O God,* it is Thou who hast created the different worlds.
Some Thou blendest with Thyself ; others Thou leadest astray from Thee.
Thou art known by the favor of the guru, through whom Thou revealest Thyself.
Those who know Thee are easily absorbed in the True One.

Slôk XII.

Guru Nânak.

Pain is medicine, *worldly* pleasure is a disease ; where there is *such* pleasure, there is no desire *for God.*
Thou art the Doer, I do nothing ; if I try to do anything, it cometh to nothing.
I *am* a sacrifice *unto Thee* ; Thou abidest in Thine omnipotence :
Thine end cannot be seen.
Thy light pervadeth creatures ; creatures are contained in Thy light ; Thou fillest inanimate and animate creation.[49]
Thou art the true Lord ; beautiful is Thy praise ; he who uttereth it is saved.
Nânak uttereth the words of the Creator ; what is to be done *God* continueth to do.

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[47] *Unchê Kûkêṅ.* The Kûkâs, a sect of Sikhs, translate this — The Kûkâs are exalted.

[48] *Suwajag* = *so wajêgâ,* it shall be known.

[49] *Akâl kalâ* — also translated — Thy power (*kalâ*) is inconceivable (*a* not, and *kalnâ* to know). The words, however, present great difficulty, and no two *gyânîs* agree as to their interpretation.

Guru Angad.

The Jôgîs deem it their duty to acquire divine knowledge, the Brâhmans to read the Vêds,
The Khatrîs *to exercise* bravery, the Sûdras to work for others ;
But the highest duty of all is to repeat the name of the one God.[50]
He who knoweth the secret of this
Is a bright God himself, and Nânak is his slave.

Guru Angad.

There is one God, the God of all gods, the Supreme God of souls.
He who knoweth the secret of the soul and of God,
Is a bright God himself, and Nânak is his slave.

Guru Nânak.

Water remaineth if confined in a vessel ; *but* it cannot remain without a vessel.[51]
The mind controlled by divine knowledge is restrained ; *but* without a Guru there can be no divine knowledge.

Pauṛî XII.

If the literate and the illiterate are vicious, the latter are not punished.
As man acteth so shall he be described.
Play not such a game as shall bring thee defeat on arriving at God's court.
The literate and the illiterate shall be judged hereafter ;
The obstinate shall be punished in the next world.

(To be continued.)

SONGS SUNG BY THE LAMBADIS.

BY F. FAWCETT.

THE **Lambâḍîs, Brinjârîs,** or **Sugâlîs,** as they are variously called in the Madras Presidency, are well known and need no introduction to the readers of this *Journal.* It cannot, however, be said that much is known about them racially, and it has not yet been determined whether they, **the Indian gipsies,** are identical with the gipsies of Europe. Here are **some of their songs.** The translations given are free renderings, as I experienced difficulty in arriving at a reasonably correct rendering of the songs, since there occur words in them of which no one can explain the meaning. Some of the songs themselves and many of the words are not in the least understood by the singers.

The following six Songs now given were taken down by Mr. P. Rama Rao from the mouths of five women of the Lambâḍî *tanḍâs* encamped at Râtibhâvi Vankâ, Rayadûrg Taluk, Bellary District, during 1900. Their names were: Châvalî, aged 30 ; Lachhmî, aged 40 ; Gojjî, aged 25 ; Mîklî, aged 20 ; Râmkî, aged 30.

Song No. I.

Râmâ bi chelê Lachumanâ bi chelê sôb chelenêhâr.
Jammakh khêlô râgô raṇajhade Râjâ !
Mârô maragala namar Sîtâtô bovi kevadô.
Râgô ranajhade râjâ !

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[50] Also translated — The Jogîs speak of divine knowledge, the Brâhmans of the Vedas ;
The Khatrîs of bravery, the Sûdras of working for others.
All that they speak is concerning the one God.

[51] Water cannot remain without a vessel. Compare — *kumbh binâ jal na tikâu âi. — Gaurî Kabîr.*

Translation.

Râma is gone, Lachhmaṇa (his brother) is gone, all are doomed to go (*i. e.*, die).
Let us therefore play the jolly play of a Râjâ !
He chased and beat an illusory antelope, but the animal did not die. He chased the buck for Sîtâ (his wife) who was fragrant with the sweet smell of the snake-flower.
Let us therefore play the jolly play of a Râjâ !

Note. — This song relates to a well known incident in the *Râmâyaṇa*. Râma, Sîtâ and Lachhmaṇa saw in the forest what appeared to be a golden antelope. Sîtâ wished for it, and Râma chased it. Lachhmaṇa followed him, and before the brothers returned, Râvaṇa king of the Râkshasas, abducted Sîtâ.

Song No. II.

Âssê dappê vâlêkê lambî lambî dhôtî | vôrê kaniyan dêkan. Dab châlêdê.
Âssê dappê vâlêkê tângemâ tôdâ | târê thôdana dêkan vâlêmê rasiyâ. Bhyê ! Bhâyerê !
Âssê dappê vâlêkû hâtêmâ kôradâ | âssê koradâmê dêkavâlêmê rasiyâ. Dab châlêdê.
Âssê dappê vâlêkû kadimâ kanajôru | vuna dêka valêmê rasiyâ. Dab châlêdê.

Translation.

The loin-cloth of a rich man is too long, seeing his earring [beat drum] ;
On the legs of a rich man there are silver chains, seeing which I am enamoured, [spoken] Bhyê ! Bhâyerê !
On the wrists of a rich man there are silver bracelets, seeing which I am enamoured ; beat drum and lets us play.
On the waist of a rich man there is a silver thread, seeing which I am enamoured ; beat drum and let us play.

Song No. III.

Abdu yûlârê Malân | Abdu yûlârê chôgân (*chorus*)
Sâyibare ghiru munang ghummaru ghâl | Vôrê mâḷiva khâdnêhâr (*chorus*).
Mêlâ hindôlôghal | mârâjare ghare mêlâ hindôlôghal (*chorus*).

Translation.

Gaurî says to her father: " Abdu father, in this place (here is) open ground "
In front of His (God's) house, let us meditate or praise Him ; drive back His herd of cattle.[1]
On the upstairs of Mahârâjâ's [house — palace] they have a hanging (or swinging) cradle.

Song No. IV.

Bâgemâ ghôḍôlô môlâlê, Titârâjâ,
Bâgemâ kanadhôro môlâlê, Titârâjâ,
Bâgemâ soneri bâgemâ hasalô môlâlê, Titârâjâ,
Bâgemâ koldâ môlâ, kadaḍhari Râjâ,
Bâgemâ mungâ môlâ, kadhadâri Râjâ, soneri.

Translation.

" O Titârâjâ, purchase horses in the jungles,
Purchase them with the silver waist thread on your waist,
Purchase them with the gold necklace round your neck,
Purchase them, oh truth-speaking Râjâ, with the silver bangles on your arms,
Purchase them with that coral wreath round your neck."

[1] This is considered one of the sacred services to God.

Note. — This is explained thus by the Lambâḍîs : — Tıtârâja, a Lombâḍî Mahâtma (!) went to the forest to find his horses, and was killed by a tiger near Annigere in Mysore. His wife, by a species of second sight, knew of his fate and with her kinsfolk went to the place, where they found his bones. These she collected, made a fire and threw herself into ıt. She sang this song before she died. It is intended to be in praise of her husband.

Song No. V.

Sudâ savâye Bhaktu pêri | kâchê kêrô divâlô | karpûra keri artimâ | mêka mêlâri artimâ | pavanerpâṇı artimâ | chânde sûrtari artimâ | jami mâthâ artimâ.

Translation.

O thou beautiful Goddess! I thy devoted worshipper, approach thee with a camphor-lighted *halighartht*,[2] and I worship thee with it; I request thee to pour down rain; I worship thee with clear water. I worship the sun and the moon and the Mother Earth.

Note. — A prayer to the Goddess Dûrgâ.

Song No. VI.

Ândhadiyâ Upabhavâni târê dârê | gaḍapar nôbaththu vâjê.
Ândhadiyâ aki sadâr Bhavâni târê dârê || gaḍapar nôbaththu vâjê.
Vânjuvâ Vupabhavâni târê dârê | vari gôdê sadâru Bhavânî târê dârê || gaḍapar nôbaththu vâjê
Kûbadiyâ Upabhavâni târê dârê | gaḍapar nôbaththu vâjê

Translation.

O Bhavânî ! a blind man is at your door in your presence. So I beat the drum in your name.
Cure the eyes of your blind devotee, O Bhavânî ! So I beat the drum in your name.
There is a barren woman standing in your presence, O Bhavânî ! Make her carry a child and stand in your presence, O Bhavâni ! So I beat the drum in your name.
There ıs a hump-backed crooked person in your presence, O Bhavânî ! So I beat the drum in your name.

Note. — Prayer to the Goddess Bhavânî.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 367.)

[2] A copper or brass plate sometimes resmbling the figure of a fish on which lighted camphor is placed and passed up and down an image, as in temples or during divine processions. This is called locally *arti*, or *mangala arti*.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME BURMESE EXPRESSIONS AT PORT BLAIR.

THE Burmese convicts at Port Blair, of whom there are some two thousand, have made up names for themselves out of their own language, *more suo*, for various places and matters they have to deal with. *E. g.*, **Set-kyun**, Machinery Island, stands for Chatham Island, where the Sawmills are. **Mingyi-jyun**, Commissioner's Island, stands for Ross Island, where Government House and the Head-quarters are. **Pâ-ta-gaung**, One-frog, is a rather ingenious translation, or perhaps transcription, of the real name of the place, Pahârgaon, Hill-village. Also for some occult reason of sound and recollection, Phoenix Bay is called by the Burmans **Myûnisipè**, which in their own country does duty for the to them outlandish word and institution, Municipality. Aberdeen has beaten them as a word and is known as **Balâdin**. So also has a daily expression in Port Blair borrowed from the Indian Courts' jargon : **mushaqqatî**, a labouring convict, which they call **màskàtî**.

R. C. TEMPLE.

PAPAYA.

HERE are some interesting additions to Yule's description of the uncertain word. Yule calls it American, but the American *Century Dictionary* calls it Malabar! Yule also calls it an "insipid, not to say nasty, fruit." With this description, as one for many years well acquainted with it, I must beg to entirely differ. It is to my taste most palatable, when ripe, to eat raw; it makes a first rate after-dinner dish when cooked with sugar, and a most welcome vegetable in the tropics when served up cooked whilst unripe — a good substitute then for marrows. Yule remarks on the spelling poppoi (ὦ πόπποι!) of Sir Lewis Pelly. This is merely Anglo-Madrasi: in the Madras Presidency, as long as I can remember, it is known as poppoy and usually so spelt in accounts and letters and so on. By Natives of North India working in the South it is usually, by a natural confusion or analogy, called wrongly **papîtâ**.

1893. — Papaw. Popâya, Mahr.; **poppâyi,** Conc[ani]; . . . . **papaiyah,** Hind.; . . . . **popâi-*ka-jhâr*,** Dec[cani]; **papaya,** Malay; . . . . **bappangâyi,** Too[loo]; **bôppayi,** Tel.; **pappâyam,** Mal[ayalam]; **papol,** Singh[alese]; **pappâli,** Tam[il] **Title from Malay** . . . . Title otherwise Foreign castor, Melon tree, Papaw mango, Papaya . . . . **Wild papaw**: [quite another tree] . . . . Botanically, *sterculia colorata*. — *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. p. 650 f.

1899. — Papaw . . . . **Papaya, a name of Malabar origin** . . . . also written **pawpaw.** — *Century Dict*, *Times* Ed., *s. v.*

1900. — The **pawpaw** is found throughout a great part of Nigeria. — Robinson, *Nigeria*, p. 8J f.

R. C. TEMPLE.

CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH AT PORT BLAIR.

Kânbalês stands for "convalescent," *i. e.*, a man in a "convalescent gang" of convicts.

Dirmat is, *longo intervallo*, a form of "Department," and always means in Port Blair the Forest Department.

But "**orchid**" has been too much for the Forest Department convicts, and they have rather ingeniously translated the word by **hawâ pattî**, air-leaf.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE BRACES.

c. **1669-1679.** — This Riuer is soe named from y[e] great towne of Hugly Scituated Upon y[e] banks of it neare 150 miles from **y[e] Braces or** shoals that lye at y[e] Entrance thereof. — T B., *Asia, etc., MS., fol.* 74

1676. — 5th Sept. This night we sailed over **the Sands called the Brases,** having never lesse than three ffathoms water, and a Swelling Sea — Streynsham Master, *Journal,* in Yule, *Hedges' Diary,* Vol. II. p. 232.

1676. — 3rd (Dec) Sunday: Wee lay upon **the Sands called the Braces** all this day, haveing small wind and very smooth sea. — *Op. cit.* p 237.

1676. — might with more care goe over **the Braces** and come up Hugly River then they can goe out of the Downes into the River of London. — Walter Clavell in *op. cit.* p. 239.

1685. — January 8. This morning by breake of day we weighed Anchor and by 12 at noon came to an anchor upon y[e] edge or Entrance on y[e] **Westwardmost Brace** . . . . At slack water we weighed and stood downe between **the two Braces** . . . . Here we mett with George Herron y[e] Company's Chief Pilott who came on board and carryed us over **y[e] Brace,** for which I presented him with R. 50. — Yule, *Hedges' Diary,* Vol. I. p. 175 f.

1703. — **Western or Outer Brace** . . . . **Eastern or Inner Brace.** — *Map* attached to the Ed. of the *English Pilot* of 1703. *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 220.

1748. — A New and Correct Chart, showing the sands, shoals, mudbanks . . . . with **the going over the Braces** from Point Palmyras to Calcutta in the River Hughly In the Bay of Bengal. — Title of the *English Pilot* for that year. *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 205.

1780. — **The Braces,** Sea-reef, Sagor and other sands, eastward of Point Palmyras . . . . in the channel **between the Braces.** — Dunn, *Directory,* p. 207.

1898. — **Eastern Brace** . . . . **Western Brace.** — *Admiralty Chart.*

1888. — **Brace** . . . . an arm: esp. an "arm" of the sea or other large body of water . . . . **Brace of Saint George** . . . . the two arms, esp. the width of the two arms. — Oxford *English Dict.*

Whoever was responsible for the name of **The Braces** had no doubt in his mind the former or latter fundamental sense of **the word "brace,"** when he so named the once dreaded and famous arms or spits of sand that run out to the sea from the Hugli River. But it is a pity that this particular sense of the word has missed the astonishingly minute investigation of the compilers of the great *Oxford Dictionary.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

PROFESSOR PISCHEL'S PRAKRIT GRAMMAR.[1]

THIS is a work which it is difficult to review for no one knows the subject of which it treats so thoroughly as does the author. In Prâkṛit we are all Professor Pischel's pupils, and we are too well aware what a store of learning lies behind each sentence that he has written to permit ourselves to lightly differ from him. Indiscriminate praise in such a case is the only safe course, and I should be tempted to adopt it myself did I not know that this is just what he would least desire. Praise it deserves, — the highest praise, — and if in a few minor points I appear to press views which are not in accordance with those advanced by him, I must begin by expressing my admiration for a book which is one solid mass of thousands of arranged and coordinated facts, now for the first time brought together and digested into a whole with extraordinary skill and clearness.

It is divided into three parts, an Introduction (pp. 1-47), Phonetics (47-241), and Accidence (241-407). It is well supplied with Indexes and full list of Authorities. Regarding Phonetics and Accidence I do not propose to make any remarks. Each of these sections is a wonderful piece of work. Every form of every known dialect which occurs in literature is discussed and accounted for. Only one book of importance (which, however, was published after the grammar appeared), the *Kumâra-pâla-charita,* seems to have escaped the author's net. For the purposes of reference these portions are therefore as complete as can be. Lassen's great work (though much of it has been out of date for many years) is now finally superseded.

The Introduction is naturally the more generally interesting part of the book. The author first defines what he includes under the term '**Prâkṛit.**' He confines himself to the literary forms of speech, and (by the plan of the series of which the work forms one of the sections) is compelled to abstain from the consideration of the monumental Prâkṛits, or as he names them the Leṇa dialect For my part, I must express my regret at this omission, and it seems to me a pity that the framework of the *Grundriss* could not have been stretched so as to include this language in the present volume. He next gives the various native interpretations of the name 'Prâkṛit,' the most usual being that the group of dialects is so called because their *prakṛiti* or basis is Sanskrit, but does not discuss the question himself, which, however, can hardly be considered of importance.[2]

This is followed by the various **lists of Prâkṛit** dialects given by the grammarians, in connexion with which the author explains the correct meaning of the term 'Apabhraṁśa' and briefly discusses the connexion of the various Apabhraṁśas with the modern languages of India. Finally he gives **a general account of each Prâkṛit dialect** and of the materials which are available for its study, concluding with a full account of all the known Prâkṛit grammars compiled by native authors.

Stress is laid on the undoubted fact, hitherto often ignored, that these Prâkṛit dialects, Śaurasênî, Mâgadhî, and so forth, (though founded on real spoken vernaculars) are artificial products, in so much as they have been altered in important particulars, by those who used them to adapt them for literary purposes. They cannot be considered as representing the actual speech of the people at any epoch, though they are based upon it. Can we go nearer the source? The answer is in the affirmative. We have the **Apabhraṁsa;** there was a Śurasêna Apabhraṁśa, a Mahârâshṭra Apabhraṁśa, a Magadha Apabhraṁśa, and so on. Each of them was originally the popular speech of the country with whose name it was connected, and is the mother of the modern language of the same tract It is hardly necessary to say that none of them is a corruption of the corresponding literary Prâkṛit. Śurasêna Apabhraṁśa was *not* a corruption of Śaurasênî Prâkṛit, as its name appears to imply, — the reverse would more nearly represent the truth. But these Apabhraṁśas themselves, when they in their turn

[1] *Grundrissder indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.* Begründet von Georg Bühler, fortgesetzt von F. Kielhorn. Vol. i., Part 8. *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* von R. Pischel. Strassburg, Trübner, 1900, pp. 430.

[2] Personally, I have never felt myself able to accept the explanation of this word offered by most Indian grammarians. It is that which would naturally occur to a *paṇdit,* but it is based on a fallacy. Prâkṛit is *not* derived from Sanskrit, or based on it. It is of course possible that the word is a paṇḍit's concoction based on a false theory, but that has yet to be proved. To me it seems that the two words *prâ-kṛita* and *sam-s-kṛita* should be considered as a mutually correlated pair. Each depends on the other. Possibly the best explanation is that *pṛi-kṛita* means 'simple,' 'that which grew of itself,' 'unartificial,' in contradistinction to '*sam-s-kṛita,* 'polished,' 'artificial.' This closely agrees with Namisâdhu's interpretation of '*prâkṛita,*' quoted on p. 14 of the work under review, and also appears to be the opinion of Professor Pischel (p. 32).

became used for literary composition (and of course it is only in literary compositions that they have survived), were subjected to the same process of regularisation as the Prâkṛits proper, and hence, though the language of these works is immeasurably nearer the spoken vernaculars of the time than they, we are hardly justified in accepting any of them as a well of contemporary folk-speech undefiled

Here a small point arises on which I am compelled to differ from Prof Pischel. On p. 4 he states in so many words that modern **Marâṭhî** is derived from Mahârâshtra Apabhraṁśa, and on p 9 he speaks of undoubted points of connexion between Mâhârâshṭrî Prâkṛit and the modern languages of Mahârâshtra. It is thus evident that he considers that there is a close connexion between Mahârâshtra Apabhraṁśa and Mâhârâshtrî Prâkṛit. Again, on p. 25, he equally decisively states that between the modern **Mâgadhî** dialect of **Bihâr** and the Mâgadhî Prâkṛit there is no connexion. I mention these two statements together to show that he lays no stress on community of name. If he denies the connexion between ancient and modern Mâgadhî *although* their names are identical, he cannot say that Mâhârâshtrî and Marâthî are connected *because* their names are identical. Nor does he For proof of the identity of the two last-named languages, he refers to the well-known review of Weber's edition of Hâla which appeared from the pen of Garrez in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1872 Now that article was written nearly thirty years ago, and our knowledge of the Indian vernaculars has made great strides since then. I am convinced that Garrez would use very different language at the present day if he were alive. In the article referred to he gives a number of reasons which then appeared to him to be sufficient to show that Marâthî is derived from Mâhârâshtrî Prâkṛit. I take the most important of them:—

1. Marâṭhî has a Gerundive in *ûn*, corresponding to the Mâhârâshtrî *ûna* True, but the same suffix appears in Oṛiyâ (*cf. jâ-unu*, having gone), which is certainly not derived from Mâhârâshtrî
2. Marâthî has a feminine form of the Demonstrative and Relative Pronouns. True, — but so have Jaipurî and Mârwârî.
3. Marâthî has the emphatic termination *êch*, corresponding to the Mâhârâshtrî *chia* True, — but so has Chhattîsgaṛhî spoken on the other side of India.

Finally, Garrez quoted a number of words which are, he said, peculiar to Marâthî and Mâhârâshtrî It may or may not be true that they are peculiar to Mâhârâshtrî, but it is certainly not true that they are peculiar to Marâthî. All that *is* true is that Marâthî has a good dictionary, while other Indian vernaculars have not. It is unnecessary to go into details

It hence follows that the proof of the affiliation of Marâthî to Mâhârâshtrî Prâkrît, which Garrez attempted, has broken down in every particular. Are we then to assume that Marâthî is not so descended? I do not say that I only maintain that it is not proved that it is, nor can it be definitely proved, so far as I am aware, that any particular Prâkrit has any greater claim to be its progenitor than another.

While not venturing to give a decided opinion on this question, I may point out one or two facts which may at some future time help to solve the problem. It has been urged by some, including Hoernle, and others of less authority, that the word Mâhârâshtrî does not necessarily mean the Prâkṛit of Mahârâshtra [3] But Mahârâshtra Apabhraṁśa must mean that, and hence it *may* have nothing to do with Mâhârâshṭrî Prâkṛit The two words may have no more connexion than the external form common to the two names Mahârâshtra appears to have meant Vidarbha, — the Berars [4] At the present day the language of the Berars is a provincial form of Marâthî, and, if Mahârâshtra Apabhraṁśa had a recognised literary counterpart, it would probably be what the grammarians called 'Vaidarbhî' or 'Dâkshinâtyâ,' about which we know hardly anything at all, except that Râmatarkavâgîśa appears to group it with Mâgadhî and Ârdhamâgadhî,[5] while Prof. Pischel is inclined to connect it with Śaurasênî. No one, so far as I know, has ever traced any relationship between it and Mâhârâshtrî Prâkṛit.

Whether Marâthî is connected with Mâhârâshtrî Prâkṛit or not, it cannot be seriously argued that it is not derived from Mahârâshtra Apabhraṁśa In itself it possesses two important points of differentiation. Its past participle ends in *l*,[6] in this agreeing with the eastern languages of

[3] It has been suggested that the name arose through this emasculated form of language being first used as a vehicle for songs in that country.

[4] See *Bâla-râmâyana*, x. 74, where Vidarbha and Kuntala (Berar and south-west Hyderabad) are identified as 'Mahârâshtra '

[5] Lassen, p. 21.

[6] I take this opportunity of stating that I have long ago abandoned the theory that this *l* is derived from the Sanskrit *ta* through *ḍa*.

India (Bihârî. Oṛiyâ, Bengali, and Assamese), and the oblique form of its strong nouns ends in *â*, not *ê*, in this agreeing with the *âha* of Mâgadhî Prâkṛit, with the modern eastern languages, and also with those of Rajputana and Gujarât, but altogether disagreeing with Mâhârâshtrî Prâkrit. These facts do not prove anything, — there are too few of them, — but at any rate they altogether fail to show any connexion between the last named Prâkṛit and Marâthî.

We next come to Prof. Pischel's statement that there is no connexion between the **Mâgadhî dialect of Bihârî** (or, as it is more usually called, Magahî) and Mâgadhî Prâkṛit. On the page preceding this statement he gives it as his opinion that 'Mâgadhî' Prâkṛit was not a uniform speech, but included all those Prâkṛit dialects which had *ya* instead of *ja*, *la* for *ra*, *śa* for *sa*, and in which the nominative of nouns in *-a* ended in *-ê*. Now, except the first, all these peculiarities are typical of the modern languages of Eastern India, including Bihârî (of which Magahî is a dialect), some in one and some in another. Let us take them in order.

The change of *ra* to *la* is common in Bihârî, especially in Magahî. For instance, in my old district of Gayâ, in the heart of Magadha, the town of Lakshmanapura is nowadays called Lakhnaul or Nakhlaul.

In Bengali, a language closely connected with Bihârî, every *sa* is pronounced as *śa* Bihârî, which is the most western of the eastern group of languages, and whose speakers are politically connected with Audh and not with Bengal, has abandoned the old pronunciation of this letter, and has taken to *sa*. This letter is now a literal shibboleth between the nationalities of Bengal and Hindôstân, with the latter of whom the Bihârîs have thrown in their lot. But that the old pronunciation was *śa* is clearly shown by the fact that in writing the national character every Bihârî without exception writes *śa* instead of the *sa* which he pronounces Thus, he says *mâs*, a month, but write *mâś* (मास).

In old Bengali[7] and Bihârî the nominative of *-a* bases ended in *-ê*. An example occurs in the very first line of my edition of the poems of Vidyâpati, where we have *snânê* for *snânaṁ*, bathing. In the west we should have had *sanânâ*.

There are other typical peculiarities of Mâgadhî Prâkṛit which are also found in the eastern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The genitive singular in Mâgadhî Prâkṛit ended in *âha*. In all the dialects of eastern India (including Magahî) its representative, the oblique form, ends in *â*, not in *ê* as in western Hindôstân. In Mâgadhî Prâkṛit *ṭṭa* becomes *sta*. I have more than once pointed out that in wild parts of Gayâ I have heard the uneducated use the form *pastâ* instead of *paṭṭâ*, a lease. Finally (to take one of many possible instances in vocabulary), with the Mâgadhî Prâkṛit word *kôśiṇa* (*kôshna*), lukewarm, quoted by Prof. Pischel as a typical Mâgadhî Prâkrit word, we may compare the universal Bihârî word *usinâ*, parboiled[8]

For these reasons I must hold (in spite of Prof. Pischel's great authority) that Mâgadhî Prâkṛit has undoubted points of connexion with the modern language of the country of Magadha, — Bihârî

I am thus bold enough to state a difference of opinion from him on two points I hold as not proved the connexion of Mâhârâshtrî Prâkṛit with Marâthî. and I hold as proved the connexion of Mâgadhî Prâkrit with Magahî. As to **Mâhârâshṭrî Prâkṛit**, I don't believe there ever was such a language, or anything approaching it, spoken anywhere. I don't believe such 'emasculated stuff' could ever have been made the vehicle of oral communication. It was chiefly used for song writing. It was about as intelligible as the language of the modern half-taught tenor of a country drawing-room, of whom we say 'he has *such* a nice voice, but it is a pity he sings so indistinctly.' This indistinct enunciation is carried to an extreme by Indian singers of the present day I once sat beside one of the great noblemen of Bihâr, a man highly educated and learned in all the accomplishments of an oriental gentleman. A local play was being performed, interspersed with songs in the local dialect, his mother tongue In vain I tried to follow the words of the singer (a famous Lucknow *diva*) When one of the songs was finished I turned to my host and asked him if he could understand a word of what she had been rendering. 'Of course not,' was the reply given in all simplicity and honesty. He never imagined that he was expected to understand it. So it must have been with Mâhârâshtrî. It represents an attempt, and a very successful attempt, to record the sounds as they issued from a professional singer's lips. As a language, its only real peculiarity, which differentiated it from Prâkṛits which were founded on real vernaculars, was the almost total absence of differentiating points. After all, the basis of every phonetic system is its consonants. By their consonants

[7] The nominative in modern Bengali also sometimes ends in *ê*, but this has an altogether different origin.

[8] *Cf. Bihâr Peasant Life*, sec 963.

we distinguish Hêmachandra's Apabhraṁśa from Śaurasênî and Śaurasênî from Mâgadhî. Mâhârâshtrî cuts the knot, and reduces itself to a dead level with reference to all dialects, by dropping nearly all its consonantal framework. The native writers, it is true, point out a few grammatical peculiarities, but I have shown above that those which Garrez selected as the most typical ones, cannot (if the testimony of the modern vernaculars is to be received) have all been confined to any one locality in India.

I have already exceeded my limits, and must content myself with a few brief remarks on one other point of interest. I would draw special attention to Prof Pischel's remarks on **Paiśâchî**. I have long doubted the correctness of the usual theory that we must look for this dialect in the neighbourhood of the Vindhya range, and am glad to see that he considers that its home is to be found in the north-west of India. May I add a few facts which, at least, do not run counter to this theory? The great Paiśâchî work was of course the *Brihat-kathâ*. This collection of stories has obtained its fame through translations made in Kaśmîr. The traditions preserved in the *Nîlamatapurâṇa* show that the popular belief was that the aboriginal inhabitants of **Kashmîr** were Piśâchas. They were almost certainly non-Aryans The distinguishing characteristic of Paiśâchî was its mispronunciation of the Prâkṛit on which it was founded. In one form of it, the Chûlikâ-Paśâchî, this mispronunciation consisted in uttering the medial sonant letters as if they were tenues. At the present day the lower orders of Kashmîr *when borrowing a word foreign to their own language* are apt to mispronounce it in exactly the same way. My head-boatman there used to call my horse's bridle the *lâkam* (Persian *lagâm*), and even the grammars give Kâśmîrî *bâpat* as the equivalent of the Arabic *bâbat*. All this is consistent with Paiśâchî being, in the main, a **Prâkṛit** as mispronounced by a north-western Âryan or non-Âryan people, whose true vernacular was some other language. An interesting parallel to Paiśâchî, if considered from this point of view, will be found in the works of a non-Indian dramatist, ——— Shakespeare. The broken English spoken by his Welshmen follows this rule of Paiśâchî Prâkṛit.

Possibly Prof. Pischel will have excellent rejoinders to much of what I have written in the preceding pages. I should not have raised the questions had I not hoped that a truer idea of the whole case can be gained from looking at both sides of the shield. His point of view is the natural and proper one, and he is standing on ground which he has made peculiarly his own. If I have humbly gazed up at it from the lower level of the modern vernaculars, it is possible that I may have caught lights and shadows which have not presented themselves to his eye. I have touched on a few minor points, and in doing so, I have not concealed the admiration which I feel for this epoch-making work. In conclusion I would express the hope that it will soon be translated into English, and thus be made available to native scholars in India.

I ask permission to add a brief note on a point not touched upon by Prof. Pischel, but which has often elicited wondering comment from other writers. More than once I have seen amazement expressed at **the polyglot nature of an Indian drama**. In a single scene there may be half a dozen people on the stage at the same time, all speaking different languages, and yet all mutually understanding each other. It is closely paralleled by what we experience at an Oriental Congress, though perhaps we are not all so mutually intelligible at these *séances* as we pretend. But we need not leave India, for India is unchanging, and the Sanskrit stage only accurately represented the ordinary state of affairs in an Indian nobleman's house both then and at the present day. In such a residence in Bengal we find Oṛiyâ-speaking *pâlki*-bearers, Bhojpurî-speaking *darwâns*, and house bearers talking Awadhî of Faizâbâd. Some of the syces are Dusâdhs from Tirhut, speaking Maithilî, and others are Ahîrî-speaking Chamârs from the neighbourhood of Delhi. The head of the family may have an *upapatnî*, whose ordinary language is the pure Bêgmatî Urdû of Lucknow, but who drops into slum-abuse when she is angry. The gentleman I have in my mind uses high-flown literary Bengali in his own house when I visit him, but on other occasions speaks the colloquial Bengali which is as different from the standard as Śaurasênî is from Sanskrit. His wife comes from Bîrbhûm, a hundred miles away, and speaks the curious women's *bôlî* of that district. His man of business comes from Eastern Bengal, and talks Ḍhâkî, while a couple of boatmen from Chittagong speak Chaṭgaiyâ. Here we have thirteen distinct dialects (four of them, Oṛiyâ, Bihârî, Urdû, and Bengali, distinct languages) all spoken in the same house. Intercommunication is perfectly free, yet every one uses his own home-vernacular, and is understood by everyone else Rarely do we hear a man speaking the language of the person he is addressing. Once or twice I have heard an up-country constable trying to speak Bengali, and the only possible comparison is the classic one of the Mṛichchhaṭikâ about a woman trying to speak Sanskrit.

G. A. G.

THE ASA DI WAR, A MORNING PRAYER OF THE SIKHS.

BY M. MACAULIFFE.

(Concluded from p. 547.)

Slôk XIII.

Guru Nânak.

Nânak, this body of ours[52] hath one carriage and one driver.
They are both changed in every age: the holy man knoweth this.
In the Sat age contentment was the carriage, piety the driver in front;
In the Treta age continence was the carriage, strength the driver in front;
In the Dwâpar age penance was the carriage, truth the driver in front;
In the Kal age passion[53] is the carriage, falsehood the driver in front.

Guru Nânak.

The Shâma *Ved* saith that the Lord *is* white-robed,[54] that men desired truth, abode in truth, and that every one was absorbed in truth.
The Rig saith that God's name is everywhere contained, that it is as the sun in heaven;
That by repeating it sins depart,
And that then, Nânak, man obtaineth salvation.
The Yajur *stateth* that Kan Krishṇa, who was a Yâdav, seduced Chandrâwal;
That he brought the tree of life for a milkmaid, and amused himself in Bindrâban.
The Atharva belongeth to the Kal age, when God's name was called Allah.
Men then wore blue clothes, and the Turks and Pathâns exercised sway.
The four Veds are true *so far*, if they are read and studied with great attention;
But when man hath love and devotion and is himself lowly, it is then, O Nânak, he obtaineth salvation.

Pauṛî XIII.

I am a sacrifice to the true Guru by meeting whom the Lord is remembered,
Who gave me the salve of divine instruction; with these eyes I then beheld God in the world.
The dealers who leave the Lord and attach themselves to mammon are wrecked.
The true Guru is a boat; few there are who consider this,
And those *who do* he mercifully saveth.

Slôk XIV.

Guru Nânak.

The simal tree of the desert[55] is very tall and very thick.
Why should the birds which go to it with hopes depart disappointed?
Because its fruit is insipid, its flowers unwholesome, and its leaves useless.
The tree that yieldeth sweet fruit is lowly, O Nânak, but its qualities and virtues are exquisite.
Every one boweth to himself; no one boweth to another.
If any thing be put into a scale and weighed, the side which descendeth is the heaviest.[56]

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52 *Mêru* is the large bead in which the two ends of a rosary are joined. *Mêr sharîr* therefore means man's body, which is superior to that of other animals.

53 *Agan*, literally fire. This word is often used for wrath, but Guru Nânak has more often inveighed against avarice or covetousness than against wrath, and perhaps it is the former that is taken as a special attribute of this degenerate age. See above, Slok XI., *Bhâhi bharê murdâr*.

54 Sètambar — the Hans or Swan Avatar.

55 *Sarâira* — this word is from the Persian *sahara*.

56 The man who is lowly is the most worthy.

The wicked man like a deer-stalker[57] boweth twice *more than any one else*;
But what availeth bowing the head, if the heart be impure?

The following hymn was composed by Guru Nânak at Banâras on the occasion of a discussion with the local *paṇḍits* who pressed him to dress in the style of the Hindus:—

Guru Nânak.

You read books, perform your twilight[58] devotions, argue, worship stones, and sit like cranes;
You utter falsehoods as excellent jewels; you meditate on the Gâyatrî[59] three times a day;
You wear a necklace, put sacrificial marks on your foreheads, *carry* two *dhôṭîs*, and put towels on your heads.
If you knew God's designs, you *would know that yours* is verily a vain religion.
Saith Nânak, verily reflect that without the true Guru you shall not find the way.

Pauṛî XIV.

Raiment and pleasing beauty man must leave on earth and depart.
Man shall obtain *the fruit* of the bad or good deeds he hath done:
He may have exercised sovereignty to his heart's content, yet must he proceed by the narrow road.
He shall be sent naked to hell, which will then appear very formidable to him;
And he shall regret the sins he hath committed.

The following hymn was addressed by Guru Nânak to Paṇḍit Hardiâl, his family priest, when he came to invest him with a *janêû*, the sacrificial thread of the upper classes of Hindus:—

Slôk XV.

Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, truth its twist.
That would make a *janêû* for the soul; if thou hast it, O Brâhman, then put it on me.
It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned, or lost.
Blest the man, O Nânak, who goeth with such a thread on his neck.
Thou purchasest a *janêû* for four *damrîs*,[60] and seated in a square puttest it on;
Thou whisperest instruction that the Brâhman is the guru *of the Hindus* —
Man dieth, the *janêû* falleth, and *the soul* departeth without it.

Guru Nânak.

Though men commit countless[61] thefts, countless adulteries, utter countless falsehoods and countless *words* of abuse;
Though they commit countless robberies and villanies night and day against their *fellow*-creatures,
Yet the cotton thread is spun, and the Brâhman cometh to twist it.
For the ceremony they kill a goat and cook and eat it, and everybody *then* saith "Put on *the janêû*."
When it becometh old, it is thrown away and another is put on.
Nânak, the string breaketh not if it be strong.

[57] *Hantâ mirgâh* — The English word hunter may be derived from *hantâ*, a killer.

[58] *Sandhiâ* — from *sanhdî*, union (of day and night).

[59] *Traipal* is understood to be for *traipad*, the *gâyatrî* or spell of the Hindus, so called because it is composed of three feet of eight letters each. Hence the *gâyatrî* is commonly said to have three legs. The *gâyatrî* is as follows:— *Oaṅ, bhur, bhûwâ, swâ, tat sawitar warênyam, bhargo dêwasyâ dhîmahî dhîyâ yonâ prachôdyât, oaṅ,* Oaṅ, earth and air and sky, let us meditate on that excellent sun the bright god, which stimulateth our intellects, oaṅ.

[60] Four *damrîs* is one *paisâ* of Indian, or about a farthing of English, money.

[61] *Lakh*, literally, one hundred thousand, here used for an indefinite number

Guru Nânak.

By adoring and praising the Name honor and a true thread are obtained.[62]
In this way a sacred thread will be put on which will not break, and which will be fit for entrance into *God's* court.

Guru Nânak.

There is no string for the sexual organs, there is no string for women, *there is no string for the impure acts which cause your* beards to be daily spat upon.
There is no string for the feet, there is no string for the hands, there is no string for the tongue, there is no string for the eyes.
Without such strings *the Brâhman* wandereth, twisteth strings *for the neck*, and putteth them on others.
He taketh hire for marrying; he pulleth out a paper, and showeth the fate *of the wedded pair*.[63]
Hear and see, ye people, this is strange that, while mentally blind, he is named wise.

Pauṛî XV.

He to whom the Lord is compassionate and merciful will do the Master's work.
That worshiper whom God causeth *to abide by His order, will worship Him.*
By obeying His order man is acceptable, and shall then reach his Master's court.
He shall act as pleaseth his Master, and obtain the fruit his heart desireth;
And he shall be clothed with a robe of honor in *God's* court.

A man at Lahore presented a cow to a Brâhman. The Brâhman took her with him, but had not wherewithal to pay toll at the Sultânpur ferry. He was stopped by the Hindu Khatrî toll-keeper. The latter collected the cow's dung, and at once plastered his cooking place therewith. Mardanâ went towards him, but was ordered off, lest he, as a Musulmân, should defile the toll-keeper's cooking place. Upon this **Bâbâ Nânak uttered the following :—**

Slôk XVI.

Thou takest toll for a cow and a Brâhman, the cow-dung will not save thee.
Thou wearest a *dhôṭî* and a frontal mark, and carriest a rosary, *yet* thou eatest the bread of malêchhas.[64]
Thou performest the Hindu worship at home, thou readest the Kurân *in public*, and associatest with Muhammadans,[65] O my brother.
Lay aside hypocrisy, repeat God's name, and thou shalt be saved.

Guru Nânak.

Those who have strings on their necks eat men, recite the Muhammadan prayers,
And use knives *to cut men's throats*.[66]
Although the Brâhmans sound shells in their houses,
And enjoy their viands as they do themselves ;[67]
Yet false is their capital and false their dealings.
By uttering falsehoods they maintain themselves.
Far from them is the abode of shame and honesty :
Nânak, falsehood everywhere prevaileth.

62 Also translated — By adoring the Name cotton is produced; by praising *God* a true thread is obtained.

63 That is, he draws a horoscope.

64 *Malêchhas*, from *mal* filth and *ichhâ* desire — those whose desires are filthy. The word here means Muhammadans, but it is also applied by Hindus to Christians.

65 *Sanjam Turkân* — also translated — Thou actest like Muhammadans.

66 Also translated — They who read prayers devour men, and they who wear strings on their necks ply knives.

67 According to the holy books of the Hindus, Brâhmans should not eat in the houses of men who recite Muhammadan prayers.

On their foreheads are sacrificial marks, *on their* waists reddish[68] *dhôṭîs*,
In their hands knives ; they are the world's butchers.
Putting on blue clothes, they are acceptable in the *Muhammadans'* court,
And, while taking bread from the malechhas, they worship the Purâns.
They eat he-goats killed with unspeakable words,[69]
And allow no one to enter their cooking squares.
Having smeared a space they draw lines around it,
And sit within false that they are,
Saying, " Touch not ! O touch not !
Or this food of ours will be defiled."
But their bodies are defiled; what they do is defiled ;
Their hearts are false while they perform ablutions *after their meals.*
Saith Nânak, meditate on the True One,
If thou art pure, thou shalt obtain Him.

Pauṛî XVI.

All are within Thy ken, O Lord; Thou seest all, and Thou movest them beneath Thy glance.
God himself bestoweth greatness ; He Himself causeth men to do good works.
He is the greatest of the great; great is His world ; He appointeth *all men* to their respective duties.
If He cast a backward glance, He maketh monarchs as grass;[70]
They may beg from door to door and receive no alms.

Guru Nânak composed the following slok on being invited by a dishonest shopkeeper of Lahore to attend a *shrâd* or religious service for his deceased father : —

Slôk XVII.

If a robber break a house and sacrifice the fruits of that robbery to his ancestors,
The sacrifice shall be known in the next world, and make out the ancestors thieves.
The hand of the Brâhman go-between shall be cut off ; thus will *God* do justice.
Nânak, it is only the fruit of what man giveth from his earnings and toil that shall be obtained in the next world.

Guru Nânak.

As a woman hath her recurring courses, *so* falsehood dwelleth in the mouth of the false one, and he is ever despised.
He should not be called pure who sitteth and washeth his body ;
Rather is he pure, Nânak, in whose heart God dwelleth.

Pauṛî XVII.

Caparisoned horses fleet as the wind and women adorned with every aid to beauty — [71]
Men fix *their hearts on them,* dwell in mansions, pavilions and palaces, and make display ;
They enjoy pleasures to their hearts' content ; but they know not God and therefore fail.
They live by their authority, and, beholding their women's chambers, forget death.
Old age hath come and youth hath failed *them.*

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68 *Kakhôi* — reddish or partially soiled from frequent washing. The word is also applied to the tucking in of a *dhôtî* in a particular way.

69 The Muhammadan expression *Bismillah* (in the name of God) used when slaughtering animals as well as on other occasions.

70 *Ghâhu* generally translated grass-cutters by the *gyânîs*: a third interpretation too is possible. In former times men of position appeared before conquerors with grass in their mouths, implying that they were the conquerors' cows whose lives should be saved. Accordingly, the phrase is also translated — and He would cause Kings to put grass in their mouths.

71 *Har rangi,* literally, with every color.

A rich man gave a feast to which **Guru Nânak and several Brâhmans** were invited. During the feast a child was born in the house, whereupon the Brâhmans refused food and departed, deeming the house impure. Guru Nânak remonstrated with the following *slôk* and hymn :—

Slôk XVIII.

If the idea of impurity be admitted, there is impurity in every thing.
There are worms in cow-dung and wood ;
There is no grain of corn without life.
In the first place, there is life in water by which every thing is made green.[72]
How shall we avoid impurity ? It falleth on our kitchens.
Saith Nânak, impurity is not thus washed away : it is washed away by divine knowledge.

Guru Nânak.

Impurity of the heart is greed, impurity of the tongue is falsehood ;
Impurity of the eyes is gazing on another's wealth, his wife, and her beauty ;
Impurity of the ears is listening to slander.
Nânak, even the *pretended* saint *who practiseth such things*, shall go bound to hell.
All impurity consisteth in superstition and attachment to worldly things.
Birth and death are ordained ; as it pleaseth God, we come and go.
The eating and drinking which God sent as sustenance are pure.
Nânak, the pious persons who know *God* have no impurity.

Paurî XVIII.

Magnify and praise the true guru in whom there is all greatness.
If the guru cause us to meet God, we shall behold *His greatness*.
If it please *the Guru*, he will cause *God's praises* to dwell in the heart.
He putteth his hand on our foreheads; and when he giveth the order, removeth evil from within us.
When God is pleased the nine treasures are obtained.

Slôk XIX.

The Brâhman having first purified himself sitteth in a purified *square*.
The purified food is placed before him ; no one may touch it.
Being thus purified, he beginneth to eat and read Sanskrit verses.
If it is thrown into a filthy[73] place, whose fault is that ?
The corn was holy, the water was holy, the fire and salt were holy ; when the fifth *ingredient ghî*[74] was added,
Then the food became pure.
When the food entereth a sinful body, it *becometh impure as if* spat upon.
The mouth which uttereth not the Name, and eateth *even* delicacies without the Name,
Consider, O Nânak, as if spat upon.

The following was Guru Nânak's remonstrance to a man who reviled the female sex :—

Guru Nânak.

In a vessel[75] man is conceived, from a vessel he is born, with a vessel he is betrothed and married.
With a vessel he contracteth friendship ; with a vessel he goeth through the world.
When one vessel dieth, another is sought for ; to a vessel he is bound.
Why call her bad from whom are born kings ?
From a vessel a vessel is born; none may exist without a vessel.
Nânak, only the one true God is independent of a vessel.

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72 Compare—*Jal hai sûtak, thal hai sûtak, sûtak opat hai,* There is impurity in water, there is impurity in land, there is impurity in whatever is created. — *Kabîr Gaurî*, 41.

73 *Kuhathî* — from the Sanskrit *kutsit*.

74 Clarified butter, always deemed pure by Hindus and their kindred sects.

75 Woman is meant. The Greeks sometimes used the word σκεῦος in the same sense.

The mouth which ever praiseth *Him*[76] is fortunate and beautiful.
Nânak, that face shall be bright in the court of the True One.

Pauṛî XIX.

Every one calleth Thee, O Lord, his own; those who do not so call Thee Thou puttest away,
Every one *must bear the result of his* own acts, and adjust his own account.
Since ye are not to remain in this world, why practise ye pride?
Call no one bad; know this by reading these words.
Dispute not with a fool.

Slôk XX.

Nânak, the mind and body of him who talketh evil are evil:
He is most evil, and most evil is his reputation.
The evil person is rejected in God's court; his face is spat upon.
The evil person is a fool, and receiveth shoe-beatings as punishment.

Bâbâ Nânak.

If a man, foul within and fair without, puff himself up in the world,
His filth will not depart even though he bathe at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage.[77]
Those who wear silk within and rags without, are good in this world.
They have conceived love for God and contemplate beholding Him.
In God's love they weep, in God's love they laugh, or are even silent.
They care not for anything except the true Master.
They beg for food at *God's* door, and *only* eat when He giveth it to them.
For them there is but one court as there is but one pen;[78] we and you shall meet for justice.
The accounts of *the wicked* shall be taken in *God's* court, and they shall be pressed O Nânak, like oil in a mill.[79]

Pauṛî XX.

Thou Thyself didst create the world, and Thou Thyself didst put power into it.
Thou beholdest Thine own work, the losing and winning dice[80] upon earth.
Whatever hath come shall depart; his turn shall come to every one.
Why forget that Lord who owneth life and soul?
With thine own hands arrange thine own affairs.

Slôk XXI.

Guru Angad.

What love is that which attacheth itself to worldly things?
Nânak, call him a lover who is ever absorbed in God.
He who deemeth only what is good good, and what is bad bad,
Shall not be called a true lover if he proceed in this manner.[81]

Guru Angad.

He who offereth salutation and *at the same time* criticiseth *God's works,* hath made a mistake from the beginning.
Both *his salutation and criticism* are in vain; Nânak, such a person shall not obtain a place in *God's Court.*

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76 Some suppose that woman is the missing word here, as the preceding *slôk* is a defence of women, not a eulogy of God.

77 Compare — *Antar mail jê tîrath nahâwâi, tis baikanth na jânâ,* If a man foul within bathe at a place of pilgrimage, he shall not go to heaven. — *Kabîr, Asâ* 37.

78 That is, there is no mediator between God and man. It is God Himself who decides man's fate.

79 The last line and half is also translated — They who confound *meum* and *tuum* shall have their accounts taken in God's court, and shall be pressed, O Nânak, like oil in a mill.

80 That is, the sinners and the virtuous. The game of *chausar* or *chaupar* is played with sixteen pieces called *sârîs,* and three dice called *pâsâ.* The *sârîs* while being moved round the board, like creatures in transmigration, are called *kachî,* unripe; when they reach their goal, they are called *pakkî* or ripe.

81 He shall not be called a lover, if he rail at God in adversity. This idea often occurs in Oriental poetry.

Paurî XXI.

Ever praise that Lord by worshiping whom thou shalt find happiness.
Why hast thou done such evil deeds as thou shalt suffer for?
Do absolutely nothing evil, look well before thee.
So throw the dice that thou mayest not lose with the Lord,
Nay, that thou mayest gain some profit.

Slôk XXII.

Guru Angad.

When a servant while performing service is proud and quarrelsome besides,
And talketh too much, he pleaseth not his master.
If he efface himself and perform service, he shall obtain some honor.
Nânak, he who longeth for God shall meet Him, and his longing shall be acceptable.

Guru Angad.

What a man hath in his heart cometh forth; lip-worship is of no avail.
Man soweth poison and expecteth ambrosia; look at that for justice.

Guru Angad.

Contracting friendship with a fool would never be profitable.
He acteth according to his understanding: let any one see and enquire into this.
One thing can fit in a vessel if another thing be *first* removed.[82]
Orders will not succeed with God; supplications must be addressed Him.
By practising falsehood falsehood is obtained: Nânak, there is pleasure in praising God.

Guru Angad.

Friendship for a fool and love for a great man
Are like lines drawn on water, which leave neither trace nor mark.

Guru Angad.

If a man be a fool and do any thing, he cannot do it well;
Even though he do one or two things well, he will spoil the rest.

Paurî XXII.

If the servant who is employed in service act according to his master's wishes,
His honor is all the more, and he receiveth double wages.
If he vie with his master, he shall excite his jealousy,
Lose his large salary, and receive shoe-beating on the mouth.
Thank Him by whose gifts thou liveth;
Nânak, orders will not succeed with Him; the Master must be implored.

Slôk XXIII.

Guru Angad.

What sort of gift is that which we obtain by our own *asking*?
Nânak, wonderful is the gift we obtain when the Lord is pleased.

Guru Angad.

What sort of service is that in which the fear of the master departeth not?[83]
Nânak, he is called a servant who is absorbed in the love of his master.

Paurî XXIII.

Nânak, God's end is not seen, nor hath He a thither or a hither side.
He Himself createth, and He Himself again destroyeth.
Some have chains on their necks, and some ride on many horses.
It is God who causeth men to act and who acteth Himself; to whom else shall we complain?
Nânak, it is for Him who made the world to take care of it.

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[82] The love of God will enter man's heart if he first expel worldly love.
[83] That is, when perfect understanding exists between master and servant, and the service is performed with love.

Slôk XXIV.

Guru Nânak.

It is God Himself who made vessels[84] and He Himself who filleth them.
In some is contained milk ;[85] others are put over the fire.
Some sleep on mattresses, and others stand and watch over them.
Nânak, God regenerateth those on whom He looketh with favor.

Guru Angad.

God Himself arrangeth, He Himself putteth what He hath made into its proper place ;
Having in this world created animals, He Himself beholdeth their birth and death.
Whom shall we address, O Nânak, since God doeth everything Himself ?

Pauṛî XXIV.

The greatness of the great God cannot be expressed ;
He is the Creator, the Omnipotent, the Bounteous ; He provideth His creatures with sustenance
Man doeth that work which God destined for him from the beginning.
Nânak, except in the one God alone there is no *abiding* place.
He doeth what He pleaseth.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE EIGHTEEN AGUS.

ACCORDING to the Prelude to the Kesar-Saga the names of the eighteen **Agus (heroes)** are the following : —

(1) **Pasang Îdan ru skyes,** possessing the Friday, horns growing. *Characteristic mark:* a goat's head.

(2) **Anggar rtsangspo,** Anggar, the lizard. *Char. m.:* a lizard's head.

(3) **Khra mgo khra thung,** falcon's head, short falcon. *Char. m.:* a falcon's head.

(4) **Kha rgan dgani (nyi),** old mouth, day of joy. *Char. m.:* a white beard.

(5) **sKya rgodpo,** wild soup-spoon. *Char. m.:* a soup-spoon instead of a head.

(6) **zLaba bzangpo,** good moon. *Char. m.:* a moon instead of a head.

(7) **mD'a dpon gongma,** the high headman of bowmen. *Char. m.:* an arrow blade instead of a head.

(8) **Ala jong gol** (this means, so I am told, the sole of a boot, the stupid one). *Char. m.:* the sole of a boot instead of a head.

(9) **'aBu dmar lamstan,** red vermin, way leader. *Char. m.:* a worm's head

(10) **Shelgyi buchung,** little boy of glass (or crystal). *Char. m.:* a concave mirror instead of a head.

(11) **dGani(nyi) gongba,** day of joy, the collar. *Char. m.:* a collar instead of a head.

(12) **Laglag rings,** long hand. *Char. m.:* a hand instead of a head.

(13) **rKang rkang rings,** long foot (or leg). *Char. m.:* a foot instead of a head.

(14) **Bongnag ldumbu,** black ass (*ldumbu* = a plant ?) *Char. m.:* a donkey's head.

(15) **bKa blon ldanpa,** the state-minister, the possessor. *Char. m.:* a man's head.

(16) **dPalle rgodpo,** wild splendour, glory. *Char. m.:* an old man's head.

(17) **rNa γyu rna 'athal,** turquoise earring. *Char. m.:* a turquoise instead of a head.

(18) **zLaba dkarpo,** white moon. *Char. m.:* a white shell instead of a head.

To these **Kesar or Kyesar** has to be added as their leader, he is the nineteenth **Holy numbers** in the Pre-Buddhist religion of Ladakh are 3, 7, 9 and 18; but it is remarkable, that, whilst the first three of these numbers are always quoted without a following number, the 18 is always followed up by 19. For example . " They digged a pit of 18, 19 yards," " there appeared 18, 19 priests."

If we take **Kesar,** the supposed **sun hero,** into the account, it is not difficult to identify **six of the nineteen Agus with six of the seven days of the Tibetan week.** Then the question remains : What could be the probable origin of the remaining 12 ? Their number seems to point to the months of the year or to the Zodiac; but as I have no means available to compare their characteristic marks with those of other lunar calendars, I should be very glad, if competent scholars would offer an opinion on the subject.

As far as I can see, some of the Agus do not possess only a single name, but several, though the characteristic mark will probably remain the same.

The **representatives of the weekdays** are probably the following : —

No. 19, Sunday ; No. 6, Monday ; No. 9, Tuesday ; No. 12, Wednesday ; No. 7, Thursday ; No. 1, Friday.

A. H. FRANCKE.

[84] Here the word *bhândê* means human beings generally.

[85] That is, God's love, milk being deemed pure.

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